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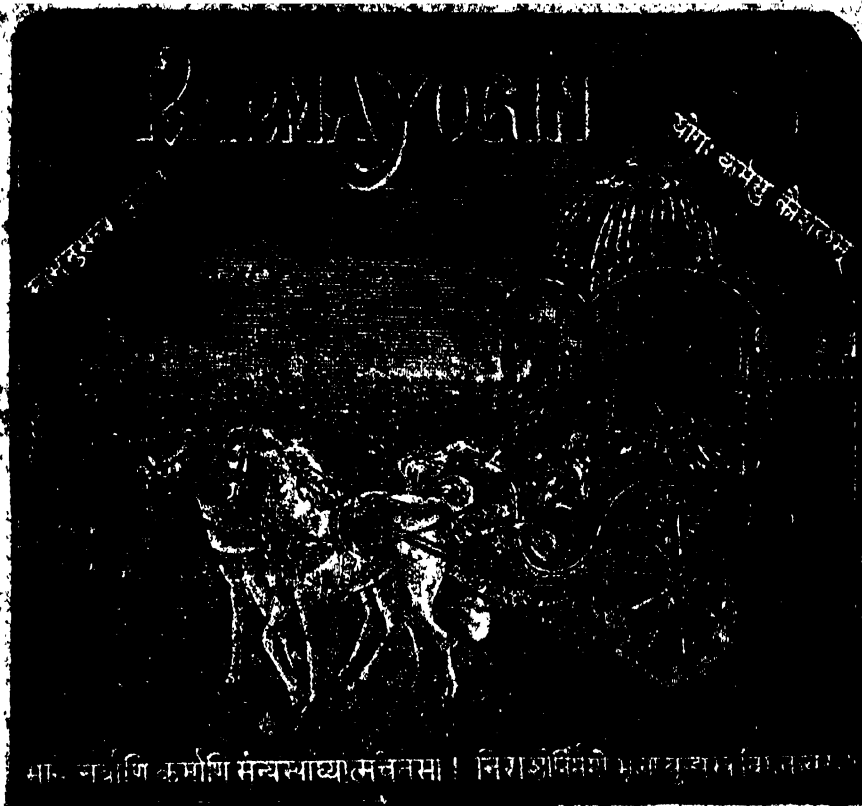
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বায়িক মূল্য ২০/০

ব্যাংকের সুপ্ৰভাত

৩৯ কলকাতা কোয়ার, কলিকাতা

KARMAYOGIN

5th ASHADH 1318

No. 1

FAIR-BELIEVES

The nation begins to come into the fold
 of a new motion which an increasing
 energy in the country demands.
 The life of the nation which once
 flowed in a broad and single stream
 has long been severed into a number of
 separate unregarded channels.
 The modern floods have followed the
 paths of religion and politics, but they
 have flowed separately. Our political
 activity has crept in a channel set for it
 by European or Europeanized models.
 It tended always to a spiritual effluence,
 but was deficient in depth and volume.
 The national genius of originality, in-
 dividuality poured itself into religion,
 while our politics were imitative and
 unwell. Yet without a living political
 activity national life cannot under modern
 circumstances survive. So far then we
 have been a stream of social life, more and
 more modified and disturbed, apt to
 get dryness, depth, largeness, but
 not always fulling and increasing in
 weakness and distraction. There was a
 stream toward industrial life, faint and
 late, the poor survival of the old vigorous
 Indian artistic and industrial capacity
 murdered by unjust laws and an unen-
 couraged trade policy. All this ran in
 disconnected channels, channels, scattered
 and ineffectual. The tendency is now
 for these streams to unite again into one
 mighty flow, and grandiose flood
 of life and tendency, to give voice
 and substance to the deeper aspirations
 and feelings, securely, a new national
 sentiment, a new unity, is the aim of
 the *Karnataka*.

of battle, the thirst for glory, the sense of honour, the love of self-sacrifice, generosity, grandeur of soul; the life of the Vaishya.—Trade, industry, thrift, prosperity, benevolence, philanthropy; the life of the Sudra.—honesty, simplicity, labour, religious and quiet service to the nation even in the humblest position and the most insignificant kind of work. The cause of India's decline was the gradual disappearance of the Kshatriya and the dwindling of the Vaishya. The modern political history of India, since the discovery of the Nandas has been an attempt to regenerate or replace the Kshatriya. But the attempt was only partially successful. The British held dominion for a long time, indeed until the British advent by which he has almost been extinguished. When the *chaturvarṇya* disappears, there comes *varṇa-samāra*, utter confusion of the great *varṇa* which has been a nation vigorous and sound: The Kshatriya dwindled, the Vaishya dwindled, the Brahmin and Sudra were left. There was a tendency for the Brahmin type to disappear and the first sign of its disappearance was utter degeneracy or the tendency to lose himself and while keeping some outward signs of his Brahmin to gravitate towards Sramana. In the *Kalīyuga* the Sudra is powerful and attracts into himself the less vigorous Brahmin, as the earth attracts pure but smaller bodies, and the Brahmin, the spiritual force, of the latter, grows diminished, dwindles to nothingness. For the *Satya-yuga* to return we must get back the *Brahman* (and more in general). The *Brahman* is the basis of all the rest and in the *Satya-yuga* all men have it more or less and by it the nation lives and is great.

has to be translated into modern European terms before they can understand it. For it is the European ideas alone that are real to them and the great truths of Indian thought seem to them mere metaphors, allegories and mystic parables. So well has British education done its fatal denationalising work in India.

The Brahmin stands for religion, science, scholarship, and the higher morality; the Kshatriya for war, politics and administration; the Vaishya for the trades, professions and industries; the Sudra for labour and service. It is only when these four departments of human activity are in a robust and flourishing condition that the nation is sound and great. When any of these disappear or suffer, it is bad for the body politic. And the two highest are the least easy to be spared. If they survive in full strength, they can provide themselves with the two others, but if either the Kshatriya or the Brahmin go, if either the political force or the spiritual force of a nation is lost, the nation is doomed unless it can revive or replace the missing strength. And of the two the Brahmin is the most important. He can always create the Kshatriya; spiritual force can always raise up material force to defend it. But if the Brahmin becomes the Sudra, if the lower instinct of the herd and the brute becomes all in all, the instinct to serve and seek nothing as one supreme object of life, the instinct to accept safety as a compensation for lost greatness and inglorious ease and dependence in place of the ardours of high aspiration for the nation and the individual. When spirituality is lost, all is lost. This is the fate from which we have narrowly escaped by the resurgence of the soul of India in Nationalism.

But, that resurgence is not yet complete. There is still a great deal of Indianism, but it is not yet a new-

ize. There is a vague idea, there is no definite conception or deep insight. We have yet to know ourselves, what we were, are and may be; what we did in the past and what we are capable of doing in the future; our history and our mission. This is the first and most important work which the *Karmayogin* sets for itself, to popularize this knowledge. The Vedanta or Sufism, the temple or the mosque, Nanak and Kabir and Ramadas, Chaitanya or Guru Govinda, Brahmin and Kayastha and Namasudra, whatever national asset we have indigenous or acclimated, it will seek to make known, to put in its right place and appreciate. And the second thing is how to use these assets so as to swell the sum of national life and produce the future. It is easy to appraise their relations to the past; it is more difficult to give them their place in the future. The third thing is to know the outside world and its relation to us and how to deal with it. That is the problem which we find at present the most difficult and insistent but its solution depends on the solution of the others.

We have said that *Brahmatur* is the thing we need most of all and first of all. In one sense, that means the pre-eminence of religion; but after all, what the Europeans mean by religion is not *Brahmatur*; which is rather spirituality, the force and energy of thought and action arising from communion with or self-surrender to that with us which rules the world. In that sense we shall use it. This force and energy can be directed to any purpose God desires for us; it is sufficient to knowledge, love or service; it is good for the liberation of an individual soul, the building of a nation or the turning of a tool. It works from within, it works in the power of God, it works with superhuman energy. The reawakening of that force in three hundred millions of men by the means which our past has placed in our hands, that is our object.

The European is proud of his success in divorcing religion from life. Religion, he says, is all very well in its place, but it has nothing to do with politics or science or commerce, which it spoils by its intrusion; it is meant only for Sundays when, if one is English, one puts on black clothes and tries to feel good, and if one is continental, one puts the rest of the week away and amuses oneself. In reality, the European has not succeeded in getting rid of religion from his life. It is coming back in

socialism, in the Anarchism of Bakunin and Tolstoi, in many other forms; and in whatever form it comes, it insists on engrossing the whole life, of moulding the whole of society and politics under the law of idealistic aspiration. It does not use the word God or grasp the idea, but it sees God in humanity. What the European understood by religion, had to be got rid of and put out of life, but real religion, spirituality, idealism, altruism, self-devotion, the hunger after perfection, is the whole destiny of humanity and cannot be got rid of. After all God does exist and if He exists, you cannot shove Him into a corner and say "That is your place and as for the world and life it belongs to us." He pervades and returns. Every age of denial is only a preparation for a larger and more comprehensive affirmation.

The *Karmayogin* will be more of a national review than a weekly newspaper. We shall notice current events only as they evidence, help, affect or resist the growth of national life and the development of the soul of the nation. Political and social problems we shall deal with from this standpoint, seeking first their spiritual roots and inner causes and then proceeding to measures and remedies. In a similar spirit we shall deal with all sources of national strength in the past and in the present, seeking to bring them home to all comprehensions and make them applicable to our life, dynamic and not static, creative and not merely preservative. For if there is no creation, there must be disintegration; if there is no advance and victory, there must be recoil and defeat.

THE IDEAL OF THE KARMAYOGIN.

A nation is building in India to-day before the eyes of the world so swiftly, so palpably that all can watch the process and those who have sympathy and intuition distinguish the forces at work, the materials in use, the lines of the divine architecture. This nation is not a new race raw from the workshop of Nature or created by modern circumstances. One of the oldest races and greatest civilisations on this earth, the most indomitable in vitality, the most fecund in greatness, the deepest in life, the most wonderful in potentiality, after taking into itself numerous sources of strength from foreign strains of blood and other types of human energy, is now seeking to

lift itself for good into an organised national unity. Formerly a congeries of kindred nations with a single life and a single culture, always by the law of this essential oneness tending to unity, always by its excess of fecundity engendering fresh diversities and divisions, it has never yet been able to overcome permanently the almost insuperable obstacles to the organization of a continent. The time has now come when those obstacles can be overcome. The attempt which our race has been making throughout its long history, it will now make under entirely new circumstances. A keen observer would predict its success because the only important obstacles have been or are in the process of being removed. But we go farther and believe that it is sure to succeed because the freedom, unity and greatness of India have now become necessary to the world. This is the faith in which the *Karmayogin* puts its hand to the work and will persist in it, refusing to be discouraged by difficulties however immense and apparently insuperable. We believe that God is with us and in that faith we shall conquer. We believe that humanity needs us and it is the love and service of humanity, of our country, of the race, of our religion that will purify our hearts and inspire our action in the struggle.

The task we set before ourselves is not mechanical but moral and spiritual. We aim not at the alteration of a form of government but at the building up of a nation. Of that task politics is a part, but only a part. We shall devote ourselves not to politics alone, nor to social questions alone, nor to theology or philosophy or literature or science by themselves, but we include all these in one entity which we believe to be all-important, the *dharma*, the national religion, which we also believe to be universal. There is a mighty law of life, a great principle of human evolution, a body of spiritual knowledge and experience of which India has always been destined to be the guardian, the exemplar and missionary. This is the *santana dharma*, the eternal religion. Under the stress of alien impacts she has largely lost hold not of the structure of that *dharma*, but of its living reality. For the religion of India is nothing if it is not lived. It has to be applied not only to life, but to the whole of life; its spirit has to enter into and mould our society, our politics, our literature, our science, our individual character, affections and aspirations. To understand the heart of this *dharma*, to experience it as a truth, to feel the high emotions to which it rises and to express and execute

it in life is what we understand by *Karmayoga*. We believe that it is to make the *yoga* the ideal of human life that India rises to-day; by the *yoga* she will get the strength to realise her freedom, unity and greatness, by the *yoga* she will keep the strength to preserve it. It is a spiritual revolution we foresee and the material is only its shadow and reflex.

The European sets great store by machinery. He seeks to renovate humanity by schemes of society and systems of government; he hopes to bring about the millennium by an act of Parliament. Machinery is of great importance, but only as a working means for the spirit within, the force behind. The nineteenth century in India aspired to political emancipation, social renovation, religious vision and rebirth, but it failed because it adopted Western motives and methods, ignored the spirit, history and destiny of our race and thought that by taking over European education, European machinery, European organization and equipment we should reproduce in ourselves European prosperity, energy and progress. We of the twentieth century reject the aims, ideals and methods of the Anglicised nineteenth precisely because we accept its experience. We refuse to make an idol of the present; we look before and after, backward to the mighty history of our race, forward to the grandiose history for which that destiny has prepared it.

We do not believe that our political salvation can be attained by enlargements of Councils, introductions of the elective principle, colonial self-government or any other formula of European politics. We do not deny the use of some of these things as instruments, as weapons in a political struggle, but we deny their sufficiency whether as instruments or ideals and look beyond to an end which they do not serve except in a trifling degree. They might be sufficient if it were our ultimate destiny to be an outlying province of the British Empire or a dependent adjunct of European civilisation. That is a future which we do not think it worth making any sacrifice to accomplish. We believe on the other hand, that India is destined to work out her own independent life and civilisation, to stand in the forefront of the world and solve the political, social, economical and moral problems which Europe has failed to solve, yet the pursuit of which and the feverish passage in that pursuit from experiment to experiment, from failure to failure she calls

her progress. Our means must be as great as our ends and the strength to discover and use the means so as to attain the end can only be found by seeking the eternal source of strength in ourselves.

We do not believe that by changing the machinery so as to make our society the ape of Europe we shall effect social renovation. Widow-remarriage, substitution of class for caste, adult marriage, intermarriages, interdining and the other nostrums of the social reformer are mechanical changes which, whatever their merits or demerits, cannot by themselves save the soul of the nation alive or stay the course of degradation and decline. It is the spirit alone that saves, and only by becoming great and free in heart can we become socially and politically great and free.

We do not believe that by multiplying new sects limited within the narrower and inferior ideas of religion imported from the West or by creating organizations for the perpetuation of the mere dress and body of Hinduism we can recover our spiritual health, energy and greatness. The world moves through an indispensable interregnum of freethought and materialism to a new synthesis of religious thought and experience, a new religious world—life free from intolerance, yet full of faith and fervour, accepting all forms of religion because it has an unshakeable faith in the One. The religion which embraces Science and faith, Theism, Christianity, Mahomedanism and Buddhism and yet is none of these, is that to which the World-Spirit moves. In our own, which is the most sceptical and the most believing of all, the most sceptical because it has questioned and experimented the most, the most believing because it has the deepest experience and the most varied and positive spiritual knowledge,—that wider Hinduism which is not a dogma or combination of dogmas but a law of life, which is not a social framework but the spirit of a past and future social evolution, which rejects nothing but insists on testing and experiencing everything and when tested and experienced turning it to the soul's uses, in this Hinduism we find the basis of the future world-religion. This sanatana dharma has many scriptures, Veda, Vedanta, Gita, Upanishad, Darshana, Puran, Tantra, nor could it reject the Bible or the Koran; but its real, most authoritative Scripture is in the heart in which the Eternal has His dwelling. It is in our inner spiritual experiences that we shall find the proof and source of the world's Scriptures, the

law of knowledge, love and conduct, the basis and inspiration of Karmayoga.

Our aim will therefore be to help in building up India for the sake of humanity,—this is the spirit of the Nationalism which we profess and follow. We say to humanity, "The time has come when you must take the great step and rise out of a material existence into the higher deeper and wider life towards which humanity moves. The problems, which have troubled mankind can only be solved by conquering the kingdom within, not by harnessing the forces of Nature to the service of comfort and luxury, but by mastering the forces of the intellect and the spirit, by vindicating the freedom of man within as well as without and by conquering from within external Nature. For that work the resurgence of Asia is necessary, therefore Asia rises. For that work the freedom and greatness of India is essential, therefore she claims her destined freedom and greatness, and it is to the interest of all humanity, not excluding England, that she should wholly establish her claim."

We say to the nation, "It is God's will that we should be ourselves and not Europe. We have sought to regain life by following the law of another being than our own. We must return and seek the sources of life and strength within ourselves. We must know our past and recover it for the purposes of our future. Our business is to realise ourselves first and to mould everything to the law of India's eternal life and nature. It will therefore be the object of the *Karmayogin* to read the heart of our religion, our society, our philosophy, politics, literature, art, jurisprudence, science, thought, everything that was and is ours, so that we may be able to say to ourselves and our nation, "This is our dharma." We shall review European civilisation entirely from the standpoint of Indian thought and knowledge and seek to throw off from us the dominating stamp of the Occident; what we have to take from the West we shall take as Indians. And the dharma once discovered we shall strive our utmost not only to profess but to live, in our individual actions, in our social life, in our political endeavours.

We say to the individual and especially to the young who are now arising to do India's work, the world's work, God's work. "You cannot cherish these ideals, still less can you fulfil them if you subject your minds to European ideas or look at life from the material standpoint. Materially you are

nothing, spiritually you are everything. It is only the Indian who can believe every thing, dare everything, sacrifice everything. First therefore become Indians. Recover the patrimony of your fore-fathers. Recover the Aryan thought, the Aryan discipline, the Aryan character, the Aryan life. Recover the Vedanta, the Gita, the Yoga. Recover them not only in intellect or sentiment but in your lives. Live them and you will be great and strong, mighty, invincible and fearless. Neither life nor death will have any terrors for you. Difficulty and impossibility will vanish from your vocabularies. For it is in the spirit that strength is eternal and you must win back the kingdom of yourselves, the inner Swaraj, before you can win back your outer empire. There the Mother dwells and she waits for worship that she may give strength. Believe in Her, serve Her, lose your wills in Hers, your egotism in the greater ego of the country, your separate selfishness in the service of humanity. Recover the source of all strength in yourselves and all else will be added to you, social soundness, intellectual preeminence, political freedom, the mastery of human thought, the hegemony of the world."

KARMAYOGA.

We have spoken of Karmayoga as the application of Vedanta and Yoga to life. To many who take their knowledge of Hinduism secondhand this may seem a doubtful definition. It is ordinarily supposed by "practical" minds that Vedanta as a guide to life and Yoga as a method of spiritual communion are dangerous things which lead men away from action to abstraction. We leave aside those who regard all such beliefs as mysticism, self-delusion or imposture, but even those who reverence and believe in the high thing of Hinduism have the impression that one must remove oneself from a full human activity in order to live the spiritual life. Yet the spiritual life finds its most potent expression in the man who lives the ordinary life of men in the strength of the Yoga and under the law of the Vedanta. It is by such an inner life and the outer life that the world is eventually to be lifted up to the divine. It is by such an inner life that Vedanta can be applied to life, no rule of conduct is purely metaphysical and, on the contrary, the highest law of life is the law of the spirit.

justification in the teachings of the Upanishads and the Gita. The characteristic doctrines of the Gita are nothing if they are not a law of life, a dharm, and even the most transcendental aspirations of the Vedanta presuppose a preparation in life, for it is only through life that one can reach to immortality. The opposite opinion is due to certain tendencies which have talked large in the history and temperament of our race. The ultimate goal of our religion is emancipation from the bondage of material Nature and freedom from individual rebirth, and certain souls, among the highest we have known, have been drawn by the attraction of the final hush and purity to dissociate themselves from life and bodily action in order more swiftly and easily to reach the goal. Standing like mountain-peaks above the common level, they have attracted all eyes and fixed this withdrawal as the highest and most commanding Hindu ideal. It is for this reason that Sri Krishna laid so much stress on the perfect Yogin's cleaving to life and human activity even after his need of them were over, lest the people, following, as they always do the example of their best, turn away from their dharma and bastard confusion reign. The ideal Yogin is no withdrawn and pen-up force, but ever engaged in doing good to all creatures, either by the flood of the divine energy that he pours on the world or by himself standing in the front of humanity, its leader in the march and the battle but unbound by his works and superior to his personality.

Moreover the word Vedanta is usually identified with the strict Monism and the peculiar theory of Maya established by the lofty and ascetic intellect of Shankara. But it is the Upanishads themselves and not Shankara's writings, the text and not the commentary, that are the authoritative Scripture of the Vedantism. Shankara's, great and temporarily satisfying as it was, is still only one synthesis and interpretation of the Upanishads. There have been others in the past which have powerfully influenced the rational mind and there is no reason why there should not be a yet more perfect synthesis in the future. It is such a synthesis, embracing life and action in its scope, that the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda have been preparing. What is coming now is a repetition of the earlier stage of what happened in India, more rapid and more intense, when the Brahmins sought their philosophy

and ethics to the Aryan nations. Then as now a mighty spirit, it matters not whether Avatar or Vibhuti, the full expression of God in man or a great outpouring of the divine energy, came down among men and brought into their daily life and practice the force and impulse of utter spirituality. And this time it is the full light and not a noble part, unlike Buddhism which expressing Vedantic morality, yet ignored a fundamental reality of Vedanta and was therefore expelled from its prime seat and cradle. The material result was then what it will be now, a great political, moral and social revolution which made India the Guru of the nations and carried the light she had to give all over the civilized world, moulding ideas and creating forms which are still extant and a living force. Already the Vedanta and the Yoga have exceeded their Asiatic limit and are beginning to influence the life and practice of America and Europe, and they have long been filtering into Western thought by a hundred indirect channels. But these are small rivers and underground streams. The world waits for the rising of India to receive the divine flood in its fulness.

Yoga is communion with God for knowledge, for love or for work. The Yogin puts himself into direct relation with that which is omniscient and omnipotent within man and without him; He is in tune with the infinite, he becomes a channel for the strength of God to pour itself out upon the world whether through calm benevolence or active benevolence. When a man rises by putting from him the slough of self and lives for others and in the joys and sorrows of others;—when he works perfectly and with love and zeal, but casts away the anxiety for results and is neither eager for victory nor afraid of defeat;—when he devotes all his works to God and lays every thought, word and deed as an offering on the divine altar;—when he gets rid of fear and hatred, repulsion and disgust and attachment, and works like the forces of Nature, unhesitating, unceasing, inevitably, perfectly;—when he rises above the thought that he is the body or the heart or the mind or the sum of these and finds his own and true self; when he becomes aware of his immortality and the unreality of death; when he experiences the advent of knowledge and feels himself passive and the divine force working unresisted through his mind, his speech his senses and all his organs;—when having thus abandoned whatever he is does or his to the Lord of all, the

Lover and Helper of mankind, he dwells permanently in Him and becomes incapable of grief, disquiet or false excitement,—that is Yoga. Prana-yam and asans, concentration, worship, ceremonies, religious practice are not themselves Yoga but only a means towards Yoga. Nor is Yoga a difficult or dangerous path, it is safe and easy to all who take refuge with the Inner Guide and Teacher. All men are potentially capable of it, for there is no man who has not strength or faith or love developed or latent in his nature, and any one of these is a sufficient staff for the Yogin. All cannot, indeed, reach in a single life the highest in this path, but all can go forward; and in proportion as a man advances he gets peace, strength and joy. And even a little of this dharma delivers man or nation out of great fear.

“सत्यम् यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते मर्त्यतो भयात् ।”

It is an error, we repeat, to think that spirituality is a thing divorced from life. “Abandon all” says the Isha Upanishad *“that thou mayst enjoy all, neither covet any man's possession. But verily do thy deeds in this world and wish to live thy hundred years; no other way is given thee than this to escape the bondage of thy acts”*. It is an error to think that the heights of religion are above the struggles of this world. The recurrent cry of Sri Krishna to Arjun insists on the struggle; “fight and overthrow thy opponents!” “Remember me and fight!” “Give up all thy works to me with a heart full of spirituality, and free from craving, free from selfish claims, fight! let the fever of thy soul pass from thee”. It is an error to imagine that even when the religious man does not give up his ordinary activities, he yet becomes too sattvic, too saintly, too loving or too passionless for the rough work of the world. Nothing can be more extreme and uncompromising than the reply of the Gita in the opposite sense, “whoever has his temperament purged from egoism, whoever suffers not his soul to receive the impress of the deed, though he slay the whole world yet he stays not and is not bound.” The Charioteer of Kurukshetra driving the chariot of Arjuna over that field of ruin is the image and description of Karma-yoga, for the body is the chariot and the senses are the horses of the driving and it is through the blindfolded and misdirected ways of the world that Krishna points the soul of man to the goal.

“SWARAJ” AND THE MUSULMANS.

We extract in our columns this week the comments of Srijut Bepin chandra Pal's organ, *Swaraj*, on the Government's Pro-Mahomedan policy and its possible effects in the future. We are glad to see this great Nationalist again expressing his views with his usual originality and fine political insight. We do not ourselves understand the utility of such a campaign as Srijut Bepin Chandra is carrying on in England. In politics quite as much as in ordinary conduct the rule of *desh-kal-patra*, the right place, the right time and the right person, conditions the value and the effectiveness of the work. For Bepin Babu's mission there could not be a worse place than England, a worse time than the present and a worse audience than the British people. What is the prophet of self help and dissociation doing in England? Or what kind of message is this that he carries to the British public, “We do not welcome your favours, we reject your help and sympathy and will have no political association with you until Swaraj is ours,—and therefore I am here speaking to you and publishing my views to a British audience in London?” We can only suppose that Bepin Babu does really imagine he can produce some kind of effect worth having, moral if not substantial, upon the ruling nation, and if so what does it portend? Is Saul also among the prophets? Does Bepin too stand in the doorway of Britannia?

The first three or four issues of *Swaraj* disappointed our expectations. A sense of the unreality of his position seemed to haunt the writer and robbed his writing of the former strength and close touch with the subject. It was the old views, the familiar thought, the well-known manner, but it neither convinced, illuminated nor inspired. This month's *Swaraj* is more confident and effective, although the thing still seems to be in the air. The passage extracted and the admirable character-sketch of Srijut Shyama-sunder Chakrabarti are the best things in the issue. Bepin Babu seems to have recovered the copious vein of thought, the subtle and flexible reasoning, the just and original view of his subject which made one wait with impatience for every fresh number of *New India*. His attitude towards the reform scheme and the Mahomedan demand for a separate electorate is the

attitude which has consistently been adopted by the Nationalist party in Bengal towards the Hindu-Mahomedan question in ordinary politics. We do not fear Mahomedan opposition; so long as it is the honest Swadeshi article and not manufactured in Shillong or Simla, we welcome it as a sign of life and aspiration. We do not shun, we desire the awakening of Islam in India even if its first crude efforts are misdirected against ourselves; for all strength, all energy, all action is girt to the mill of the nation-builder. In that faith we are ready, when the time comes for us to meet in the political field to exchange with the Musulman, just as he chooses, the firm clasp of the brother or the resolute grip of the wrestler.

That time has not yet come. There is absolutely no reason why the electoral question should create bad blood between the two communities, for if we leave aside the limited number who still hunger after loaves and fishes or nurse dead delusions, the reforms have no living interest for the Hindu. His field of energy lies elsewhere than in the enlarged pretences of British Liberalism. His business is to find out his own strength and prepare it for a great future, and the less he meddles with unreal politics and nerveless activities, the better for the nation. The Mahomedan has not progressed so far. He has to taste the sweets of political privilege and find them turn to ashes in his mouth. He has to formulate demands, rejoice at promises, fume at betrayals, until he thoroughly discovers the falsity and impossibility of his hopes. His progress is likely to be much swifter than ours has been in the past, for he gets the advantage if not of our experience, at least of the ideas now in the air and of the more bracing and stimulating atmosphere. He is more likely to demand than to crave, and his disillusionment must necessarily be the speedier. It is then that and he too will seek the strength in himself and touch the true springs of self-development. Our best policy is to leave the Mahomedan representatives on the councils to work out their destiny face to face with the bureaucracy, with no weightier Hindu counterpoise than the entire tier of Hindu counterpoise than the entire tier of politicians the timeservers and the self-seekers.

Of one thing we may be certain, that Hindu-Mahomedan unity can not be effected by political adjustments or Congress flatteries. It must be sought deeper down, in the heart and the mind, for where the causes of disunion are, there

the remedies must be sought. We shall do well in trying to solve the problem to remember that misunderstanding is the most fruitful cause of our differences, that love compels love and that strength conciliates the strong. We must strive to remove the causes of misunderstanding by a better mutual knowledge and sympathy; we must extend the unfaltering love of the patriot to our Muslim brother, remembering always that in him too *Narayana* dwells and to him too our Mother has given a permanent place in her bosom; but we must cease to approach him falsely or flatter out of a selfish weakness and cowardice. We believe this to be the only practical way of dealing with the difficulty. As a political question the Hindu-Mahomedan problem does not interest us at all, as a national problem it is of supreme importance. We shall make it a main part of our work to place Mahomed and Islam in a new light before our readers, to spread juster views of Mahomedan history and civilisation, to appreciate the Muslim's place in our national development and the means of harmonising his communal life with our own, not ignoring the difficulties that stand in our way but making the most of the possibilities of brotherhood and mutual understanding. Intellectual sympathy can only draw together, the sympathy of the heart can alone unite. But the one is a good preparation for the other.

THE ISHA UPANISHAD.

1. All that is and moves in the moving universe with the Lord must be covered; abandon all that thou mayst enjoy all, neither covet any man's possession.

2. Verily do thy deeds in this world and wish to leave thy hundred years, there is no other way given thee than this to escape the bondage of thy acts.

3. For godless are these worlds and enveloped in blind gloom where all they after death resort who slay their own selves.

4. There is One that unmoving is swifter than thought, and the gods can not reach It for It glides far in front; standing It outstrips other as they run. In It *Udghatayanti* ordoreth the waters in their place.

5. It moves and It moveth not. It is near and It is far, It is within the universe and It is outside the universe.

6. But be that seeth all creatures in the self and the self in all creatures, therefore shrinketh from nothing neither hateth any man.

7. He who knows, whose soul has become one with all creatures, how shall he be deluded by passion, whence shall he have grief to whom all things are One?

8. This is the Brightness that went out to every side, and it hath no body nor sinews nor imperfection, It is pure and unwounded by sin. He is the seer and the thinker, He is supreme and self-born; this is He that from years sempiternal hath ordered perfectly all things.

9. Into a blind darkness they enter who serve the Illusion, but a blinder gloom is theirs who cling to the Knowledge alone.

10. For one thing cometh by the Illusion and another cometh by the Knowledge, so have we heard from the calm of soul who unfolded That to our knowing.

11. But he who knoweth the Illusion and the Knowledge in one, by the Illusion ferrieth safe over death and and tasteth immortality by the Knowledge.

12. Into a blind darkness they enter who serve the Unbirth, but a blinder gloom is theirs who cling to the Birth alone.

13. For one thing cometh of the Birth and another cometh of the Unbirth, so have we heard from the calm of soul who unfolded That to our knowing.

14. But he who knoweth the Birth and the Unbirth in one, by the Unbirth ferrieth safe over death and by the Birth tasteth immortality.

15. O fostering Sun who hast hidden the face of truth with thy golden shield, from his vision who liveth the truth displace that splendid veil. O Sun.

16. O Fosterer, O Solitary Traveller, O Lord and Death, O Sun, O Child of God, dissipate thy beams, gather inward thy light, so shall I behold that thy goodliest form of all. For the Being who is there and there, He am I.

17. The breath it is wind, the soul immortal abides; of my body ashes only are left. Om! O Will remember thy deeds, remember. Remember thy deeds, O Will, remember.

18. Exalt me, O Fire, to that felicity by the path of the good, O Lord that knowest all, O witness of all deeds, war down the devious sin of man's soul, O Fire. Profoundest speech of adoration to thee we devise.

AUROBINDO GHOSH,

PRO-MAHAMEDAN POLICY. THE LARGER EVIL OR THE GREATER GOOD?

But the larger evil of these "reforms" will be the creation of a new cause of conflict between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. We are not a judge of the motives of people. We do not know what Lord Morley's motives are. Personally, he would perhaps have liked to have one register for all voters for the Council-elections in any locality. The acceptance of a separate register for the Mahomedans has, perhaps, been forced upon him by his own Anglo-Indian advisers, or by considerations of his political opponents. But whatever the motive, the result of his "reforms" will be to divide the whole of India, practically, into two rival camps, one Hindu, the other Mahomedan. It will create the conceit of separate and rival political interests between these two communities, where, in reality, there are no such divergencies. This, some people may think, will help to keep the Hindus and the Mahomedans apart from one another, and, thereby, prevent the political fusion of the two peoples into a common and composite national unit. In the Legislative Councils, this arrangement will make it easy for the intriguing officials, if they are so inclined, to play the one class off against the other, and thus retain their own power and control over these bodies. All this may be true. But we are not afraid of these evils. We believe that even these will turn to our own good. They are all friends in disguise.

GREATER EVILS THAN DENOMINATIONAL RIVALRIES.

For, let us not forget there are much greater evils than denominational rivalries or religious conflicts in political life. The Indian Nationalist, striving for the political emancipation and advancement of his country, is not afraid of conflicts. In his eye, the greatest evil is the stolid stupor of his people. It is the lack of living interest of the general masses of the people in political and national affairs, that constitutes the root-evil in our present public life. We are not at all anxious, like the puppet politicians of the mendicant school, to present what is called a united front to the British Government or the British public. Ours is not a game of bluff or bluster. We do not want to show ourselves as a nation; we desire to be one. And nations grow through conflicts, first among themselves, and then with outside forces or rivals. A good deal of beating is needed to solidify masses of incoherent matter into one strong block, as well as to solidate incoherent human units or groups of units,—and thus form them into a strong and consolidated nation. The weakness of our political life has lain really in the lack of political rivalries, and the consequent dead monotony of our political work and agitation. The new political life in the country has developed with the birth of the new school of Indian politics that has divided Indian political workers into two opposing camps, with separate ideals, cries, and programmes. To condemn all internal divisions or conflicts as suicidal to the National cause, is mere copy-book politics. Union is strength only when the units uniting together are themselves strong. And conflicts contribute to the strength of the units in the earlier stages of social growth and consolidation.

internal conflicts are suicidal at a later stage, when there is a physical trial between a people desiring a change in their political constitution, and those who hold political authority over them. Such conflicts would be fatal in Turkey now. But in the earlier and formative stages of a nation's life, these conflicts are positively helpful to its growth and vigour. In this stage, there are much greater evils than religious divisions and denominational rivalries.

THE VALUE OF CONFLICTS IN PUBLIC LIFE.

We welcome these conflicts. That the Government in India is helping to create them shows the contemptible statesmanship that rules their counsel. The Mahomedans have, as a class, so long kept themselves away from the general political work of the country. It is partly the result of their neglect of the modern systems of education introduced into the country by the British. It is largely due to the general inertia and listlessness characteristic of that community. The Mahomedan masses are too burdened with their daily toil to have time or energy left for participation in general public agitations. In this respect, the Hindu masses also stood, until recently, on the same plane. But the public life and activities of the Hindu classes had an indirect effect on the Hindu masses, the absence of which, in the upper classes of the Mahomedans, deprived the Mahomedan masses of that political quickening which their Hindu neighbours have received. In this general inertia of the Indian people, and especially of the Indian Mahomedans, lay, up to now, the main strength of the bureaucracy, as it constituted a source of fatal weakness to the Nationalist cause. In view of the general aloofness of the upper classes of our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen from all our political activities we found it difficult, if not impossible, so long to quicken any political or public interest in the Mahomedan masses. The Mahomedan leaders have hitherto been almost completely at the bidding of the bureaucracy. The Mahomedan masses have been more or less completely at the bidding of their leaders. The Government have, therefore, found it easy, whenever they wanted, to turn these against popular political movements. In the Anti-Partition Agitation in Bengal, though the Mahomedan leaders at first joined it, Lord Curzon soon weaned them away from us, and the Nabab of Dacca was able to set up a Mahomedan agitation in favour of the Partition. It has been so in connection with other matters, in the other provinces also. Had our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen a political life and programme of their own, even if it stood in opposition to that of the Hindus, they would not have been such easy and willing tools in the hands of the bureaucracy. The primary thing is that they must have some public, some political life. Lord Morley's "reforms" promise to quicken this life in them. That is no small gain. Political conflicts and rivalries are sure signs of political life. They indicate the creation of new interests among the people, larger than the narrow and selfish interests of the individual and the family. They show the birth of public life, and are, at the same time, themselves the means of that birth. The keener these conflicts, the more vigorous becomes the public life of the combatants. All strength comes through struggle and conflict. Physical contests (and conflicts

strengthen the fibres of the flesh, political contests strengthen the roots of political life. They tend, also, in the long run, to consolidate political life as well. Such a consolidation is absolutely necessary for the building up of a vigorous and self-contained and self-supported composite nation in India. This is the supreme value of even internal conflicts in our present political life. Such conflicts would be fatal to the National cause, if there was, or going soon to be, any physical contest between the forces of popular freedom and autocratic authority in the country. In the present stage of our political and national life, when public opinion has to be formed, political education has to be imparted, and a healthy and vigorous public life to be developed among the people, internal conflicts are about the only methods of realising these ends. What the Indian Nationalist has to fight now is the stolid stupor and mortal inertia of the masses, and whatever is calculated to remove this must be welcome to him. Lord Morley has, perhaps unconsciously, rendered an invaluable service to the Nationalist cause, by initiating, with the help of his "reforms," a real political conflict between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in India.

THE HINDU MAHOMEDAN POLICY.

In any case, the Indian Nationalist would have to squarely face, and finally solve, the Hindu-Mahomedan problem some day. The Hindu will have to be taught to recognise the claims of the Mahomedan to an equal position with himself in the common life of the State in India. The Mahomedan will have to be cured of the conceit of separate interests and superior strength, and recognise his own legitimate place and interests in the life of the composite Indian nation. The sense of conflicting interests between the two communities will have to be cured before India can grow into a strong, and unite, and harmonious though not homogeneous nationhood. This Hindu-Moslem problem has to be boldly faced. Its solution may be deferred temporarily but cannot be evaded permanently. And it is best that it should be solved now, when the strong arm of the British is in the land, precluding all possibilities of any physical conflict between the two communities. And it is doubtful whether we could have advanced the solution of this problem in any better way than what Providence seems clearly to be following through these Morleyan reforms.

CONFOUNDED IN THEIR WISDOM.

And the wise will soon stand confounded in their wisdom. The weapons they have hitherto been using against us have already commenced to be turned against their own policy. They have always twitted the Hindu with his political insignificance. He is physically a weakling. Politically, he is a cypher, or at least was, until the British took him up by the hand and gave him a position which he never had for countless generations. The real political force in India was the Mahomedan. He was the ruler of the country before the British, and but for the presence of the British, he would still hold the Hindu down to his proper position of servitude. All this has been said and urged against the Hindu politician by Anglo-Indian opponents. All this was not true, we know. The Mahomedans are not, physically,

superior to the Hindu. The British did not succeed the Moghul, but really the Sikhs and the Marhattas, who had wrestled the political power in India from the enfeebled hands of the descendants of Aurangzeb. But the falsehood served its purpose. It was good enough to be thrown at the irrepressible Hindu agitator. But the Nansen has come. The Mahomedans have risen up to demand their place as a political force greater than what their numerical strength would signify—in the administrative scheme of the country. They have been told that they are a superior race. They cannot be blamed for believing in this pleasant statement. And now they naturally claim superior treatment and larger powers, greater advantages that their numbers would justify. They demand, not quantitative, but qualitative treatment—special privileges to which they are entitled by their superior political significance. And it had to be conceded. And the concession has created a new self-consciousness in the Mahomedan leaders. They are shrewd enough to recognise the weakness of the official position. They see clearly that the Government is anxious to use them against the Hindus. They are willing to be so used, but on their own terms. They are not satisfied with what Lord Morley has already given them. They want more—a separate register from top to bottom, from the Legislative Council electorates down to those of the Local and District Boards and Municipalities. The Government proposed to meet their requirements partly by special Mahomedan electorates and partly by nomination. They would have none of the latter. No nomination, is their cry. They want election upon their own special register, all through. Are the Government prepared to concede to this demand? If so, the new Councils, on the non-official side will be almost entirely elective. The only nominated members will be the officials. If there be few or no nomination of non-officials to these Councils, the chances of combination of the non-officials against the officials will be considerably increased. Are the Government prepared to take the consequences of such conditions? If they are not, then the Mahomedan demand will have to be rejected. In either case, there will be a distinct gain to the Nationalist cause.

Frankly speaking, we like the present Mahomedan attitude. Every thorough Nationalist had been longing for a little self-assertion in his Mahomedan compatriot. Lord Morley's reforms have brought it about. The Mahomedan leaders no longer plead for pity on account of their backward position, but have commenced to manfully demand their rights. Even the Nabab of Dacca realises his own power and importance, and refuses any longer to be patronised by the bureaucracy. By wresting the concession of denominational electorates, and representation in excess of their numerical ratio, from Lord Morley, Mr. Ameer Ali and his friends have indirectly rendered a signal service to the Nationalist cause in India, the full significance of which time alone will reveal. Not Lord Morley's reforms, but these concessions and the new political consciousness and attitude, constitute really a new chapter in Indian politics and modern Indian history. There may be a little friction between the Hindu and the Mahomedan in regard to these concessions. There may be a new conflict between the two communities, but these will not last. The Mahomedan will soon realise

that his political advancement, lies, not in holding aloof from the Hindu, but in making common cause with him. The present conceit of separate political interests will soon be cured by the actual experiences of political work, even in the new Councils. The new attitude of the Mahomedan leaders show that they will no longer allow themselves to be used as a cat's-paw by the British officials in India, but will take up an independent attitude. The bureaucracy will fall in the pit which they thought they had cleverly dug for the Hindus. "Swaraaj"

UTTARPARASPEECH

(Of Script Aurobindo Ghosh)

When I was asked to speak to you at the annual meeting of your Sabha, it was my intention to say a few words about the subject chosen for today, —the subject of the Hindu religion. I do not know now whether I shall fulfil that intention; for as I sat here, there came into my mind a word that I have to speak to you, —a word that I have to speak to the whole of the Indian Nation. It was spoken first to myself in jail and I have come out of jail to speak it to my people.

It was more than a year ago that I came here last. When I came I was not alone; one of the mightiest prophets of Nationalism sat by my side. It was he who then came out of the seclusion to which God had sent him so that in the silence and solitude of his cell he might hear the word that he had to say. It was he that you came to your hundreds to welcome. Now he is far away, separated from us by thousands of miles. Others whom I was accustomed to find working beside me are absent. The storm that swept over the country has scattered them far and wide. It is I this time who have spent one year in seclusion, and now that I come out I find all changed. One who always sat by my side and was associated in my work as a prisoner in Burma; another is in the north rotting in detention. I looked round when I came out, I looked round for those to whom I had been accustomed to look for counsel and inspiration. I did not find them. There was more than that. When I went to jail, the whole country was alive with the cry of Bande Mataram, alive with the hope of a nation, the hope of millions of men who had newly risen out of degradation. When I came out of jail I listened for that cry, but there was instead a silence. A hush had fallen on the country and men seemed bewildered; for instead of God's bright heaven full of the vision of the future that had been before us, there seemed to be overhead a leaden sky from which human thunders and lightnings rained. No man seemed to know which way to move, and from all sides came the question, "What shall we do next? What is there that we can do?" I too did not know which way to move, I too did not know what was next to be done. But one thing I knew, that as it was the Almighty power of God which had raised that cry, that hope, that was the same power which had sent down that silence. He who was in the moving and the movement was also in the pause and the hush. He has sent it upon

us so that the nation might draw back for a moment and look into itself and know His will. I have not been disheartened by that silence because I had been made familiar with silence in my prison and because I knew it was in the pause and the hush that I had myself learned this lesson through the long year of my detention. When Bipin Chandra Pal came out of jail, he came with a message, and it was an inspired message. I remember the speech he made here. It was a speech not so much political as religious in its bearing and intention. He spoke of his realization in jail, of God within us all, of Lord within the nation, and in his subsequent speeches also he spoke of a greater than ordinary force in the movement and a greater than ordinary purpose before it. Now I also meet you again, I also come out of jail, and again it is you of Uttarpara who are the first to welcome me, not at a political meeting but at a meeting of a society for the protection of our religion. That message which Bipin Chandra Pal received in Buxar jail, God gave to me in Alipore. That knowledge he gave to me day after day during my twelve months of imprisonment and it is that which He has commanded me to speak to you now that I have come out.

I knew I would come out. The year of detention was meant only for a year of seclusion and of training. How could anyone hold me in jail longer than was necessary for God's purpose? He had given me a word to speak and a work to do, and until that word was spoken I knew that no human power could hush me, until that work was done no human power could stop God's instrument, however weak that instrument might be or however small. Now that I have come out, even in these few minutes, a word has been suggested to me which I had no wish to speak. The thing I had in my mind he has thrown from it and what I speak is under an impulse and a compulsion.

When I was arrested, and hurried to the Lalbazar bazar, I was shaken in faith for a while, for I could not look into the heart of his intention. Therefore I faltered for a moment and cried out in my heart to him, "what is this that has happened to me? I believed that I had a mission to work for the people of my country and until that work was done, I should have thy protection. Why then am I here and on such a charge?" A day passed and a second day and a third, and when a voice came to me from within, "wait and see." Then I grew calm and waited. I was taken from Lalbazar to Alipore and was placed for one month in a solitary cell apart from men. There I waited day and night for the voice of God within me, to know what he had to say to me, to learn what I had to do. In this seclusion the earliest realisation, the first lesson came to me. I remembered then that a month or more before my arrest a call had come to me to put aside all activity to go into seclusion and to look into myself so that I might enter into closer communion with Him. I was weak and could not accept the call. My work was very dear to me and in the pride of my heart I thought, that unless I was there, it would suffer or even fail and cease; therefore I would not leave it. It seemed to me that He spoke to me again and said, "The bonds you had not strength to break, I have broken for you, because it is not my will nor was it ever my intention that that should continue. I have have another thing for you to do and if

is for that I have brought you here to teach you what you could not learn for yourself —and to train you for my work." Then He put the Gita in my hands. His strength entered into me and I was able to do the salhar of the Gita. I was not only to understand intellectually but to realise what Srikrishna demanded of Arjuna and what He demands of those who aspire to do his work, to be free from repulsion and desire, to do work for Him without the demand for fruit, to renounce self-will and become a passive and faithful instrument in His hands, to have an equal heart for high and low, friend and opponent, success and failure, yet not do His work negligently. I realised what the Hindu religion meant. We speak often of the Hindu religion, of the Sanatan Dharma, but few of us really know what that religion is. Other religions are preponderatingly religions of faith and profession, but the Sanatana Dharma is life itself; it is a thing that has not so much to be believed as lived. This is the dharma that for the salvation of humanity was cherished in the seclusion of this peninsula from of old. It is to give this religion that India is rising. She does not rise as other countries do, for self or when she is strong, to trample on the weak. She is rising to shed the eternal light entrusted to her over the world. India has always existed for humanity and not for herself and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great.

Therefore this was the next thing. He pointed out to me, —He made me realise the central truth of the Hindu religion. He turned the hearts of my jailors to me and they spoke to the Englishman in charge of the jail; "He is suffering in his confinement; let him at least walk outside his cell for half an hour in the morning and in the evening." So it was arranged, and it was while I was walking that His strength again entered into me. I looked at the jail that secluded me from men and it was no longer by its high walls that I was imprisoned; no it was Vasudeva who surrounded me. I walked under the branches of the tree in front of my cell, but it was not the tree, I knew it was Vasudeva, it was Srikrishna whom I saw standing there and holding over me His shade. I looked at the bars of my cell, the very grating that did duty for a door and again I saw Vasudeva. It was Narayana who was guarding and standing sentry over me. Or I lay on the coarse blankets that were given me for a couch and felt the arm of Srikrishna around me; the arms of my friends and lover. This was the first use of the deeper vision he gave me. I looked at the prisoners in the jail, the thieves, the murders, the swindlers, and as I looked at them I saw Vasudeva, it was Narayana whom I found in these darkened souls and misshapen bodies. Amongst these thieves and desperadoes there were many who put me to a shame by their sympathy, their kindness, the humanity triumphant over such adverse circumstances. (The I saw among them especially who seemed to me a saint, a servant of my nation who did not know how to read and write, an alleged idiot sentenced to ten years rigorous imprisonment, one of those whom we look down upon in our Pharisaical pride of class as chandals. I saw more. He spoke to me and said, "Behold, the people among whom I have sent you, you do a little of my work. This is the nature of the nation I am raising up and the manner by I raise them."

When the case opened in the lower court and I was asked by the Magistrate, I was asked by the same Magistrate. He said to me

When you were in jail, did not your friend fail and did you not cry out to me for his protection? Look now at the Magistrate, look now at the prosecuting counsel.

I looked and it was not the Magistrate as I saw, it was Vasudeva, it was Narayana was sitting there on the bench. I looked at the prosecuting counsel and it was not the counsel for the prosecution that I saw; it was a friend who was sitting there, it was my friend who sat there and smiled. "Now you fear?" He said I am in all men and I rule their actions and their words. My action is still with you and you shall not fail.

This case which is brought against you is not for you. It is not for you. It was for the trial that I brought you here but something else. The case itself is only a trial for my work and nothing more."

After the trial opened in the Sessions Court, I began to write many instructions for the Counsel as to what was "false" in the evidence against me and on what points the witnesses might be cross-examined. Then something happened which I had not expected. The arrangements which had been made for my defence were suddenly changed and another Counsel stood there to defend me. He came unexpectedly, a friend of mine, but I did not know he was coming. You have all heard the name of a man who put away from him all other thoughts and abandoned all his practice, who sat up half the night day after day for months and broke his health to save me, Srijit Chatterjee. When I saw him, I was satisfied, but I still thought it necessary to write instructions. Then that was put from me and I had the message from within. "This is the man who will save you from the snares put around your feet. Put aside those papers. It is not you who will instruct him, I will instruct him." From that time I did not of myself speak a word to my Counsel about the case or give a single instruction and ever since I was asked a question, I always said that my answer did not help the case.

He had left it to him and he took it entirely into his hands, with what result you know. I knew all along what he meant for me, for I heard it again and again, always I listened to the voice within; "I am guiding, therefore fear not. Turn to your own work for which I have brought you to jail and when you come out, remember never to fear, never to hesitate. Remember that it is I who am doing this, not you nor any other. Therefore whatever clouds may come, whatever dangers and sufferings, whatever difficulties, whatever impossibilities, there is nothing impossible, nothing difficult. I am in the nation and its uprising and I am Vasudeva, I am Narayana, and what I will, shall be, not what others will. What I choose to bring about, no human power can stay."

To be continued.



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A SWADESHI MEETING.

(BEADON SQUARE)

SREJUT AUROBINDO GHOSHE'S SPEECH.

In spite of the foul weather a large number of people assembled on Sunday afternoon at Beadon Square where a big Swadeshi meeting was held under the presidency of Babu Ramnanda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Prabashi*. Several speakers addressed the meeting. We publish below an authorised version of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's speech delivered at that meeting.

Sr. Aurobindo Ghose said that when in jail he had been told that the country was demoralized by the repressions. He could not believe it then because his experience of the movement had been very different. He had always found that when Swadeshi was flagging or the Boycott beginning to relax, it only needed an act of repression on the part of the authorities to give it redoubled vigour. It seemed to him then impossible that the deportations would have a different effect. When nine of the most active and devoted workers for the country had been suddenly hurried away from their homes without any fault on their part without the Government being able to formulate a single definite charge against them, surely the Boycott instead of decreasing would grow tenfold more intense. And what after all were the repressions? Some people sent to prison, some deported, a number of house-arrests, a few repressive enactments, limiting the liberty of the press and the platform. This was nothing compared with the price other nations had paid for their liberty. They also would have to suffer much more than this before they could make any appreciable advance towards their goal. This was God's law; it was not the rulers who demanded the price, it was God who demanded it. It was His law that a fallen nation should not be allowed to rise without infinite suffering and mighty effort. That was the price it had to pay for its previous lapses from national duty. The speaker did not think that there was any real demoralization. There might be a hesitation among the richer and more vulnerable parts of the community to hold conferences or meetings or give public expression to their views and feelings. He did not measure the strength of the movement by the number of meetings or of people present at the meetings. He measured it by the strength and indomitable obstinacy of feeling and purpose in the hearts of the people. Their first duty was to keep firm hold on their ideal and perform steadfastly the vows they had made before God and the nation. The rulers were never tired of saying that we should get self-government when we were fit. Fitness meant national capacity and strength was the basis of capacity. That was what Lord Morley really meant when he asked himself repeatedly whether this was a real uprising of the nation or a passing excitement. He meant, was it a movement with real strength in it, a movement with elemental forces enough in it to resist and survive? That experiment was now being made. They must not expect substantial gains at so small a cost. He had heard vaguely of the reforms when in prison; he had heard

them ecstatically described. He was surprised to hear that description. He had been in England for fourteen years and knew something of the English people and their politics. He could not believe that England or any European people would give substantial reforms after so short an agitation and so scanty a proof of national strength. It was not the fault of the British people, it was a law of politics that they, who have, should be unwilling to yield what they have until they had fully tested the determination of the subject people and even then they would only give just as much as they could not help giving. When he came out, he found what these reforms were. The so-called introduction of the elective principle was a sham and the power given was nothing. For the rest, it was a measure arranged with a skill which did credit to the diplomacy of British statesmen so that we should lose and they gain. It would diminish the political power of the educated class which was the brain and backbone of the nation, it would sow discord among the various communities. This was not a real reform but reaction. They would have to go much further in suffering and self-sacrifice before they could hope for anything substantial. They must hold firm in their determination and keep the Swadeshi unimpaired and by that he meant the determination to assert their national individuality in every branch of national activity. There was one thing that might be said how could we expand the Swadeshi if all our methods were taken out of our hands? That could easily be done by the Government. The authorities in this country had absolute and irresponsible power. It had practically been admitted by a responsible member of the Liberal Government that the liberty of no subject of the British Crown was safe in this country if the Government of India took it into its head that he was dangerous or inconvenient, if they were informed by the police who had distinguished themselves at Madnapore or by information as tainted—the perjurers, forgers, informers, approvers, for what other information could they have, circumstanced as they were by their own choice in this country,—that such and such men had been seditious or were becoming seditious or might be seditious or that their presence in their homes was dangerous to the peace of mind of the C. I. D. Against such information there was no safety even for the greatest men in the country, the purest in life, the most blameless and inoffensive in their public activity. Then there was this sunset regulation. It appeared that we were peaceful citizens until sunset but after sunset we turned into desperate characters,—well, he was told, even half an hour before sunset; apparently even the sun could not be entirely trusted to keep us straight. We had, it seems, stones in our pockets to throw at the police and some of us, perhaps, dangle bombs in our chaddars. How was this prohibition brought about? Merely by a little expenditure of ink in the Political Department. It would be quite easy to extend it further and prevent public meetings. It was being enforced on us that our so-called liberties were merely Maya. We believed in them for a time and acted on the belief; then one fine morning we wake up and look around for them and they are not there. In reality they never were there; they were Maya. That is the reason why we in Bengal instead of accepting no re-

forms which did not mean control, some of us did not believe even in that but that was the minimum on which all were agreed. Still if all our liberties were taken away, what were we to do? Even that would not stop the movement. Christ said to the disciples who expected a material kingdom on the spot, "The kingdom of heaven is within you." To them too he might say "The kingdom of Swaraj is within you." Let them win and keep that kingdom of Swaraj, the sense of the national separateness and individuality, the faith in its greatness and future, the feeling of God within ourselves and in the nation, the determination to devote every thought and action to His service. Here no coercion or repression could interfere; here there was no press law or sunset regulation. And it was a law of the psychology of men and nations that the Brahma once awakened within must manifest itself without and nothing could eventually prevent that manifestation. Moreover, their methods were borrowed from England. England gave them and encouraged their use when it was inoffensive to her, but the moment they were used so as to conflict with British interests and to expand national life and strength, they were taken away. But the Indians were a nation apart; they were not dependent on those methods. They had a wonderful power of managing things without definite means. Long before the Press came into existence or telegraph wires, the nation had a means of spreading news from one end of the country to another with electrical rapidity—a Press too impalpable to be touched. They had the power of enforcing the public will without any fixed organization, of associating without an association—without even the European refuge, of a secret association. The spirit was what mattered, if the spirit were there, the movement would find out its own channels; for after all it was the power of God manifested in the movement which would command its own means and create its own means and create its own channels. They must have the firm faith that India must rise and be great and that everything that happened, every difficulty, every reverse must help and further their end. The trend was upward and the time of decline was over. The morning was at hand and once the light had shown itself, it could never be night again. The dawn would soon be complete and the sun rise over the horizon. The sun of India's destiny would rise and fill all India with its light and overflow India and overflow Asia and overflow the world. Every hour, every moment could only bring them nearer to the brightness of the day that God had decreed.—THE BENGALIAN.

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NEWS.

SRIJUT SUBODH CHANDRA—Srijut Subodh Chandra Mallik has been quietly removed to Dacca. The removal is sudden and unexpected, its reasons are not known.

BURDWAN COUNCILS.—Mr. Buchanan, in reply to Mr. Keir Hardie, said that Lord Morley was able to state the date when the Councils Act would take effect in Bengal. The Government of India was considering the matter and would publish the Regulations as soon as possible:—

DEPORTEES.—Replying to Mr. Mackarness, Mr. Buchanan said that the latter's Bill, introduced on the 9th instant regarding the cases of deportation, would be sent to the Government of India in the ordinary course. Lord Morley has not prepared to take any action prior to the matured decision of Parliament.

The Lieutenant-Governor has decided to entrust the inquiry to Mr. D.J. Macpherson, C. I. E., Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, who assumed charge in the middle of November when proceedings before the committing Magistrate were already far advanced. The following notes regarding the subjects to which his attention could be directed are recorded for his guidance.

FROM SIMLA COMES THE FOLLOWING NEWS:—We understand that the Government of India has heard nothing from home of the cases of the Bengal deportees coming up for consideration shortly, as implied in Lord Morley's speech at Oxford on Saturday last. It is the fact that all these cases come up for consideration periodically, and very probably Lord Morley was thinking of this. At any rate, we gather that there is no justification for assuming that any of the deportees will be released pending further detailed consideration referred to by Lord Morley."

THE BOMB AGAIN.—A few days ago certain information reached the Police Station at Culpis in Diamond Harbour to the effect that a bomb factory was secretly working at Gopalnagore, a village where many wealthy and influential men reside. On receipt of this information Babu Lall Chand Chuckerbutty the Sub Inspector of Police with a posse of constables surrounded the garden house in the early hours of the morning on the 4th instant and began searching every nook and corner. After a fruitless labour for some hours they dug out from under the roots of a tree in the north west corner of the garden a wooden keowni box. It was opened in the presence of some search witnesses and was found to contain two bottles of acid, three phials of some liquid substance, a quantity of dust sulphur a bundle of red powder, two broken thermometers and a pair of pincers. The police made out a list of the articles found, got it signed by the search witnesses took possession of them and sent them to the District Superintendent of Police of 24-Parganas for chemical examination. The persons alleged to be concerned denied all knowledge of the charge. As the garden was accessible from all sides and was in a neglected condition the police left the place without making any arrest.

BARRAH DACOITY.—As the result of the finding of the High court in the Barrah Dacoity Case, there has been going on at Dacca an enquiry into the conduct of the C. I. D. police. Mr. Bonham Carter, with Messrs. Le Mesurier (the gentleman who said Sir Bampfylde Fuller in his letter of resignation, should not be "involved in his fall") and Baker are examining the responsible C. I. D. officers in the commissioner's bungalow. Nothing has yet transpired of the evidence recorded as the enquiry is private. Bama charan Bhowmick has been appointed head of the C. I. D. in place of Chandra Kanta Das, who conducted the enquiry into the Barrah case. It will be remembered that in their judgment the Judges referred to the "missing records," as also to the discovery that the printed copy of the proceedings differed from the original in that it failed to give Bimalananda's name in full, or to describe him a Sub-Inspector of Police," and remarked:—"We have thought it right, in the circumstances to notice these two matters. No satisfactory explanation has been forthcoming, and whether they be due to error or design they have unquestionably led the prosecution open, and fairly open, to the criticism to which they have been subjected. If there was design, then no condemnation can be too severe: if the explanation be error then it should be understood that when accused persons are on trial for their lives, such error cannot be excused." And these remarks were passed in spite of the High Court's letter No. 21, dated Calcutta, the 6th January, 1908 in which the then Chief Justice and the Judges agreed with the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Sir Andrew Fraser whose eagerness to secure and maintain "the confidence of the public in the administration of the police of the province" is well known—"that it is desirable that the definite points which have occasioned criticism of the action of the police by the Sessions Courts should as far as possible be marshalled for the information of the District Magistrates." The fact that this method of private procedure for "nothing" the conduct of the police agreed upon was disregarded in the present case should be enough to convince the most sceptic of the seriousness of the situation in which Sir Lawrence Jenkins found the affairs of the province:—

THE MISSION OF THE CIVILIANS.—Reuter wired on the 13th instant:—Lord Morley was the guest of the Vico-Chancellor, teachers of the Indian Civil Service and probationers at Oxford last night. In proposing the toast of the Service, Lord Morley said that the Indian Minister was rather isolated in the public eye amid the stir of Home affairs. London, this week, had been enormously excited by the Press Conference. He had been rather struck by the extraordinarily small attention given to India almost amounting to nothing. "An Imperial Conference," said his Lordship, "undoubtedly raises delicate questions as to whether common citizenship is to be observed or whether the relations between India and the Colonies should remain as at present." He was not going to expatiate thereon, but, it occurred to him, in reading the proceedings that the part of Hamlet had been omitted because "India, after all the only real Empire you have," "I observed it all," said his Lordship, "with a rather grim feeling that if anything goes wrong with India, the whole material and military conditions of the Empire

might be strongly altered." Lord Morley dwelt on the tremendous mission of the Indian Civilian. The good name of England was in their keeping. He was confident, that under the guidance of great officials they would not ignore the Indian, and would not hold aloof from Indian life. Any estrangement between Indians and Europeans would be a tremendous catastrophe. The history of the last six months had been anxious and trying. He was assured that the present position and prospect were reassuring. The Government of India and the Secretary of State had kept the pledge contained in the Sovereign's message of last November. This faith in the mission of the Indian Civilian who come out to India not because they seek "a career philanthropic", but because to them "the slow toil of Europe seems tiring, if certainly worthy of the man whose ignorance of Indian affairs made him declare:—"For as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through, for so long a time our Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element", and whose reliance on the words of the "man on the spot" has made him believe that the introduction of self-government in India will only result in the English hearing through the dark distances the roar and scream of confusion and carnage in India. "He may think that his anchor holds, but he is certainly not worth arguing with."

TARIFF-REFORM.—Colonel Seely, speaking at Oxford on the 5th June, asserted that disaster would follow the introduction of a tariff, especially in regard to cotton. India would claim protection for her factories, and the whole of England's millions of exports would be excluded. This reminds us of Lord Curzon's shrewd remark that the Indian fiscal policy is dictated not from Calcutta, but from Manchester. "Ever since India was ordered to abolish her custom tariff in 1875 (to be reimposed in 1894), it has been in the main in response to Lancashire's pressure that the successive readjustments of this policy have been introduced" and in the face of Indian public opinion, and sometimes with the utmost reluctance on the part of the Indian Government, they have been passed." The abolition of the cotton duties, as ordered by ex Lord Salisbury in 1876, was accepted with delight by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton and by his Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey. During the ensuing years successive reductions were made in the Indian cotton duties till they were entirely abolished by Lord Ripon in 1882. The financial embarrassment of India compelled a reversal of this policy and a 5 per cent. tariff upon all imports into India was once again introduced. But when the Indian Government proposed to include cotton goods in this tariff they were sharply pulled up by the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, who explained his action in the House of Lords by saying that a deputation from Lancashire told him that, without distinction of party there was not a man among them who would not use every possible means at his disposal to agitate and destroy any such measure on the part of Government. Sir Henry Fowler proposed the suspension of import and excise duties on cotton both being fixed at 5 per cent. with a limit of exemption for Indian yarns fixed at 20s. rice 24s. Lancashire protested, and the next Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton

ton had to reduce both the import and the export duties on all yarns. This policy can be traced back to 1700 when it was enacted that "from and after the 29th day of September 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk or herbs, of the manufacture of China, Persia or the East Indies, and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed, or stained there, which are or shall be imported into Kingdom (Great Britain) shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain; and all goods imported after that day, shall be warehoused or exported again."

MEMORANDUM OF INSTRUCTIONS.—The following is the Government's memorandum of instructions in the Midnapore inquiry. The High Court have now disposed of the appeal in the Midnapore Conspiracy Case. All the accused have been acquitted and severe strictures have been passed by the Hon'ble Judges on the methods adopted by the police and other officers responsible for the prosecution. The time has accordingly come to set on foot the inquiry into the inception and conduct of the case, which in answer to the allegations made by Mr. Dutt and others during the magisterial proceedings, the Government had expressed its readiness to institute when the judicial proceedings should be concluded.

THE DEPORTATIONS.—In his Lordship's speech Lord Morley said, he was told that there was considerable uneasiness growing in the House of Commons with reference to deportations under a law which was as good a law as any in our Statute Book. A Bill had been introduced which was nothing less than a Vote of Censure on himself and Lord Minto. He did not deny that, if such proceedings were normal it would be detestable and dangerous; but was there to be no such thing as emergency power? Was there not emergency in December, 1908? The Government of India found a grave menace to the very foundations of the public peace and security, and, Lord Morley asked, was Government to be defied with impunity? He himself and the Government of India would then have been unworthy of their position if they had not taken the weapons from the armoury and used it against evil-doers. Owing to the impression that Government could be defied with impunity, it was vital to take severe proceedings in order to give the reformers a fair and reasonable chance. The effect was magical. The time of knives, pistols and the like was not ended, but, at any rate, the Government of India had secured order and tranquillity. The movers of his Vote of Censure, said his Lordship, thought themselves

better Indians than the Indians themselves. It was said that they got their evidence from the Police. That was not so. Every case of deportation was fully investigated by Lord Minto, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Members of Council. The greatest difference was made in the treatment of deported persons and men judicially charged. Cases would come up for consideration shortly and that consideration would be conducted with great regard to justice, firmness and resolution. There would be no attempt to regard the transaction otherwise than as a disagreeable measure imposed by a sense of public duty which had been justified by events; for Mr. Gokhale has stated, that Lord Minto and himself (Lord Morley) had saved India from chaos. Lord Morley added that he thought they would withstand their enemies at the gate with a clear good conscience. The impertinent reference, of course, is to Mr. Mackerness's Bill to modify the Deportation Regulation. In quoting Mr. Gokhale for his authority Lord Morley has miserably misrepresented facts. It is true that Mr. Gokhale said that Lord Morley and Lord Minto had saved India from chaos, but it was not the resort to the Regulation of 1818 that he referred to. In the very speech from which Lord Morley has made the quotation Mr. Gokhale condemned the deportations in unsparing terms. It was in the Council chamber that Mr. Gokhale characterised deportation without trial as a proceeding which stunned the people throughout India. The result of the policy of repression on the Bengalees has thus been referred to by Mr. Gokhale—"The refusal of the sufferers in the recent disturbance to appear before Mr. Weston to give evidence is a significant illustration of the change that is coming over Bengal. The Government propose to meet this change by a policy of repression. My Lord, knowing the people of Bengal as I do, I venture to predict that they will not be thus put down by force. * * * One serious defect of national character has often been alleged against them,—want of physical courage—but they are already being twitted out of it. The young men of Bengal have taken this reproach so much to heart that, if the stories in some Anglo-Indian papers are to be believed, so far from shrinking from physical collisions, they seem to be now actually spoiling for them. My Lord, if the present estrangement between the Government and the people of Bengal is allowed to continue, ten

years hence there will be one man in a hundred in that Province who has a kindly feeling for Englishmen.

HEADS OF INQUIRY.—The suggestion that the Midnapore Conspiracy Case was not genuine did not proceed from "bona fide" information honestly obtained was first definitely made in Mr. Dutt's telegram of the 17th August, 1909, and the letter of the 27th idem, with which he followed it up. The first step should therefore be to examine the evidence which may be forthcoming in support of the allegations made by Mr. Dutt in the documents referred to and any other evidence which Mr. Macpherson may think likely to throw light on the subject.

2. But apart from such allegations, in view of the result of the prosecutions, another branch of the inquiry will be to ascertain whether the information upon which the proceedings were based was worthy of the credit which it received whether the proceedings themselves were properly conducted, and whether as a matter of fact the case was at the bottom a genuine one.

3. It is necessary therefore to consider whether the police and district authorities had grounds for suspecting that there was something going on at Midnapore which required special vigilance, and in the next place whether the measures they took to ascertain what was going on were reasonable and proper.

4. Further, it is necessary to ascertain whether the information which they obtained was properly dealt with, whether the tests and scrutiny, which could be applied, were applied, and whether all important information subsequently stated to have been received by the police was duly and promptly brought to the notice of the superior authorities in the district or of the Criminal Investigation Department as it was received.

5. It should also be ascertained whether the information obtained was so important and apparently so trust-worthy as to demand decisive action, and whether the action actually taken was appropriate.

6. Next it should be determined whether after decisive action had been taken, accused persons arrested and a case instituted, the conduct of the case by the police was right and legal, the treatment of the accused persons while in custody both in jail and out of it was fair and in accordance with law, and the supervision by the District Magistrate and his staff was

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attentively and anxiously directed to further the ends of justice. For this purpose the officers whose conduct has been impugned should have the fullest opportunity of explaining matters and of directing attention to any evidence which may be available and to any means of eliciting information on material points.

7. Lastly, it is necessary to arrive at general conclusions as to whether there was at the bottom a genuine case requiring action and whether the conduct of officers of all ranks in relation to it was fair and straightforward and such as could be attributed to honest zeal in the performance of their duty.

8. It is believed that these instructions will cover all the points affecting the action of the local officers, to which attention has been directed in the judgement of the High Court. If however that should prove not to be the case, it should be clearly understood that the inquiry is intended to extend to all such matters, and that the report should deal with them with such completeness as may be requisite.

9. It will be clearly understood that the present inquiry is neither exclusively nor even primarily restricted to the individuals or the circumstances lately under consideration by the High Court. The Lieutenant-Governor desires that it should include everything which in the Commissioner's opinion is likely to throw light on the existence of a conspiracy directed against the Government and the persons if any concerned therein, whether they have appeared before the Courts or not.

—Subject to these instructions entire discretion is left to Mr. Macpherson as to his procedure and methods in the conduct of the inquiry.

THE KIRWAN MURDER CASE.

Judgment was passed on Thursday the 17th June in the Chief Court of Burma by the Chief Judge and Mr. Justice Parlett, allowing the appeals and acquitting Moola Jan and three others sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Tenasserim on a charge of having murdered Mr. J. Kirwan late European overseer, P. W. D. on the 20th December last. In the course of the judgment covering nearly one hundred pages foolscap, Sir Charles Fox passed severe criticism on the Sessions Judge and the Police. His Honour said, never in all his experience had he come across a case in which evidence against the accused was of such a dubious nature. The more he had studied the evidence and the circumstances of this case the more had he been astonished that any judge could form the conclusion that four accused had been proved without reasonable doubt to have been concerned in murdering Kirwan. His Honour's view of the case was that the accused should never have been sent before the Magistrate on such manifestly dubious evidence as the subordinate police had obtained. If there has been any real investigation into the case and had there been some one to exercise intelligent consideration of the evidence adduced and enquired to decide on the evidence such as could not be acted upon here possibly the real facts attending Kirwan's death might have come out and

the accused would not have been deprived of their liberty for over five months with the charge of murder hanging over their heads. His Honour held, the circumstances of blood, etc., in the jungle and bags containing Kirwan's remains lying in the creek were manufactured and suspicions aroused by such manufactured circumstances have been backed up by the appalling mass of perjury.

BOMBAY BOMB.

The G. I. Ry. Police on Tuesday night arrested a Brahmin passenger by the Calcutta mails at Kalyan Junction. The man whose name was Haoci Vaishnu Athvale was travelling without a ticket and the ticket-collector made him alight with his luggage consisting of a steel trunk. A policeman on seeing the trunk grew suspicious, and asked Athvale what was the contents, and he replied the trunk contained clothes. The policeman on lifting the trunk found it heavy and asked Athvale to open it. He said the trunk was given him by a friend at Bombay, to convey to Jalgaon whither he (Athvale) was going. This did not satisfy the policeman who forced open the trunk and found so it is alleged, several phials of chemicals implements and fuses for making bombs. The police are very reticent about the matter. Athvale was brought back under arrest to Bombay.

THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Madras Provincial Conference, opened at Bernabampore in the Kallikote Diamond Jubilee Town Hall. The President-elect was conducted to the hall in procession headed by an Indian band, on arrival at the hall was greeted with shouts of *Bande Mataram*. A trio of volunteers sang a national song, the whole house standing. Mr. Raghava Row, Chairman, Reception committee, opened the proceedings with the address of welcome to the delegates. Mr. N. Subba Row of Rajahmundry proposed Rap Bahadur Mr. Audinarayan Iah to the chair and was seconded by Mr. K. Hervazn of Cocanada. Mr. Subba Row referred to the fact that this was the first conference under the new constitution and Madras deserved credit. The President then delivered an eloquent address.

THE KALMA ARMED ACT CASE—This case has been adjourned to 30th June.

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No. II.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Message of India

The ground gained by the Vedantic propaganda in the West, may be measured by the growing insight in the occasional utterances of well-informed and intellectual Europeans on the subject. A certain Mrs. Leighton Cleather speaking to the Oriental circle of the Lyceum Club in London on the message of India has indicated the mission of India with great justness and insight. We need not follow Mrs. Cleather into her dissertation on the Kshatriyas, whom for some mysterious reason she insists on calling the Kshatriyas, but it is true that the first knowledge of Vedantic truth and the Rajayoga was the possession of the Kshatriyas till Janaka, Ajatashatru and others gave it to the Brahmins. But the real issues of this historical fact are inevitably missed by the lecturer. She is on a surer ground when she continues, "India's message to the world to-day she considered to be the realisation of the life beyond material forms. The East has taken for granted the reality of the invisible and has no fear. The recognition of the soul in ourselves and others leads to the recognition of the universal soul and the great word of the Upanishads: 'This soul which is the self of all that is, this is the real, this the self, that thou art.' Modern civilisation had lost sight of the fundamental law of self-sacrifice as conditioning man's evolution."

We have here, very briefly put, the triple message of India, physical, spiritual and moral. India believes in and has the key to a physical world within man and without him which is the source and basis of the material. This it is which Europe is beginning

dimly to discover. She has caught glimpses of the world beyond the gates, her hands are fumbling for the key, but she has not yet found it. Immortality proved and admitted, it becomes easier to believe in God. The spiritual message is that the universal self is one and that our souls are not only brothers, not only of one substance and nature, but live in and move towards an essential oneness. It follows that Love is the highest law and that to which evolution must move. Ananda, joy and delight, are the object of the *lila* and the fulfilment of love is the height of joy and delight. Self-sacrifice is therefore the fundamental law. Sacrifice, says the *Gita*, is the law by which the Father of all in the beginning conditioned the world, and all ethics, all conduct, all life is a sacrifice willed or unconscious. The beginning of ethical knowledge is to realise this and make the conscious sacrifice of one's own individual desires. It is an inferior and semi-savage morality which gives up only to gain and makes selfishness the basis of ethics. To give up one's small individual self and find the larger self in others, in the nation, in humanity, in God, that is the law of Vedanta. That is India's message. Only she must not be content with sending it, she must rise up and live it before all the world so that it may be proved a possible law of conduct both for men and nations.

Lord Honest John

On the converse side a passage from Mr. Algernon Cecil's "Six Oxford Thinkers" is instructive. He dwells on the self-contradictory and ironic close of John Morley's life. He the philosophic Liberal, the ardent advocate of Home Rule, the persistent foe of war and coercion, is closing his fine record of public service with a coronet on his head as the ruler of India, of the child of Clive and Warren Hastings, of the

creature of strife and fraud; as one might say, a benevolent despot in an absolute constitution imposed and administered by an alien race." We in India are sure of the despotism but have some doubts about the benevolence. Nor can we accept the phrase, absolute constitution, as anything but an oxymoron, a "witty folly" a happy and ironical contradiction in terms. But for the rest the implied criticism is just.

The Failure of Europe

Mr. Cecil sees in this ending of Honest John as Lord Morley the failure of Liberalism, and it must be remembered that the failure of Liberalism means the abandonment of the gospel of Liberty Equality and Fraternity as a thing unlivable, and that again means the moral bankruptcy of Europe. "Liberalism in any intelligible sense cannot last another generation. In a score of years the strange adventure on which the nations of Europe embarked in 1879 will be concluded, and we shall revert, doubtless with many and formidable changes, to an earlier type. The principles of unchecked individual liberty and unrestricted competition have, to use the ancient phrase, been tried in the balance and found wanting. The golden dreams which so lately cheated the anxious eyes of men have tarnished with time. Their splendour has proved illusive and they have gone the way of other philosophies down a road upon which there is no returning. The old aristocrats have been swept away and some malicious spirit has given us new ones bathed in the most material sort of golden splendour. And Misery, Vice and Discontent stalk among the drudges of society much as they did before." Mr. Cecil like most Europeans sees that European liberalism has failed but like most Europeans utterly misses the real reason of the failure. The principles of

1879 were not false, but they were falsely stated and selfishly executed. Europe had not the spiritual strength, nor the moral force to carry them out. She was too selfish, too short-sighted, too materialistic and ignorant. She deserved to fail and could not but fail. It is left for Asia and especially for India to reconstruct the world.

BRITISH FEARS:—The genesis of the Imperial Press Conference is to be found in that feeling of insecurity which is driving England to seek allies on the Continent and gather round her the children of her loins beyond the seas. During the better part of the nineteenth century after her triumph over Napoleon and her amazing expansion in India, she felt too strong to need extraneous assistance. Mistress of the seas, enormously wealthy, monopolist almost of the world's commerce, she followed on the Continent a policy of splendid isolation broken only by the ill-starred alliance with the third Napoleon. She fought for her own hand everywhere and felt strong enough to conquer. Her Colonies she regarded only as a nuisance. They were a moral asset, probably, but hardly a material. They assisted her in no way, they excluded her commerce by tariffs, they took her protection without payment and yet exacted internal independence with an inordinate and querulous jealousy of her interference and unwillingness to allow even the slightest iota of British control to mar the perfection of her autonomy. But a change has come over the spirit of her dream. Mighty powers have arisen in the world, young, ardent, ambitious, rapidly expanding, magnificently equipped moving with the sureness and swiftness of material forces towards empire and aggrandisement. Their armies are gigantic forces against which England's would be as helpless as a boy in the hands of a Titan. Their wealth increases. They are beating England out of the chosen fields of her commercial expansion, and it is only by bringing out all the reserves of her old energy that she can just keep a first place; worst of all, their navies grow and if they cannot keep pace with her in numbers, equal it in efficiency. On the other hand India, her passive source of wealth, strength and prestige is struggling in her turn to exclude British commerce and assert autonomy without British control. England is uneasy; she cannot slumber at night for thinking of her precarious

future. To her excited imagination German airships fill the skies and myriad tramp of the Teuton is heard already marching on London, while huge conspiracies spring up like mushrooms in India and evade the eager grasp of the Police with a diabolical skill which leaves behind only arrests and persecution of innocent men, hard judicial comments, a discredited C. I. D. and a desperate weeping *Englishman*. One can no longer recognise the strong, stolid, practical, invincible Britisher in the emotional, hysterical, excitable, panic-stricken race dancing to the tune of its newly liberated Imagination.

THE JOURNALISTIC WAR COUNCIL:—It is not surprising under such circumstances that leading Englishmen should call a Press Conference and turn it into a War Council full of such themes as military conscription and naval expansion and always looking out of the corner its eye at Imperial Federation. The aid and backing of the Colonies has now become a necessity to British imagination. England seeks an American alliance and hungers after the unity of the Anglo-Saxon world, but there are hostile elements in America which militate against that dream. Parting with her old friends of the Triple Alliance she embraces France, her ancient and traditional enemy; she courts her bug-bear Russia and many of her publicists are ready to excuse and condone the most savage, merciless and inhuman system of tyranny in the world provided she gets a friend in need. But these are uncertain and transitory supports, while the Colonies are bound by ties of blood and interest. The objective of the Press Conference is therefore the Colonies, the union of the English throughout the Empire. And although Srijut Surendra Nath has been led to the gathering in gilded fetters and is "the most picturesque figure" in the Conference, that is all he is, a picture, even if a speaking picture, —nothing else. For the rest it is Anglo-India that has been called to the great journalistic War Council, not India. The real India has no place there. We wish Srijut Surendra Nath could have realised it. It might have prevented him from indulging in rhetorical hyperboles about "the wise and conciliatory policy of Lord Morley"—forgetful of the nine deportees, forgetful of the many good and true men in jail for Swadeshi, forgetful of Midnapore and all it typifies.

FORGOTTEN EVENTS:—It is strange that British statesmanship should be blind to certain possibilities which will follow from their new Colonial policy. Among the first results of the new idea has been the federation of Australia and the federation of South Africa. The former event is not of such importance to the world as the latter. The referendum in Natal is indeed an event of the first significance; but what it portends is the rise of a new and vigorous nation, perhaps a new empire in South Africa,—certainly not the consolidation of the British Empire. Great organisms like these tend inevitably to separate existence. The one thing that stands in the way is the present inability of these organisms to defend their separate existence. Australia lies under the outstretched sword of Japan to say nothing of the subtler, less apparent but more ominous menace of Germany. Canada is kept to England by the contiguity of a powerful, well-organized and expanding foreign State. South Africa on the other hand is occupied by a strong military race with a stubborn love of independence in its very blood. In the last war it has become aware of its supreme military capacity, but also of its inability to hold its freedom without a navy. Yet the main cry of England now is that the Colonies should organise military and naval defence in order to lighten the burden of England and help her in her wars! They are not satisfied with the contribution of a Dreadnought. They want an Australian navy, a South African navy. Surely God has sealed up the eyes and wits of these Imperialistic statesmen. They have eyes but they cannot see; they have minds but they are allowed only to misuse them.

NATIONAL VITALITY:—Nothing is stranger than the difference presented by Europe and Asia in the matter of national vitality. European nations seem to have a brief date, a life—term vigorous but soon-exhausted; Asiatic races persist and survive. It was not so in old times. Not only Greece and Rome perished, Assyria, Chaldea, Phoenicia are also written in the book of the Dead. But the difference now seems well-established. France is a visibly dying nation, Spain seems to have lost the power of revival, Italy and Greece have been lifted up by great efforts and sacrifices but show a weak vitality, the Anglo-Saxon race is beginning everywhere to recede and dwindle. On the other hand in Asia life pulsates victoriously. Japan has risen at one bound to the first rank of nations; China untou-

shed by her calamities renovates her huge national life. The effect on India of an accumulation of almost all the conditions which bring about national death, has been a new lease of life and a great dynamic impulse. Of the Mahomedan races, not a single one is decadent. Persia rises from her weakness full of youthful enthusiasm and courage though not yet of capacity. Arabia in her deserts surges with life. Egypt after her calamities is undergoing new birth; as far as Morocco the stir of life is seen. And to-day Turkey the sick man, has suddenly risen up vigorous and whole. What is the source of this difference? Is it not in this that Asia has developed her spirituality and Europe has turned from it? Europe has always tended to live more in matter and in the body than within; and matter when not inert is always changing; the body is bound to perish. The high pressure at which Europe lives only tends to disintegrate the body more rapidly when the spiritual sources within are not resorted to for stability.

THE AWAKENING SOUL OF INDIA.

No national awakening is really vital and enduring which confines itself to a single field. It is when the soul awakens that a nation is really alive, and the life will then manifest itself in all the manifold forms of activity in which man seeks to express the strength and delight of the expansive Spirit within. It is for *ananda* that the world exists; for joy that the Self puts Himself into the great and serious game of life; and the joy which He sees is the joy of various self-expression. For this reason it is that no two men are alike, no two nations are alike. Each has its own separate nature over and above the common nature of humanity and it is not only the common human impulses and activities but the satisfaction and development of its own separate character and capacities that a nation demands. Denied that satisfaction and development it perishes. By two tests therefore the vitality of a national movement can be judged. If it is imitative, imported, artificial then whatever temporary success it may have, the nation is moving towards self-sterilisation and death;—even so the nations of ancient Europe perished when they gave up their own individuality as the price of Roman civilisation, Roman peace, Roman prosperity. If, on the other hand, the peculiar individuality of a race stamps itself

on the movement in its every part and sizes on every new development as a means of self-expression, then the nation wakes, lives and grows and whatever the revolutions and changes of political, social, or intellectual forms and institutions, it is assured of its survival and aggrandisement.

The nineteenth century in India was imitative, self-forgetful, artificial. It aimed at a successful reproduction of Europe in India, forgetting the deep saying of the *Gita*:—"Better the law of one's own being though it be badly done than an alien *dharma* well-followed: death in one's own *dharma* is better, it is a dangerous thing to follow the law of another's nature." For death in one's own *dharma* brings new birth, success in an alien path means only successful suicide. If we had succeeded in Europeanising ourselves we would have lost for ever our spiritual capacity, our intellectual force, our national elasticity and power of self-renewal. That tragedy has been enacted more than once in history, only the worst and most mournful example of all would have been added. Had the whole activity of the country been of the derivative and alien kind that result would have supervened. But the life-breath of the nation still moved in the religious movements of Bengal and the Panjab, in the political aspirations of Maharashtra and in the literary activity of Bengal. Even here it was an undercurrent, the peculiar temperament and vitality of India struggling for self-preservation under a load of foreign ideas and foreign forms and it was not till, in the struggle between these two elements, the balance turned in the favour of the national *dharma* that the salvation of India was assured. The resistance of the conservative element in Hinduism, *tamasic*, inert, ignorant, uncreative though it was, saved the country by preventing an even more rapid and thorough disintegration than actually took place and by giving respite and time for the persistent national self to emerge and find itself. It was in religion first that the soul of India awoke and triumphed. There were always indications, always great forerunners, but it was when the flower of the educated youth of Calcutta bowed down at the feet of an illiterate Hindu ascetic, a self-illuminated extatic and "mystic" without a single trace or touch of the alien thought or education upon him that the battle was won. The going forth of Vivekananda, marked out by the Master as the heroic soul destined to take the

world between his two hands and change it was the first visible sign to the World that India was awake not only to survive but to conquer. Afterwards when the awakening was complete a section of the nationalist movement turned in imagination to a reconstruction of the recent pre-British past in all its details. This could not be. Inertia, the refusal to expand and alter is what our philosophy calls "*tamas*", and an excess of "*tamas*" tends to disintegration and disappearance. Aggression is necessary for self-preservation and when a force ceases to conquer, it ceases to live—that which remains stationary and stands merely on the defensive, that which retires into and keeps within its own "*kot*" or base, as the now defunct "*Sandhya*" used graphically to put it, is doomed to defeat, diminution and final elimination from the living things of the world. Hinduism has always been pliable and aggressive; it has thrown itself on the attacking force, carried its positions, plundered its treasures, made its own everything of value it had and ended either in wholly annexing it or driving it out by rendering its further continuation in the country purposeless and therefore impossible. Whenever it has stood on the defensive, it has contracted within narrower limits and showed temporary signs of decay.

Once the soul of the nation was awake in religion it was only a matter of time and opportunity for it to throw itself on all spiritual and intellectual activities in the national existence and take possession of them. The outburst of anti-European feeling which followed on the Partition gave the required opportunity. Anger, vindictiveness and antipathy are not in themselves laudable feelings, but God uses them for His purposes and brings good out of evil. They drove listlessness and apathy away and replaced them by energy and a powerful emotion; and that energy and emotion were seized upon by the national Self and turned to the uses of the future. The anger against Europeans, the vengeful turning upon their commerce and its productions, the antipathy to everything associated with them engendered a powerful stream of tendency turning away from the immediate Anglicised past, and the spirit which had already declared itself in our religious life entered in by this broad doorway into politics and substituted a positive powerful yearning towards the national past, a still more mighty and dynamic

yearning towards a truly national future. The Indian spirit has not yet conquered the whole field of our politics in actuality, but it is there victoriously in sentiment; the rest is a matter of time, and everything which is now happening in politics, is helping to prepare for its true and potent expression. The future is now assured. Religion and politics, the two most effective and vital expressions of the nation's self having been nationalized, the rest will follow in due course. The needs of our religious and political life are now vital and real forces and it is these needs which will reconstruct our society, recreate and remould our industrial and commercial life and found a new and victorious art, literature, science and philosophy which will be not European but Indian.

The impulse is already working in Bengali art and literature. The need of self-expression for the national spirit in politics suddenly brought back Bengali literature to its essential and eternal self, and it was in our recent national songs that this self-realisation came. The lyric and the lyrical spirit, the spirit of simple, direct and poignant expression, of deep, passionate, straightforward emotion, of a frank, and exalted enthusiasm, the dominant note of love and "Bhakti" of a mingled sweetness and strength, the potent intellect dominated by the self-illuminated heart, a mystical exaltation of feeling and spiritual insight expressing itself with a plain concreteness and practicality, this is the soul of Bengal. All our literature in order to be wholly alive must start from this base and whatever variations it may indulge in, never lose touch with it. In Bengal again the national spirit is seeking to satisfy itself in art and for the first time since the decline of the Moghuls a new school of national art is developing itself, the school of which Abanindranath Tagore is the founder and master. It is still troubled by the foreign thought, Asiatic influence from which its master started and has something of an exotic appearance, but the development and self-emancipation of the national self from this temporary domination can already be watched and followed. There again it is the spirit of Bengal that expresses itself. The attempt to express in form and limit something of that which is formless and illimitable, is the attempt of Indian art. The Greeks aiming at smaller and more easily attainable end, achieved a more perfect

success. Their instinct for form was greater than ours, our instinct for colour was superior. Our future art must solve the problem of expressing the soul in the object, the great Indian aim, while achieving the triumphant combination of perfect form and colour. No Indian has so strong an instinct for form as the Bengali. In addition to the innate Vedantism of all Indian races he has an all-powerful impulse towards delicacy, grace and strength, and it is these qualities to which the new school of art has instinctively turned in its first inception. Unable to find a perfect model in the scanty relics of old Indian art, it was only natural that it should turn to Japan for help, for delicacy and grace are there triumphant. But Japan has not the secret of expressing the soul in the object, it has not the aim. And the Bengali spirit means more than the union of delicacy, grace and strength; it has the lyrical mystic impulse; it has the passion for clarity and concreteness, and as in our literature, so in our art we see these tendencies emerging—an emotion of beauty, a nameless sweetness and spirituality pervading the clear line and form. Here too it is the free spirit of the nation beginning to emancipate itself from the foreign limitations and shackles.

No department of our life can escape this great regenerating and reconstructing force. There is not the slightest doubt that our society will have to undergo a reconstruction which may amount to revolution, but it will not be for Europeanisation as the average reformer blindly hopes, but for a greater and more perfect realisation of the national spirit in society. Not individual selfishness and mutually consuming struggle, but love and the binding of individuals into a single inseparable life is the national impulse. It ought to fulfil itself in the past by the bond of blood in the joint family, by the bond of a partial communism in the village system, by the bond of birth and a corporate sense of honour in the caste. It may seek a more perfect and spiritual bond in the future. In commerce also so long as we follow the European spirit and European model, the individual competitive selfishness, the bond of mere interest in the joint stock company or that worst and most dangerous development of co-operative Capitalism, the giant octopus like Trust and Syndicate, we shall never succeed in rebuilding a healthy industrial life. It is not these bonds which can weld Indians together. India moves to a deeper and greater life than the world

has yet imagined possible and it is when she has found the secret of expressing herself in these various activities that her industrial and social life will become strong and expansive.

Nationalism has been hitherto largely a revolt against the tendency to shape ourselves into the mould of Europe; but it must also be on its guard against any tendency to cling to every detail that has been Indian. That has not been the spirit of Hinduism in the past, there is no reason why it should be so in the future. In all life there are three elements, the fixed and permanent spirit, the developing yet constant soul and the brittle changeable body. The spirit we cannot change, we can only obscure or lose; the soul must not be rashly meddled with, must neither be tortured into a shape alien to it, nor obstructed in its free expansion; and the body must be used as a means, not over-cherished as a thing valuable for its own sake. We will sacrifice no ancient form to an unreasoning love of change, we will keep none which the national spirit desires to replace by one that is a still better and truer expression of the undying soul of the nation.

MAN-SLAVE OR FREE ?

The exclusive pursuit of Yoga by men who seclude themselves either physically or mentally from the contact of the world has led to an erroneous view of this science as something mystic far-off and unreal. The secrecy which has been observed with regard to Yogic practices,—a necessary secrecy in the former stages of human evolution—has stereotyped this error. Practices followed by men who form secret circles and confine the instruction in the mysteries strictly to those who have a certain preparatory fitness, inevitably bear the stamp to the outside world of occultism. In reality there is nothing intrinsically hidden, occult or mystic about Yoga. Yoga is based upon certain laws of human psychology, a certain knowledge about the power of the mind over the body and the inner spirit over the mind which are not generally realised and have hitherto been considered by those in the secret too momentous in their consequences for disclosure until men should be trained to use them aright. Just as a set of men who had discovered and tested the uttermost possibilities of mesmerism and hypnotism might hesitate to divulge them freely to

the world, lest the hypnotic power should be misused by ignorance or perversity or abused in the interests of selfishness and crime, so the Yogins have usually preserved the knowledge of these much greater forces within us in a secrecy broken only when they were sure of the previous ethical and spiritual training of the neophyte and his physical and moral fitness for the Yogic practices. It became therefore an established rule for the learner to observe strict reserve as to the inner experiences of Yoga and for the developed Yogin as far as possible to conceal himself. This has not prevented treatises and manuals from being published dealing with the physical or with the moral and intellectual sides of Yoga. Nor has it prevented great spirits who have gained their Yoga not by the ordinary careful and scientific methods but by their own strength and the special grace of God, from revealing themselves and their spiritual knowledge to mankind and in their intense love for humanity imparting something of their power to the world. Such were Buddha, Christ, Mahomed, Chaitanya, such have been Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. It is still the orthodox view that the experiences of Yoga must not be revealed to the uninitiated. But a new era dawns upon us in which the old laws must be modified. Already the West is beginning to discover the secrets of Yoga. Some of its laws have revealed themselves however dimly and imperfectly to the scientists of Europe while others through Spiritualism, Christian Science, Clairvoyance telepathy and other modern forms of occultism are being almost discovered by accident as if by men groping in the dark and stumbling over truths they cannot understand. The time has almost come when India can no longer keep her light to herself but must pour it out upon the world. Yoga must be revealed to mankind because without it mankind cannot take the next step in the human evolution.

The psychology of the human race has not yet been discovered by Science. All creation is essentially the same and proceeds by similar though not identical laws. If therefore we see in the outside material world that all phenomena proceed from and can be reduced to a single causal substance from which they were born, in which they move and to which they return, the same truth is likely to hold good in the psychical world. The unity of the material universe has now been acknowledged by the scientific intellect of Europe and the high priests of atheism and materialism in

Germany have declared the "*cham evadovityam*" in matter with no uncertain voice. In so doing they have merely reaffirmed the discovery made by Indian masters of the Yogic science thousands of years ago. But the European scientists have not discovered any sure and certain methods, such as they have in dealing with gross matter, for investigating psychical phenomena. They can only observe the most external manifestations of mind in action. But in these manifestations the mind is so much enveloped in the action of the outer objects and seems so dependent on them that it is very difficult for the observer to find out the springs of its action or any regularity in its workings. The European scientists have therefore come to the conclusion that it is the stimulations of outside objects which are the cause of psychical phenomena, and that even when the mind seems to act of itself and on its own material it is only associating, grouping together and manipulating the recorded experiences from outside objects. The very nature of mind is, according to them, a creation of past material experience transmitted by heredity with such persistence that we have grown steadily from the savage with his rudimentary mind to the civilized man of the twentieth century. As a natural result of these materialistic theories, science has found it difficult to discover any true psychical centre for the multifarious phenomena of mind and has therefore fixed upon the brain, the material organ of thought, as the only real centre. From this materialistic philosophy have resulted certain theories very dangerous to the moral future of mankind. First, man is a creation and slave of matter. He can only master matter by obeying it. Secondly, the mind itself is a form of gross matter and not independent of and master of the senses. Thirdly, there is no real free will, because all our action is determined by two great forces, heredity and environment. We are the slaves of our nature, and where we seem to be free from its mastery, it is because we are yet worse slaves of our environment, worked on by the forces that surround and manipulate us.

It is from these false and dangerous doctrines of materialism which tend to subvert man's future and hamper his evolution, that Yoga gives up a means of escape. It asserts on the contrary man's freedom from matter and gives him a means of asserting that freedom. The first great fundamental discovery of the

Yogins was a means of analysing the experiences of the mind and the heart. By Yoga one can isolate mind, watch its workings as under a microscope, separate every minute function of the various parts of the "*antahkarana*", the inner organ, every mental and moral faculty, test its isolated workings as well as its relations to other functions and faculties and trace backwards the operations of mind to subtler and ever subtler sources until just as material analysis arrives at a primal entity from which all proceeds, so Yoga analysis arrives at a primal spiritual entity from which all proceeds. It is also able to locate and distinguish the psychical centre to which all psychical phenomena gather and so to fix the roots of personality. In this analysis its first discovery is that mind can entirely isolate itself from external objects and work in itself and of itself. This does not, it is true, carry us very far because it may be that it is merely using the material already stored up by its past experiences. But the next discovery is that the farther it removes itself from objects, the more powerfully, surely, rapidly can the mind work, with a swifter clarity, with a victorious and sovereign detachment. This is an experience which tends to contradict the scientific theory that mind can withdraw the senses into itself and bring them to bear on a mass of phenomena of which it is quite unaware when it is occupied with external phenomena. Science will naturally challenge these as hallucinations. The answer is that these phenomena are related to each other by regular, simple and intelligible laws and form a world of their own independent of thought acting on the material world. Here too Science has this possible answer that this supposed world is merely an imaginative reflex in the brain of the material world and to any argument drawn from the definiteness and unexpectedness of these subtle phenomena and their independence of our own will and imagination it can always oppose its theory of unconscious cerebration as we suppose unconscious imagination. The fourth discovery is that mind not only independent of external matter but its master; it can not only reject and control external stimuli, but can defy such apparently universal material laws as that of gravitation and ignore, put aside and make nought of what are called laws of nature, and are really only the laws of material nature, inferior and subject to the psychical laws because matter is product of mind and not mind a product of matter. This is the decisive discovery.

covery of "Yoga", its final contradiction of materialism. It is followed by the crowning realisation that there is within us a source of immeasurable force immeasurable intelligence, immeasurable joy far above the possibility of weakness, above the possibility of ignorance, above the possibility of grief which we can bring into touch with ourselves and, under arduous but not impossible conditions, habitually utilize or enjoy. This is what the Upanishads call the Brahman and the primal entity from which all things were born, in which they live and to which they return. This is lod and communion with Him is the highest aim of Yoga—a communion which works for knowledge for work, for delight.

NATIONAL SONGS OF BENGAL.

The life of a nation is always manifest through its literature. Poetry, music and the drama are the surest and most unmistakable proofs of the thought-currents of a nation. As there are various periods in the history of a nation, marked by various events and movements, so there are the different periods in literature—each corresponding to a historical stage. The predominant thoughts and ideas of each epoch in the historical evolution of a nation can always be discovered through its songs, its dramas, its general literature. All historical movements are essentially movements of thought, and in one sense poets and thinkers are more responsible for historical events than the mere men of action. The history of the general literature of Europe abounds with this close connection between the outer life of the nation and the expression of its inner life. But we need not go beyond the National Songs that Bengal has produced from time to time.

There were National Songs in Bengal about 20 or 30 years ago, but how different to those of to-day in thought, in feeling, in realism. The patriotism of a quarter of a century ago was a sort of vague indefinite love for India, more sentimental than emotional, and therefore unreal. We were drunk with the wine of European civilization. Our one desire was to transplant Europe into India. European ideals were the criterion of all ambition. Therefore when we read that patriotism was almost a religion in the west, we thought, it was a sign of respectability, and we convinced ourselves that we were patriotic too. We sang

“माँची भारतेंदु जय, जय भारतेंदु जय,
कि भय, कि भय, माँची भारतेंदु जय।”

“Sing the praise of India, what fear is there, sing the praise of India.” We were anxious to prove that we too loved our country and sang her praises. There was a patriotic touch in it no doubt, but a purely sentimental one, and coming, as it did, from a nation steeped from head to foot in Anti-India ideas, how low, how unreal it sounded!

There was a love for India in those days, but a love through western eyes, for a westernised India. We read of Europe—a great, glorious, free people, and in our mind's eye we pictured another Europe in India, loved it and sang of it. Naturally there was despair and pessimism for there never was a more impossible, a more utopian dream than that of a westernised India! Then we sang:—

“एनि चमकार ए भारतभूमि।
तुमि पिता तारे केहे मेह तुमि।”

“What a darkness it is, this land of India, hast thou forsaken it then, oh our father.”

“मखिन मुकु चन्दना भारत सोनारि,
राव दिवा भरिखे सोचन बारि।”

“Pale is the beauty of thy face, O India, night and day from thine eyes the tears are falling.”

That was the patriotism of 20 years ago and our singers faithfully reproduced it in their songs. It was wholly artificial and unreal. We indulged in noble fancies without the slightest reference to the actualities of life—without the slightest knowledge of our history and traditions.

A different note is struck in the national songs of this, the new period of our history. Here there is no despair, no pessimism? we no longer see our mother, weeping, sad or gloomy!

“सोरो मा—

तोमार देखे देखे नयन ना फिरे,

तोमार दुयार बाजि खुले गेहे सोनार सहिरे।”

“Oh Mother, we look at thee and look again and our eyes cannot turn from gazing upon thee. Thy doors have opened today into thy golden temple.” Nationalism has brought to our people an outburst of triumphant hope and our mother appears to us, not with her tresses, dishevelled and her head bowed in sorrow, but radiant glorious and beautiful. There is not the faintest chord of sorrow in our new national hymnology, there is hope, there is joy, there is faith.

Dreams of a westernised India have vanished, we will have none of it. We love our mother as she is.

“भावेर देबोदा मे टा कापड, सायाय तुमि मेरे भाव।”

“Take, the rough coarse cloth that our mother gives us, as a blessing, O my brother.”

Here there is no artificiality, not merely a music of words that characterised the songs of the last period. There is real depth of feeling.

“ओ आमार देशेर माटि, तोमार परे ठेकाव साया,
तोमनि बिजमादेर आंचल घाला।”

“Oh soil of my country I press my face upon thee and I feel spread out in thee the raiments hem of the universal mother.”

आमार सोनार बांजा, बाजि तोमाय बड भावबासि,
बिरदिन सोमार बाकाग, तोमार बाताय,
आमार प्राये बाजाय बांजी।”

“Oh my golden Bengal, very dearly do I love thee ever thy heavens and thy air awake a music of gladness in my heart.”

But this is not all. Not merely do we love our mother land as she exists today and derive exquisite joy from that love, but more than that, we are proud of her. We are proud that we are her sons, we are proud that we have such a mother.

बाँचक जनन आमार, जन्मेहि ए देशे,
बाँचक जनन माँची, तोमाय भावबैरी।”

“Blessed am I in my birth that I have been born in this land, blessed am I in my life that I have loved thee—Oh my mother.”

The agnostic cynicism that the purely intellectual teaching of the west led us into has altogether disappeared. We are no longer doubters and cynic. We no longer cry.

बारिदिके बाजि माँच हरि गति,
बाजि ये आमाय, बडहाय बति,
बाजि ए आचारि, दिवस पावारी,
बाजार चरच चरिरे।”

We look to all sides, but find no salvation, we are utterly forsaken and alone and find no refuge in this darkness and surge of calamity today, to whose feet shall we cling to.”

We say rather,

“कोवा से तोर हरि वेद, कोवा से तोर सनिन बासि,
बाकाये बाजि बड़िने गेह ए चरचरे दीपति राखी।”

Where today is thy poor attire, where today is thy pale and clouded smile, the light and beauty of thy feet have filled heaven with their radiance.”

“दुयार तोर मरा गाहे बाण पसेहि
जय मा बली भासा तरी।”

“This time the waters had poured into the dead Ganges of thy life; launch, launch thy boat with the shout of victory.”

But although we have learned to have faith in ourselves and in the sanctity of our movement, although our goal is in view and we have caught more than a glimpse of it, yet we needs must suffer for our cause. Without suffering the godhead in us cannot grow. That suffering is an essential factor and we must proceed without any fear.

“करिस्ने लाज करिस्ने भय, बापनाके तुह करि ने जय।”

Be not ashamed, be not afraid conquer all weakness, master thyself.”

“तोर बापन जने काङ्खे तोरे, ता बली भावना करा बल्वेना

“Though all who are dear to you forsake you, it will not do to falter and pause for that.”

“बड दुयार देखि बली, समजि कि तुह बाजि बली,

ओ तोर करे करे ठेकते हरे, हयत रे हार टखे ना—
ता बली भावना करा बल्वे ना।”

“Will you come back because you find the door shut to you? you must push at it again and again. It may be the door will remain immovable” it will not do to falter and pause for that.”

And that suffering will bring us victory—nay more, the greater the suffering the sooner will the goal be reached.

“बीदर बाजि टारखन हरे, बीदर बाजि तन पुदरे,
बीदर बापन वन बडन हरे, बीदर बापन तन दुदरे।”

"The feignest their eyes glare upon us, the sooner our eyes will be opened the tighter they draw the cords that bind us the sooner our bonds will be broken."

And then there is that absolute faith that no obstacles or difficulties can shake—the faith that our goal is at hand. It will be attained, it must be attained. The result of our *Sadhana* will be realized.

"निशि दिन भरका राखि कीरे मन उबरि रहे,
बहि पव करि बाखि, से पव तीर रवेर रहे।"

Day and night cherish this faith, my best, at even we must and shall do it, if we are overn to the task and clear that with shall and and fulfil itself."

Such then is the hymnody of the present period of Indian History, a free love of the mother-land a love for her sorrows as well as for her vices as well as her virtues a love for her she exists today. The physical beauty and the moral elevation of the motherland has been seldom, if even, so wonderfully interwoven with the national literature of any other country. The love every creek and corner, every hill and dale of our motherland. She is to us the manifestation of the divinity. She is the mantra of our yoga and sadhana.

"देवी बामार, बापना बामार,

तुमै बामार, बामार देवा।"

"O my goddess, O my Sadhana, O my Paradise of my motherland!"

SUCCESS OF SWADESHI-BOYCOTT IN INDIA: VIEWS OF THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

We have noticed how throughout the last year the Swadeshi-Boycott movement gained ground and in consequence British piece-goods trade lost hold in India. Even the Anglo-Indian papers could not help commenting, from time to time, on the loss suffered by Manchester owing to the success of the Movement, and specially the Dewali and Lucky-Day Sales were among topics for discussion to them at least for a time. The Official reports of Districts and Provinces also were full of significance on the subject. But the latest testimony to the success of the Movement comes from England itself. At the last annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, F. Ashworth, in his Presidential address, remarked:—"Our exports of cotton manufactures in the first half of 1908, compared with the corresponding months of 1907, showed a falling in value of £2,600,000, but matters were at much worse in the second half of 1908, the contraction of trade compared with the same period in the previous year being £12,740,000."

In this connection it will be interesting to hear from the mouth of the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce what part India played in the above total contraction of Manchester's piece goods trade and what her corresponding increase in production and consumption of home-made articles was, and here we have the following unreserved observations of Mr. Ashworth on the point. He said: "The growth of home-production of cotton goods in India is becoming a factor of increasing importance in relation to our trade with that country. The 'Swadeshi' movement has established a marked preference for Indian made cloths in some districts, and has thus stimulated manufacturing enterprise. In two years the recorded number of power-looms in work has increased 25 per cent from 52,200 to 65,700. Thirteen new textile concerns were registered during the last official year. The production of cotton cloth in Indian mills for the year ending March, 1908 is given as 189 million pounds that is equivalent to 945 million yards. Taking our exports to India as 2,350 million yards average, the relative proportions imported and home made-cloth were therefore respectively about 70 per cent and 30 per cent. Again, the statistics of spinning and weaving in India (both British India and United States) during the last ten months, April, 1908 to January, 1909, show an output of 546 million pounds against 533 million pounds for the same period of the year 1907 to 1908.

A further light on the success of Swadeshi-Boycott is thrown by the following lines of the "London Times" in a recent review of the world's trade of 1908. It says:—

So great was the depression in Lancashire that the official returns show that about 500 mills stopped, while 160 were working, and that £50,000,000 of capital was lying idle. Over 400,000 operatives were out of work; and the weekly loss in wages was about £330,000. Even after the mill again began to run, it was found that the stoppage had not been long enough to ease completely the overstocked markets; for many weeks after work was resumed, spinners complained that they had no margin of profits, and that a prolongation of the lockout would have been beneficial. In the last lean year 1904, Bombay had to suffer a great deal; some mills were working only for a short time and some were even on the verge of being put for sale. But since the birth of the Swadeshi-boycott movement, the mills have been working incessantly, and in 1908 were unable to supply the demand. It is this movement that saved the Bombay mill in 1908 from the

disaster which well nigh had befallen them in 1904. Notwithstanding the depression throughout the whole manufacturing world Bombay mills are now safe in their positions. This general depression has not had any telling effect on the share-market, wages, and industrial gains in Bombay chiefly owing to the prevalence of the Swadeshi-boycott movement in the country. The rich Bombay Mill owner unmindful of the depression abroad, is busy increasing his spindles and looms and is calculating his well earned profits in all ease and comfort under the blessings of the Swadeshi boycott movement. "The Dawn."

PROF. LEES SMITH ON INDIA.

SPEECH TO YOUNG SCOTS.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Scots Society was held on Saturday 24th April last in the Guild Hall Perth and was attended by about 60 representative delegates from the various branches in all parts of Scotland. The office-bearers were elected for the year and thereafter resolutions bearing on current politics sent up by the branches were considered and confirmed. Mr. Robert Hay, President of the Society was in the Chair. Professor H. B. Lees-Smith of Ruskin College, Oxford, and the London School of Economics moved the following resolution sent up by the Edinburgh Centre.

"That this conference desires to record its appreciation of Viscount Morley's wisdom and courage in appointing a native Indian to the Executive Council of the Indian Empire as vindicating the proclaimed intentions of two British Sovereigns. Further desires to commend the wise statesmanship which despite the present political unrest in India, seeks in Liberal principles to join the people of India with us in the Government of that great Dominion. Trusts Viscount Morley will withstand the House of Lords, present attitude to the Councils Bill seeing it has the full approval both of the Government of India and of the elected representatives of the people of Great Britain."

Professor Lees-Smith said the reason he had been invited to submit that motion was that the last Conference he attended and took part in was the Indian National Congress representing the educated opinion of every race and every clime of the dominion, which had met for the purpose of expressing the judgment of the educated classes upon those reforms with which the resolution dealt. It was very clear to him as he watched the proceedings of that Congress that they realised as could not be realised by the people of this country that Lord Morley's Reforms had taken a decisive step at the parting of the ways in Britain's policy with regard to Indian administration. East is East and West is West was a kind of vague general statement which was very popular in India and which had about that measure of half-truth which deluded and bewildered the public mind. In

India, of course it meant that the representative institutions of the west had no application to the people of an oriental land. When they said that representative institutions were for ever impossible to the peoples

India, what was it they were actually asserting? Representative Institutions depended upon the possession of certain qualities, upon education, honesty and self-control, which would enable the minority to give way to the majority. Were they then going to say that never at any period would the peoples of India be educated, honest or have the capacity for self-control? If they said that it was not only a reflection on the peoples of India, it was the greatest condemnation of the British race personally, he might say that having met these representative men one could not fail to realise the difficulty which lay in their path. He formed a very high idea indeed of the political capacity of the educated India. A visit to their schools made it quite plain that there would be no peoples who would give such magnificent response to educational matters as the peoples of India. The Indian National Congress which he attended compared very favourably indeed for moderation and that sense of compromise which all congresses had learned. He would compare it favourably with the congress of the National Liberal Federation. What Lord Morley has therefore done was boldly and courageously lay down the principle that their ultimate aim in India, however distant it might be was to work towards representative institutions. The day might be far away but they had to look forward to the time when an Indian would be in his country what a Canadian or an Australian was in his. They would have to work in conjunction with the educated-opinion of the land and if with the help of the educated nationalist party they could finally succeed in securing that object a generation hence it would certainly be an achievement in the Government of one race by another to which history would afford no parallel. It would mean that a little people on a small island had stretched out their hands to the ends of the earth and had gradually educated from the depths of barbarism until they could stand level with themselves—no less than three hundred million people, one-third of the human race.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT COMBINE.—Six big American agricultural implement makers have combined together to get control of the Russian market.

DAIRY FARMING.—We are glad to note that dairy farming is now engaging the attention of our educated men. In the country especially in the vicinity of big towns there is ample field for the industry. The question of Calcutta's milk supply has become serious. A

few gentlemen—among whom are Srijuts Dwija Dass Dutt and Hemendra Prosad Ghose—have opened dairies near Calcutta.

CATTLE FARM.—The Hissar Cattle Farm, the premier cattle farm of India, should be celebrating its centenary this year. Cattle breeding in India is one of the important and interesting subject of which one wants to hear much, but hears very little. Some time back a cattle expert came out to India from England. But the result is not known. At Pusa there are splendid opportunities which ought not to be overlooked by Indians.

PAPER MAKING.—Mr. J. N. Gupta, C. S., Eastern Bengal, has written an excellent monograph on Paper making and *Papier Mache* in that Province. The earliest writing materials known to Hindus were palm leaves and birch bark. Palm leaves were comparatively cheap and so gradually displaced the industry in bark paper. The Mahomedans introduced the industry in jute-paper, but this has now been expelled from the market by mill-made paper. There is at present no paper-mill in the Province, the local demand being met from Balli and Serampore. As regards *Papier mache* the industry is confined to two or three places, and the art known to less than half a dozen persons, so that as Mr. Gupta says, it can hardly be said to constitute an industry. Mr. Gupta concludes his monograph with a few observations on the possibility of starting a paper mill in the province. As in Burma, where, according to Mr. R. W. Sindall, its bamboos and soft wood afford excellent materials for the manufacture of paper, so in Assam there is plenty of soft wood available and plantain fibre. The province imports paper and board of the annual value of Rs. 2½ lakhs. Mr. Gupta is of opinion that suitable sites for the location of a flourishing paper mill can be found in Assam.

General News.

THE MIDNAPORE ENQUIRY.—The Midnapore enquiry is proceeding. Mr. Denham was present for a time.

SRIJUT SYAMSUNDAR CHAKRAVARTY.—News has been received from Srijut Syamsundar Chakravarty that he is suffering from dyspepsia.

SRIJUT AURABINDO GHOSH.—The *Daily News* publishes the following telegram—dated the 23rd June—Mr. Arabinde Ghose arrived at Barisal, yesterday and addressed a public meeting to-day on the Hindu religion. The lecture lasted more than an hour. The house was crowded to suffocation. Three boys fainted and had to be removed outside.

OURSELVES.—On account of an enormous demand for the first issue of *Karmayogin* we have run out of stock. To meet the demand of our friends we are going to re-print the issue. Gentlemen who desire to subscribe to the journal from the first issue are requested to write to the Manager at once.

REPRESSION AND REFORM.—On June 23rd there was a grand open-air public meeting in Raja Bahadur's Haveli at Barisal. As soon as Babu Aurobindo Ghose came, enthusiastic shouts of "Bande Mataram" greeted him. Babu Sricharan Sen pleader, at first spoke a few words of welcome to Aurobindo Babu on behalf of the Barisal public. Aurobindo Babu addressed the meeting and spoke for full one hour and a half on repression and reform as two aspects of the same policy. The vast gathering heard the speech in pindrop silence: and ever when Aurobindo Babu had concluded his speech, crowds would not disperse but pressed to hear the Bengali version of it. Dr. Tarin Kumar Gupta thanked Aurobindo Babu for the trouble he had taken in coming down to Barisal and addressing the assembly. The meeting then dissolved with "Bande Mataram". A confidential clerk of the Magistrate who is a shorthand writer and the police were in attendance as usual. Aurobindo Babu started for Calcutta the next morning.

A DETONATOR EXPLOSION.—An explosion occurred at Nagpada (Bombay) at seven o'clock on the night of the 23rd Jun which created panic in the locality. The police on being apprised of the occurrence repaired to the scene and instituted prompt enquiries. It was ascertained that a fitter named Fernand residing in a room in a Chawl was playing with a detonator not knowing that it was charged when it exploded in his left hand blowing off three fingers and causing other minor injuries. On searching his room two more detonators were found. Further enquiries into the matter are progressing.

ALLEGATION AGAINST ARMED POLICE.—Bama Peshakar, of Dhalabazar, within the town of Kishoreganj complained before the S. D. O. alleging that some of the reserve armed police of that town wanted the company of her daughter, Rani Peshakar. The latter refusing admittance, they forced open her door entered the hut and began beating. She took shelter with her mother. The unfortunate woman remonstrating, was mercilessly beaten. They came to the court beamed with blood. The woman could not name the accused, but as she could identify them. They were ordered to go to hospital.

THE KENA UPANISHAD.

1. By whom is the mind impelled or who casts it at its mark? By whose appointment began the primal breath its goings? Who prompts the words that men speak or what God sets eye and ear to their workings?

2. He that is the Ear of the ear, the Mind in mind, the Speech behind the word, the Life of the Breath, the Eye of the eye. Souls unperturbed who put from them the bonds of sense, pass away from this world to become undying.

3. Eye cannot reach Him, Speech cannot find Him, thought cannot attain Him; we have no knowledge of Him, we cannot discover how to teach of Him, for He is other than the known and He is farther than the unknown so have we heard from the men of yore who made what we seek known to us.

4. That which speech develops not but by which speech is developed, know thou that for the Brahman and not this which men adore.

5. That which thinks not with the mind but by which they say mind was thought, know thou that for the Brahman and not this which men adore.

6. That which sees not with the eye but through which the eyes are seen, know thou that for the Brahman and not this which men adore.

7. That which hears not with the ear but by which the ear is made subject to hearing, know thou that for the Brahman and not this which men adore.

8. That which breathes not with the breath but by which the breath is guided, know thou that for the Brahman and not this which men adore.

SECOND PART.

9. If thou thinkest "I know him well, then little indeed dost thou know of the aspect of the Eternal Spirit. What of Him is thou, what of Him is in the gods, this first thou hast to solve. "I think Him known."

10. I think not that I know Him well; I think that I neither know Him nor know Him not. He that knoweth this wisdom of "I neither know Him nor know Him not," he is the one who knoweth.

11. He who thinketh that he hath comprehended Him, comprehendeth Him not; he comprehendeth who knoweth that he hath not known: for He is revealed to the non-knower but to the knower He is concealed.

12. Who comprehendeth the Brahman as the illumination of knowledge,

by him is the Brahman realised, for he findeth immortality. By the self he findeth the force to see and by the revelation he findeth immortality.

13. If here thou hast known Him, then hast thou lived, but if thou hast not known God in this thy mortal life, great is thy perdition. The wise who discern him from creature to creature depart from this world to immortality.

THIRD PART.

14. The Spirit conquered for the Gods and they in the Spirit's victory grew great, but they thought "ours is the victory and ours is the greatness.

15. The Spirit knew their thought and manifested Himself before them; but they knew not who was this great Daemon.

16. They said to Fire, "O Master of knowledge, do thou learn who is this Daemon; and he said, "I learn."

17. Fire rushed towards the Spirit, and the Spirit said to him, "Who art thou?" "I am Agni" he said "and I am the Master of the knowledge."

18. "And what is the prowess of thee, Agni?" "All this I can burn, yea, all this that is in the earth and its bounds.

19. Then the Spirit set before him a blade of grass and said "This do thou burn. "And Fire rushed on it with all his speed, yet could he not burn the blade. He ceased, he returned, he said, "I had no strength to learn who is this Daemon."

20. They said to wind, "O Vayou, do thou learn who is this Daemon," and he said, "I learn."

21. Wind rushed towards the Spirit, and the Spirit said to him, "Who art thou?" "I am Vayou" he said "and I am Matariswan, he that dwelleth in the mother of things."

22. "And what is the prowess of thee, Vayou?" "All this I can take, yea, all this that is in the earth and its bounds."

23. "Then Spirit set before him a blade of grass and said "This do thou take". "And Wind rushed on it with all his speed, yet could he not take the blade. He ceased, he returned, he said, "I had no strength to learn who is this Daemon."

24. They said to Indra, "O Maghavan, O Cloud-compeller, do thou learn who is this Daemon." He said "I learn," he rushed towards the Spirit, but the Spirit vanished before him as he came.

25. In the same sky he met the Woman, shining in her beauty, Uma, daughter of the snowy summits. He asked her, "Who is the Daemon?"

FOURTH PART.

26. "He is Brahman: the Eternal Spirit," she said "of the Spirit is the victory by which you are great." Then he knew that this was Brahman.

27. Therefore are these three Gods above all the Gods, Indra, Agni, Vayou, because they came nearest to the touch of Him, (because they first knew that it was Brahman.)

28. Therefore is Indra God above all the Gods in Heaven because he came nearest to the touch of Him, because He first knew that it was Brahman.

29. Lo, the vision of Him is but as the lightning that flashed, as an eyelid's quivering, the vision of Him to the Gods.

30. Then the manner of the vision of Him to the soul; the mind seemeth to go unto the Brahman and by the mind conception again and again remembereth Him.

31. For this verily is that which is desirable and as the desirable let Him be adored; who knoweth thus the Spirit, him all creatures desire.

32. "Tell me an Upanishad, "thou hast said. Lo, the Upanishad! Of the Brahman verily is the Upanishad that we tell thee.

33. Austerity, self-conquest and works, these three are the foundation of the God-knowledge, the Vedas are all her limbs and Truth is her dwelling-place.

34. Whosoever acquireth this God-knowledge, having put from him sin, in the mighty infinite heavens, in the world unending maketh his home eternal yea, eternal.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

SRIJUT SYAM SUNDAR CHAKRAVARTI.

(From Swaraj).

Srijut Syam Sundar Chakravarti before his deportation last December, was known outside Bengal, mainly through his connection with the "BANDE MATARAM" newspaper. He was present at the congress that failed at Surat, where his simplicity of life and habits, his steadfast devotion to the Nationalist cause, his uncompromising regard for the ideals and principles that stand for Nationalism in India, won him the admiration and love of the large body of Nationalists gathered from all parts of the country. Henceforth he came to be regarded.

as one of the leaders of the Movement on the Bengal side.

In his own province, however, Syam Sundar has been long known as a very capable Bengali journalist and writer. His paper the "PRATIBHASI" occupied the foremost place among Bengalee weeklies, in regard to its thoughtfulness, sobriety, and superior literary character. But popular and sensational journalism has, to a very large extent, destroyed the chances of success of high-class literary journals in Bengal, as elsewhere; and the "PRATIBHASI" succumbed, after a few years, to the severe financial strain under which it lived and laboured almost all through its life. When the "SANDHYA" was started by the late Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya, Syam Sundar joined its staff, and his simple and racy style contributed very largely to the unique success which that paper attained at one part of its life. When the "BANDU MATARAN" was organised as a Joint Stock concern, about the end of 1906, Syam Sundar left "the SANDHYA" and joined its staff, and he was, to a very large extent, the very life and soul of that paper, until it was suppressed by the Government last November. A few weeks later, Syam Sundar was himself arrested and deported, under Regulation III. of 1818, without any public indictment or trial.

Syam Sundar belongs to a generation that came very largely under the influence of the Hindu Revival of the closing quarter of the last century. Unlike Aavini Kumar, Krishna Kumar, or Manoranjan,—Syam Sundar had never broken away from the ancient thoughts and traditions of his people, and, consequently while Aavini Kumar and Manoranjan represent what may be called the return movement in Bengalee thought and life of our time, Syam Sundar represents the type of staunch nationalism that comes through the natural and instinctive conservatism of every people. He has, of course, come under the rationalistic influences of his age, and has had, therefore, to work out some sort of a synthesis between old ideas and institutions on the one side, and the new thoughts, aspirations, and conditions on the other. But it did not come through any open antithesis or protest but grew naturally, and almost unconsciously, through the normal evolution of his intellectual and social environments.

No revival can really revive the past, just as it was in the past. It has to adjust the past to the living conditions of the present. A successful revival must, therefore, offer a new synthesis, a new synthesis. It is in such a sense that the Hindu Revival in India of the last century has had its main success. It must be admitted that the movement of this Revival has more or less unconsciously taken note of the influence of the Brahmo Samaj and the reform movements of our day.

As it is called, it is not really the revival of the fathers; it is a new phase, a new interpretation, and a new synthesis of old and traditional ideals, in the light of present needs and conditions. As Emerson says, the movement backward to the past is a reflection of truth that had been previously lost sight of and left on the way. The movements of protest, inaugurated under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj, had left many a precious

truth behind. They had ever emphasised the unreason and injustice of ancient thoughts and institutions, and had, therefore, overlooked the soul of truth and the counterpoise of good that lie mixed up everywhere with falsehoods and evils. Those movements were also more or less forced from the outside, through the influence of imported ideas and ideals, and these latter brought in their train their own necessary counterpoise of falsehoods and evils, which, being foreign to the thought and life of the people, met with no natural antidote that society almost unconsciously and automatically always and everywhere provides against the necessary evils of its own native life and thought. All these combined to contribute to the strength of the reaction which passed over the country during the closing decades of the last century. It obstructed the advance of the aggressive religious and social reform movements visibly; but all the same contributed to the general progress of thought and life, almost in every direction. The present Nationalist Movement in India is very largely indebted to this Reaction or Revival for a good deal both of its inner strength and its outer influence.

Syam Sundar is essentially a child of this Reaction. He has always clung to the spirit and traditions of his race with a tender tenacity, that, while recognising their frailties, yet shrank from ruthlessly rooting them up lest the sacred organism itself should be wounded and injured in the operation. But he has also been sensitive to liberal influences, and has been sincerely respectful towards the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and other reform movements; but being essentially a man of sentiment, he has never permitted his intellectual ideas and appreciations to weaken the hold of his affection upon his own country and people. His patriotism has always controlled his reason and prevented him from making any violent protest in the name of Reason against the thoughts, beliefs, traditions and institutions of his race.

Patriotism is really of two kinds, abstract and concrete. The social and religious reformer loves his country and his people as ardently and devotedly as any other person; but his patriotism is of the abstract kind. He loves only the good, the beautiful, and the true, in his own country. He has no toleration for the bad, the ugly, and the false. He is more or less of an iconoclast. He is cast in the mould of the prophet—rigid, uncompromising, faithful to whatever is true and good, relentless in his war against whatever, in his eyes, is false and evil. His country is to him more of an ideal than a reality. Krishna Kumar's patriotism is essentially of this type, among us. But there is another class of patriotism also. It may be best characterised as concrete. It is not the love of an abstraction called country or nation. It loves its people in the concrete, just as they are, a mixture of both reason and unreason, of both good and bad. It loves its nation with a pure love, which sees the whole, seizes the totality, and in that totality, finds an explanation for both its reason and unreason, its good and evil, and seeing both the light and the shade together, it is able to realise the proper perspective of both. It is not blind to the faults and errors, the evils and the weaknesses of its own nation, but only sees their natural explanations which others fail to see, and thus recognising the spirit of truth and

goodness and the source of strength that lie hidden underneath them, he seeks to remove and remedy them from within, by working up the latent truth and goodness and strength; and is, in the meantime, lovingly tolerant of them. This is the character of what may be called concrete patriotism. Syam Sundar's patriotism is of this kind, and consequently, it is characterised by an intense conservatism, which is the soul of natural, as distinguished from philosophic, nationalism everywhere.

But Syam Sundar is by no means a rigid and hide-bound conservative. He is always prepared to move with the times, and in practical life, he has, like almost every Nationalist, given up many of the obsolete institutions and usages of his country and his caste. Born of very high-class Brahmin parents—his father was a well-known Adhyapaka or professor of Brahminical lore—he observes all the formalism of Brahminical life, to the extent that these are demanded by the public opinion of his caste. But as far as that public opinion has commenced to become tolerant of heterodox habits and thoughts, Syam Sundar does not refuse to follow them. In fact, he does not even shrink from initiating these reforms, provided they do not create any vital disruption in social life. He is, therefore, as much at home with the orthodox Brahmin-Pundit as with the heterodox England-turned-civilian or Barrister. It is neither in eating nor drinking (though he is a teetotaler) that his Brahminism ever seeks to assert itself. Neither is it in his pride of birth that it comes out. He mixes freely with men of all castes, and in private life treats the Pariah with almost the same respect as he would render to a Brahmin, provided, of course, the former occupies in education and character the same position as the latter. But all the inherent pride of race in the man comes out the moment mere wealth seeks to assert itself over culture or character. In one sense, therefore, Syam Sundar's spirit is perhaps the most democratic among the leading Nationalist workers in Bengal. But it is the democracy of the Brahmin, the claims of the intellect and the real man to equality, despite all differences in worldly position due to wealth or rank. It is the proud protest of the old spirit of intellectual and spiritual aristocracy of Hinduism, against the British-created aristocracy of land and lucre. Along with this pride of intellect and culture, Syam Sundar has also inherited from his Brahmin ancestors a tender humanity, which is almost feminine in its care for the weak and the bereaved. Extremely sensitive to the least suspicion of slight or neglect, Syam Sundar is also among the most selfless of our public men. Very poor himself, he has never refused to part with his last penny, to any one, friend or acquaintance, who stood in greater or even equal need of it. Poverty makes misanthropes in Europe, his own poverty has made something of a philanthropist of this chip of an old and aristocratic Brahmin block. How much of it is due to his inheritance in the supremely spiritual civilisation of his nation, and how much to his own personal temperament, it is difficult to say. But whatever may be their origin and cause, all who have come into intimate contact with Syam Sundar, have found his impulses to be almost uniformly noble, and his ideas lofty.

UTTARPARA SPEECH

OF

SRIJUT AUROBINDO GHOSH.

(Continued from the last issue.)

Meanwhile he had brought me out of solitude and placed me among those who had been accused along with me. You have spoken much today of my self sacrifice and devotion to my country. I have heard that kind of speech ever since I came out of jail, but I hear it with embarrassment, with something of pain. For I knew my weakness. I am pray to my own faults and backslidings. I was not blind to them before and when they all rose up against me in seclusion, I felt them utterly. I knew then that I the man was a mass of weakness, a faulty and imperfect instrument, strong only when a higher strength entered into one. Then I found myself among these young men and in many of them I discovered a mighty courage, a power of selfeffacement in comparison with which I was simply nothing. I saw one or two who were not only superior to me in force and character,—very many were that,—but in the promise of that intellectual ability on which I prided myself. He said to me. "This is the young generation, the new and mighty nation that is arising at my command. They are greater than yourself. What have you to fear. If you stood aside or slept, the work would still be done. If you were cast aside tomorrow here are the young men who will take up your work and do it more mightily than you have ever done. You have only got some strength from me to speak a word to this nation which will help to rise it". This was the next thing He told me.

Then a thing happened suddenly and in a moment I was hurried away to the seclusion of a solitary cell. What happened to me during that period I am not impelled to say, but only this that day after day, He showed me His wonders and made me realise the utter truth of the Hindu religion. I had had many doubts before. I was brought up in England amongst foreign ideas and an atmosphere entirely foreign. Many things in Hinduism I had once been inclined to believe that it was all imaginations; that there was much of dream in it, much that was delusion and mayy. But now day after day I realised in the mind, I realised in the heart, I realised in the body the truths of the Hindu religion. They became living experiences to me, and things were opened to me which no material science could explain. When I first approached Him, it was not entirely in the spirit of the Bhakti, it was not entirely in the spirit of Gnana. I came to Him long ago in Baroda some years before the Swadeshi began and I was drawn into the public field.

When I approached God at that time, I hardly had a living faith in Him. The agnostic was in me, the atheist was in me, the sceptic was in me and I was not absolutely sure that there was a God at all. I did not feel His presence. Yet something drew me to the truth of the Vedas, the truth of the Gita, the truth of the Hindu religion. I felt there must be a mighty truth somewhere in this Yoga, a mighty truth in this

religion based on the Vedas. So when I turned to the Yoga and resolved to practise it and find out if my idea was right, I did it in this spirit and with this prayer to Him, "If Thou art, then thou knowest my heart. Thou knowest that I do not ask for *Mukti*, I do not ask for anything which others ask for. I ask only for strength to uplift this nation, I ask only to be allowed to live and work for this people whom I love and to whom I pray that I may devote my life." I strove long for the realisation of Yoga and at last to some extent I had it, but in what I most desired, I was not satisfied. Then in the seclusion of the Jail, of the solitary cell I asked for it again. I said "Give me thy *adesh*, I do not know what work to do or how to do it. Give me a message." In the communion of Yoga two messages came. The first message said, "I have given you a work and it is to help to uplift this nation. Before long the time will come when you will have to go out of jail; for it is not my will that this time either you should be convicted or that you should pass the time as others have to do, in suffering for their country, I have called you to work, and that is the *adesh* for which you have asked. I give you the *adesh* to go forth and do My work." The second message came and it said, "Something has been shown to you in this year of seclusion, something about which you had your doubts and it is the truth of the Hindu religion. It is this religion that I am raising up before the world, it is this that I have perfected and developed through the risis, saints and avatars, and now it is going forth to do my work among the nations I am raising up this nation to send forth My word. This is the *Sanatana Dharma*, this is the eternal religion which you did not really know before, but which I have now revealed to you. The agnostic and the sceptic in you have been answered, for I have given you proofs within and without you, physical and subjective, which have satisfied you. When you go forth, speak to your nation always this word that it is for the "*Sanatana Dharma*" that they arise, it is for the world and not for themselves that they arise. I am giving them freedom for the service of the world. when therefore it is said that India shall rise, it is the "*Sanatana Dharma*" that shall rise. When it is said that India shall be great, it is the "*Sanatana Dharma*" that shall be great. When it is said that the India shall expand and extend herself, it is the "*Sanatana Dharma*" that shall expand and extend itself over the world. It is for the *dharma* and by the *dharma* that India exists. To magnify the religion means to magnify the country. I have shown you that I am everywhere and in all men and in all things, that I am in this movement and I am not only working in those who are striving for the country but I am working also in those who oppose them and stand in their path. I am working in every body and whatever men may think or do they can do nothing but help on my purpose. They also are doing my work; they are not my enemies but my instruments. In all your actions you are moving forward without knowing which way you move. You mean to do one thing and you do another. You aim at a result and your efforts subserve a that is different or

contrary. It is *Shakti* that has gone forth and entered into the people. Long ago I have been preparing this uprising and now the time has come and it is I who will lead it to its fulfilment."

This then is what I have to say to you. The name of your society is "society for the protection of religion." Well, the protection of the religion, the protection and upraising before the world of the Hindu religion, that is the work before us. But what is the Hindu religion? What is this religion which we call *Sanatana* eternal? It is the Hindu religion only because the Hindu nation has kept it, because in this Peninsula it grew up in the seclusion of the Sea and the Himalayas, because in this sacred and ancient land it was given as a charge to the Aryan race to preserve through the ages. But it is not circumscribed by the confines of a single country, it does not belong peculiarly and for ever to a bounded part of the world. That which we call the Hindu religion is really the eternal religion, because it is the universal religion which embraces all others. If a religion is not universal, it cannot be eternal. A narrow religion, a sectarian religion, an exclusive religion can live only for a limited time and a limited purpose. This is the one religion that can triumph over materialism by including and anticipating the discoveries of science and the speculations of philosophy. It is the one religion which impresses on mankind the closeness of God to us and embraces in its compass all the possible means by which man can approach God. It is the one religion which insists every moment on the truth which all religions acknowledge that He is in all men and all things and that in Him we move and have our being. It is the one religion which enables us not only to understand and believe this truth but to realise it with every part of our being. It is the one religion which shows the world what the world is, that it is the *lila* of Vasudeva. It is the one religion which shows us how we can best play our part in that *lila*, its subtlest law and its noblest rules. It is the one religion which does not separate life in any smallest details from religion, which knows what immortality is and has utterly removed from us the reality of death.

This is the word that has been put into my mouth to speak to you to-day. What I intended to speak, has been put away from me, and beyond what is given to me I have nothing to say. It is only the word that is put into me that I can speak to you. That word is now finished. I spoke once before with this force in me and I said then that this movement is not a political movement and that nationalism is not politics but a religion, a creed, a faith I say it again to-day, but I put it in another way. I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, faith; I say that it is the "*Sanatana Dharma*" which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the "*Sanatana Dharma*" with it it moves and with it it grows. When the "*Sanatana Dharma*" declines, then the nation declines, and if the "*Sanatana Dharma*" were capable of perishing, with the "*Sanatana Dharma*" it would perish. The "*Sanatana Dharma*" that is nationalism. This is the message that I have to speak to you.

NEWS.

THE KHULNA CONFERENCE.—

At the District Conference, held on Saturday and Sunday last, nineteen resolutions were adopted, including par. Ton, swadeshi, boycott, the reform scheme, the deportations, swaraj, unity among the various sects, self-protection, sanitation, marriage dowries, and arbitration Courts. The Conference protested against the improper treatment of under-trial prisoners and deportees, vexatious house searches, prohibition of sanities and national education. Delegates came from all parts of the district representing the various sects. Nearly 3000 people attended daily.

THE BARISAL CONFERENCE.—

The Exhibition of the Jhalakati National School was opened by Srijut Aurobindo Ghose. The art productions attracted general admiration. Mr. Ghose delivered an impressive speech emphasizing the necessity of national education for fostering the national spirit and moulding the national character. He deplored Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt's deportation, eulogising his eminent virtues. The District Conference met later, some 3,000 persons being present. After the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Srijut Rajendra Lal Pal Chowdhury, the President, Srijut Hara Nath Ghose delivered his address. Next Srijut Aurobindo Ghose addressed the meeting. An enlarged photo of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt was prominently placed on the "dais" and garlanded. The audience stood up in reverence when Aswini Babu's name was mentioned by the President. The first Resolution expressed sorrow and regret at the deportation of the nine Bengali gentlemen and condemned Regulation III of 1919. After it was carried resolutions were adopted on swadeshi, boycott, national education, female primary education, prevention of intemperance, physical and moral culture, sanitation, arbitration courts, partition of Bengal. The sixth resolution expressed sorrow at the separate representation of Hindus and Mahomedans and the denial of an Executive Council to East Bengal. The next resolution condemned prohibition of lawful meetings and associations. Other resolutions touched on local topics.

THE FIND OF EXPLOSIVES.—

The Maratha Brahmin Hari Vishnu Athavle, who was arrested at Kalyan on being found in possession of a trunk full of explosives was handed over to the Bombay Criminal Investigation Department by the G. I. P. Railway Police. Among the things there was found a book containing various names and addresses and it is stated that the names included those of certain persons recently implicated in bomb throwing cases as also of a number of swadeshi firms in Bombay. On chemical examination the phials discovered in Athavle's trunk were found to contain picric acid, phenyle and other chemicals generally used in the manufacture of explosives. There were a number of other things found. It is believed the trunk was making a hundred of most dangerous

explosives imaginable. Both the railway and the detective police do not wish to make any statement whatsoever about the case, but it has been ascertained that the local Criminal Investigation Department conducted a few searches in (Gurgaon) the places Athavle pointed out, although nothing incriminating was found there. It is also stated that they arrested a man in (Gurgaon) whose name was given by Athavle as an accomplice but nothing having been found against the man he was set free. Later when the police wanted the man he had disappeared. As far as can be ascertained it appears that the police enquiry in Bombay has proved fruitless. Athavle will be tried at Thana.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.—

At the day on the 29th June—A lecture on "The Present Situation" was delivered by Mr. Purthar, a pleader of Nasik. The lecturer in the course of a lengthy harangue, observed that among many men who had spoken on the subject, was Mr. Tilak, who being out of the day, was missed by them. He was a source of great inspiration to those of his party. The speaker said that he extremely regretted, not unmixed with indignation, that lately the movement started for the purpose of holding a meeting for congratulating Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, who was acquitted of an alleged criminal offence, should have been prohibited by the police. He however took this opportunity of expressing on behalf of the public of Bombay his great satisfaction at his acquittal. There were two distinct ideals, placed before the Indians, one was self-Government on Colonial lines, advocated by Mr. Gokhale, and the other was absolute autonomy or independence, advocated by Messrs. Ghose and Pal. The latter was the only genuine ideal in the speaker's opinion, which the Indians should cherish as their own. The speaker raised the services to the country of Messrs. Ghose, Pal and Tilak and told the audience to cherish the ideal of autonomy, secretly or publicly, irrespective of the Government policy of conciliation of one section and of repression of the other. The Chairman said that Lord Morley had described the ideal of Self-Government as something like crying for the moon. But, all the same, in his opinion, the self-Government wanted in India was on the lines of "no taxation without representation" on the principle of self-help, to continue in Swadeshi and to raise themselves spiritually and morally. The meeting dispersed with cries of "Bande Mataram."

Mr. GOKHALE and Nationalism :—At Poona on the 20th June. Mr. Dravid, Member of the Servants of India Society, and Editor, "Gnan Prakash," delivered a lecture under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha on "Nationalism or Liberalism." After quoting from the manifesto of the Deccan Sabha, drawn up by the late Mr. Justice Ranade, he said, "Liberalism implied freedom from race and creed prejudices and a keen sense of justice between man and man. Nationalism was instinctive and was confined to cases where a people had external relations. In these cases political entities were not inspired by the sense of justice." The lecturer's main point was to show that Nationalism, as it was being used and interpreted now in India, would stifle the spirit of Liberalism.

which alone could supply the basis for nation building, which process had only just begun. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Hon'ble J. Dikshit who took part in the debate ensued, criticized Mr. Dravid's view of the matter, Mr. Gokhale maintaining that there was an aspect of Nationalism which militated against Liberalism, but it was only an aspect. The latent view of Nationalism and Liberalism was one. Liberalism in one sense was higher than Nationalism but without a growing sense of common nationality they were likely to lose themselves in inefficient humanitarianism. "If Mr. Dravid," he said, "means only to say that in India at the present time Liberalism was more needed for the very purpose of building up a nation, he would agree to the proposition; but then so defined an opposition between Nationalism and Liberalism, vanishes, and we should be deceived by the narrow meaning given to the word 'Nationalism' by some misguided people." In the course of his remarks Mr. Gokhale asked how many Englishmen were, after all, there in the country in the Civil Service, and in the Army? All told not more than eighty thousand. A mere handful of police in the vast Indian continent preserve order. The difficulty in the matter of Indian nation building came from the Indians themselves in the main. Professor Limace of Fergusson College supported Mr. Dravid in the distinction sought to be drawn between the two sets of forces. The lecture and debate were in Marathi.

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OPINION AND COMMENTS.

The highest synthesis.

In the *Bengalee's* issue of the 29th June there is a very interesting article on Nationalism and Expediency, which seems to us to call for some comment. The object of the article is to modify or water the strong wine of Nationalism by a dash of expediency. Nationalism is a faith, the writer admits; he even goes much further than we are prepared to go and claims for Nationalism that it is the highest of all syntheses. This is a conclusion we are not prepared to accept; it is, we know, the highest which European thought has arrived at so far as that thought has expressed itself in the actual life and ideals of the average European. In Positivism Europe has attempted to arrive at a higher synthesis, the synthesis of humanity; and Socialism and philosophical Anarchism, the Anarchism of Tolstoi and Spencer, have even envisaged the application of the higher intellectual synthesis to life. In India we do not recognize the nation as the highest synthesis to which we can rise. There is a higher synthesis, humanity; beyond that there is a still higher synthesis, this living, suffering, aspiring world of creatures, the synthesis of Buddhism; there is a highest of all, the synthesis of God, and that is the Hindu synthesis, the synthesis of Vedanta. With us to-day Nationalism is our immediate practical faith and gospel not because it is the highest possible synthesis, but because it must be realised in life if we are to have the chance of realising the others. We must live as a nation before we can live in humanity. It is for this reason that Nationalist thinkers have always urged the necessity of realising our separateness from other nations and living to ourselves for the present, not in order

to shut out humanity, but that we may get that individual strength, unity and wholeness which will help us to live as a nation for humanity. A man must be strong and free in himself before he can live usefully for others, so must a nation. But that does not justify us in forgetting the ultimate aim of evolution. God in the nation becomes the realisation of the first moment to us because the nation is the chosen means or condition through which we rise to the higher synthesis, God in humanity, God in all creatures, God in Himself and ourself.

Faith and analysis.

Because Nationalism is the highest synthesis, it is more than a mere faith, says the *Bengalee*, it embodies an analysis, however unconscious or even inadequate, of the actual forces and conditions of life. We do not quite understand our contemporary's philosophy. An unconscious analysis is a contradiction in terms. There may be a vague and illexpressed weighing of things in the rough, but that is not analysis. Analysis is in its nature a deliberate intellectual process; the other is merely a perception of things separately or together but without analysis. And analysis is not inconsistent with faith, but must accompany it unless the faith is merely superstition. Every faith is to a certain extent rational, it has its own analysis and synthesis by which it seeks to establish itself intellectually; so has Nationalism. What the *Bengalee* means is apparently that our faith ought not to exceed our observation; in other words, we ought to calculate the forces for and against us and if the favourable forces are weak and the unfavourable strong, we ought to move with caution and hesitation. Now that is a very different question which has nothing to do with the

philosophical aspect of Nationalism but with the policy of the moment. Our position is that Nationalism is our faith, our *Dharma*, and its realisation the duty which lies before the country at the present moment. If so, it is a thing which must be done and from which we cannot turn merely because the forces are against us. If we rely on an analysis of forces, what is it we arrive at? It was only yesterday that there was a series of articles in the *Bengalee* which sought to establish the proposition that the Hindus on whom the burden of the movement has fallen are a doomed and perishing race. The writer arrived at that conclusion by patient and exhaustive analysis. What else does analysis show us? It shows us one of the most powerful Governments in the world determined not to part with its absolute control and aided for the present by a large part of one of the chief communities in India. On the other side a people unequipped, unorganized, without means or resources, divided within itself, a considerable portion of it inert, and even in the educated class a part of it unsympathetic, afraid, insisting on caution and prudence. Shall we then turn from our work? Shall we deny God? Rationality demands that we should. And if we do not, it is simply because it would be to deny God, because we have 'mere' faith, because we believe that God is within us, a spiritual force strong enough to overcome all physical obstacles, weaknesses, disabilities, that God is in the movement, that He is its leader and guides it, that we belong to the world and the future and are not a spent and dying force. This faith we hold because we understand the processes by which He works and can therefore see good in evil, light in the darkness, a preparation for victory in

defeat, a new life in the apparent process of disintegration.

Mature Deliberation.

That the movement is from God has been apparent in its history. Our contemporary does not believe that God created and leads the movement, he thinks that Sriji Surendra Nath Banerji created it and leads it. Only so can we explain the extraordinary statement, "every step that has been taken in construction has been preceded by mature deliberation". Is this so? Was the Swadeshi movement preceded by mature deliberation? Everybody knows that it was scouted by our leaders and, if it had been again proposed to them a month before it suddenly seized the country, would still have been scouted. It came as a flood comes and swept away everybody in its mighty current. Was the Boycott preceded by mature deliberation? Everybody knows how it came, advocated by obscure mofussil towns, propagated by a Calcutta vernacular newspaper, forced on leaders who shrank from it with misgivings, accepted it with tremours and even then would only have used it for a short time as a means of pressure to get the Partition reversed. Everybody knows how it spread over Bengal with the impetuosity of a cyclone. Was the National Education movement preceded by mature deliberation? It came suddenly, it came unexpectedly, unwelcome to many and still damned with a halfhearted support by the leaders of the country. This is what we mean by saying that God is in the movement and leads it. It is a greater than human force, incalculable, sudden and impetuous, which has swept over the country shattering and recreating, transforming cowards into heroes, lovers of ease into martyrs, self-seekers into self-sacrificers, changing in a few years the whole outlook, temper and character of a nation.

The Importance of the Individual.

It is not surprising that with these ideas the *Bengalee* should deprecate the cry for continued courage and self-sacrifice which has been made by Sriji Aurobindo Ghose in his speech at Jhalakati, for to that speech the article is a controversial answer. The cry for expediency resolves itself into an argument for individual prudence on the part of the leaders. "It seems to us to be a fatal idea that for the progress of the nation individuals are not

necessary or that particular individuals are not more necessary than other individuals." And the writer asks whether an organ is justified in cutting itself off for the sake of the organism, and immediately answers his own question partially by saying, yes, when the interests of the organism require it. The metaphor is a false one; for the individual is not an organ, he is simply an atom, and atoms not only can be replaced but are daily replaced, and the replacement is necessary for the continued life of the organism. In times of stress or revolution the replacement is more rapid, that is all. Whatever the importance of particular individuals,—and the importance of men like S. J. Aswini Kumar Dutta or S. J. Krishna Kumar Mitra is not denied by any man in his senses and was not denied but dwelt upon by the speaker at Jhalakati,—they are not necessary, in the sense that God does not depend upon them for the execution of His purposes. Our contemporary does not expressly deny God's existence or His omnipotence or His providence, and if he accepts them, he is debarred from insisting that God cannot save India without S. J. Surendra Nath Banerji or S. J. Aswini Kumar Dutta, that he is unable to remove them and find other instruments or that their deportation or disappearance will defer the fulfilment of His purposes to future centuries.

The Fatalism of Action.

Our contemporary does however seem to doubt these qualities in the Ruler of all. He holds it to be a fatal doctrine "that we are none of us necessary, that everything that is happening or can happen is for the best, that God is seeking His fulfilment in inscrutable ways, that He will Himself lead the country when our prominent men are removed from the arena." This he says, is fatalism, and by flinging the word fatalism at Sriji Aurobindo, he thinks he has damned his position. The word fatalism means usually a resigned passivity, and certainly any leader who preached such a gospel would be injuring the country. That would be indeed a fatal doctrine. But our contemporary admits that it is a fatalism of action and not of inaction he is censuring, he blames the speaker for advocating too much action and not too little. All that the "fatalism" censured means is a firm faith in the love and wisdom of God and a belief based on past experience that as it is His purpose to raise up India, therefore everything that happens or

can happen just now will tend to the fulfilment of His purpose. In other words, there is now an upward tendency in the nation with an immense force behind it and, in such conditions, it is part of human experience that the force makes use of every event to assist the progress of the tendency until its contribution to human development is fulfilled. That is the idea of *Kala* or the *Zeitgeist* working, and, put religiously, it means that God being Supreme Wisdom uses everything for His supreme purposes and out of evil cometh good. This is true of our private life as every man of spiritual insight can testify; he can name and estimate the particular good which has come out of every apparent evil in his life. The same truth applies to the life of the nation.

God's ways.

When it is said that God's ways are inscrutable, it is simply meant that man's reason, on which the *Bengalee* lays so much stress, is not always sufficient to estimate at the time the object He has in a particular dispensation of calamity or defeat. It seems to be nothing but calamity and defeat and it is only afterwards that the light of reason looking backwards is able by the illumination of subsequent events to understand His doings. Therefore we must have faith and an invincible faith or else the calamities will be too great for our courage and endurance. Is this a false doctrine or a fatal doctrine? Will the country be injured by it or helped by it? Sriji Aurobindo never said that God would step in to fill the place of Sriji Aswini Dutta or others removed from the arena. His position was that God has been driving on the movement from the beginning and was always the leader when they were with us and remains the leader when they are taken from us.

Adequate Value.

The *Bengalee* insists however that individual life is quite as sacred for its own purposes as national life for its higher purposes, that the nation must get adequate value for each sacrifice that the individuals make, and that great men must protect themselves from danger because their removal at a critical moment may mean incalculable injury. We deny that individual life is as sacred as national life; the smaller can not be as sacred as the greater, self cannot be as sacred as others.

to say that it is quite as sacred for its own purposes as to deify selfishness. Our lives are useful only in proportion as they help others by example or action or tend to fulfil God in man. It is not true that my ease is sacred, my safety is sacred, or my self-interest is sacred. This if anything is "a fatal doctrine." We do not deny that sacrifice cannot be an end to itself; no one is so foolish as to advance any such proposition. But when the *Bengalee* argues that the individual must demand adequate value for every sacrifice he makes on the national altar, it shows a complete inability to appreciate the nature of sacrifice and the laws of politics. If we had acted in this Baniya spirit, we should never have got beyond the point at which we stood four years ago. It is by unhesitating, wholehearted and princely sacrifices that nations affect their liberty. It has always been so in the past and the laws of nature have not altered and will not alter to suit the calculating prudence of individuals. A great man is valuable to the nation and he should guard himself but only so far as he can do so without demoralizing his followers, ceasing from the battle or abdicating his right to leadership. He should never forget that he leads and the nation looks up to him as a fountain of steadfastness, unselfish service and courage. Expediency means national expediency, not individual expediency. Even so it must be the larger expediency which makes great sacrifices and faces great risks to secure great ends. Statesmanship is not summed up in the words prudence and caution, it has a place for strength and courage.

Expediency and Nationalism.

We have met the arguments of the *Bengalee* at some length because we hold the teaching in this article to be perilous in its tendencies. There is plenty of selfishness, prudence, hesitating calculation in the country, plenty of fear and demoralisation in the older generation. There is no need to take thought and labour for increasing it. Steadfastness, courage, a calm and high spirit are what we now need, wisdom to plan and act, not prudence to abstain from action. Nationalism tempered by expediency is like the French despotism tempered by epigrams. The epigrams undermined the despotism, the expediency is likely to undermine and in some quarters is visibly undermining the Nationalism. More incalculable

Injury" is likely to be done by teaching of this kind at this juncture than by the removal of any great man, however prominent and inspiring his greatness.

YOGA AND HUMAN EVOLUTION.

The whole burden of our human progress has been an attempt to escape from the bondage to the body and the vital impulses. According to the scientific theory the human being began as the animal, developed through the savage and consummated in the modern civilized man. The Indian theory is different. God created the world by developing the many out of the One and the material out of the spiritual. From the beginning the objects which compose the physical world were arranged by Him in their causes, developed under the law of their being in the subtle or psychical world and then manifested in the gross or material world. From *karana* to *sukshma*, from *sukshma* to *sthula*, and back again, that is the formula. Once manifested in matter the world proceeds by laws which do not change, from age to age, by a regular succession, until it is all withdrawn back again into the source from which it came. The material goes back into the psychical and the psychical is involved in its cause or seed. It is again put out when the period of expansion recurs and runs its course on similar lines but with different details till the period of contraction is due. Hinduism regards the world as a recurrent series of phenomena of which the terms vary but the general formula abides the same. The theory is only acceptable if we recognize the truth of the conception formulated in the Vishnu Purana of the world as *vijnana-vijrimbhigani*, developments of ideas in the Universal Intelligence which lies at the root of all material phenomena and by its indwelling force shapes the growth of the tree and the evolution of the clod as well as the development of living creatures and the progress of mankind. Whichever theory we take, the laws of the material world are not affected. From aeon to aeon, from kalpa to kalpa Narayan manifests himself in an ever-evolving humanity which grows in experience by a series of expansions and contractions towards its destined self-realisation in God. That evolution is not denied by the Hindu theory of *vayus*. Each aeon in the Hindu system has its own line of moral and spiritual

evolution and the decline of the dharma or established law of conduct from the Satya to the Kaliyuga is not in reality a deterioration but a detrition of the outward forms and props of spirituality in order to prepare a deeper spiritual intensity within the heart. In each Kaliyuga mankind gains something in essential spirituality. Whether we take the modern scientific or the ancient Hindu standpoint the progress of humanity is a fact. The wheel of Brahma rotates for ever but it does not turn in the same place; its rotations carry it forward.

The animal is distinguished from man by its enslavement to the body and the vital impulses. *Ashanya mrityu*, Hunger who is Death, evolved the material world from of old, and it is the physical hunger and desire and the vital sensations and primary emotions connected with the *Prana* that seek to feed upon the world in the beast and in the savage man who approximates to the condition of the beast. Out of this animal state according to European Science, man rises working out the tiger and the ape by intellectual and moral development in the social condition. If the beast has to be worked out, it is obvious that the body and the prana must be conquered, and as that conquest is more or less complete, the man is more or less evolved. The progress of mankind has been placed by many predominately in the development of the human intellect, and intellectual development is no doubt essential to self-conquest. The animal and the savage are bound by the body because the ideas of the animal or the ideas of the savage are mostly limited to those sensations and associations which are connected with the body. The development of intellect enables a man to find the deeper self within and partially replace what our philosophy calls the *dehatmak buddhi*, the sum of ideas and sensations which make us think of the body as ourself, by another set of ideas which reach beyond the body, and, existing for their own delight and substituting intellectual and moral satisfaction as the chief objects of life, master, if they can not entirely silence, the clamour of the lower sensual desires. That animal ignorance which is engrossed with the cards and the pleasures of the body and the vital impulses, emotions and sensations is *tamasic*, the result of the predominance of the third principle of nature which leads to ignorance and inertia. That is the state of the animal and the lower forms of humanity which are called in the Purana the first or *ta* creation. This animal is the

the development of the intellect tends to dispel and it assumes therefore an all-important place in human evolution.

But it is not only through the intellect that man rises. If the clarified intellect is not supported by purified emotions, the intellect tends to be dominated once more by the body and to put itself at its service and the lordship of the body over the whole man becomes more dangerous than in the natural state because the innocence of the natural state is lost. The power of knowledge is placed at the disposal of the senses, *sattva serves tamas*, the god in us becomes the slave of the brute. The disservice which scientific Materialism is unintentionally doing the world is to encourage a return to this condition; the suddenly awakened masses of men, unaccustomed to deal intellectually with ideas, able to grasp the broad attractive innovations of free thought but unable to appreciate its delicate reservations, verge towards that reeling back into the beast, that relapse into barbarism which was the condition of the Roman Empire at a high stage of material civilisation and intellectual culture and which a distinguished British statesman declared the other day to be the condition to which all Europe approached. The development of the emotions is therefore the first condition of a sound human evolution. Unless the feelings tend away from the body and the love of others takes increasingly the place of the brute love of self, there can be no progress upward. The organisation of human society tends to develop the altruistic element in man which makes for life and battles with and conquers *akarma mrityu*. It is therefore not the struggle for life, or at least not the struggle for our own life, but the struggle for the life of others which is the most important term in evolution,—for our children, for our family, for our class, for our community, for our race and nation, for humanity. An ever-enlarging self takes the place of the old narrow self which is confined to our individual mind and body, and it is this moral growth which society helps and organises.

So far there is little essential difference between our own ideas of human progress and those of the West except in this vital point that the West believes this evolution to be a development of matter and the satisfaction of the reason, the reflective and observing intellect, to be the highest term of our progress. Here it is that our religion parts company with Science. It declares the evolution to be a conquest of matter by the repository of the deeper emotional and

intellectual self which was involved in the body and overclouded by the desires of the *prana*. In the language of the Upanishads the *manakkosha* and the *buddhikosha* are more than the *pranakkosha* and *annakkosha* and it is to them that man rises in his evolution. Religion farther seeks a higher term for our evolution than the purified emotions or the clarified activity of the observing and reflecting intellect. The highest term of evolution is the spirit in which knowledge, love and action, the threefold *dharma* of humanity, find their fulfilment and end. This is the *atman* in the *anandakosha*, and it is by communion and identity of this individual self with the universal self which is God that man will become entirely pure, entirely strong, entirely wise and entirely blissful, and the evolution will be fulfilled. The conquest of the body and the vital self by the purification of the emotions and the clarification of the intellect was the principal work of the past. The purification has been done by morality and religion, the clarification by science and philosophy, art, literature and social and political life being the chief media in which these uplifting forces have worked. The conquest of the emotions and the intellect by the spirit is the work of the future. Yoga is the means by which that conquest becomes possible.

In Yoga the whole past progress of humanity, a progress which it holds on a very uncertain lease is rapidly summed up, confirmed and made an inalienable possession. The body is conquered, not imperfectly as by the ordinary civilized man, but entirely. The vital part is purified and made the instrument of the higher emotional and intellectual self in its relations with the outer world. By ideas which go outward are replaced the ideas which move within, the baser qualities are worked out of the system and replaced by those which are higher, the lower emotions are crowded out by the nobler. Finally all ideas and emotions are stilled and by the perfect awakening of the intuitive reason which places mind in communion with spirit the whole man is ultimately placed at the service of the Infinite. All false self merges into the true Self. Man acquires likeness, union or identification with God. This is *mukti*, the state in which humanity thoroughly realises the freedom and immortality which are its eternal goal.

A TASK UNACCOMPLISHED.

There is no question so vital to the future of this nation as the spirit in which we are to set about the regeneration of our national life. Either India is rising again to fulfil the function for which her past national life and development seem to have prepared her, a leader of thought and faith, a defender of spiritual truth and experience destined to correct the conclusions of materialistic Science by the Higher Science of which she has the secret and in that power to influence the world's civilisation, or she is rising as a faithful pupil of Europe, a follower of methods and ideas borrowed from the West, a copyist of English politics and society. In the one case her aspiration must be great, her faith unshakeable, her efforts and sacrifices such as to command the admiration of the world; in the other no such greatness of soul is needed or possible;—a cautious, slow and gradual progress involving no extraordinary effort and no unusual sacrifices is sufficient for and end so small. In the one case her destiny is to be a great nation remoulding and leading the civilisation of the world, in the other it is to be a subordinate part of the British Empire sharing in the social life, the political privileges, the intellectual ideals and attainments of the Anglo-Celtic race. These are the two ideals before us, and an ideal is not mere breath, it is a thing compelling which determines the spirit of our action and often fixes the method. No policy can be successful which does not take into view the end to be attained and the amount and nature of the effort needed to effect it. The leader of industry who enters on a commercial enterprise, first looks at the magnitude of his field and intended output and equips himself with capital and plant accordingly, and even if he cannot commence at once on the scale of his ideal he holds it in view himself, puts it before the public in issuing his prospectus and estimating the capital necessary, and all the practical steps he takes are conceived in the light of his original aspiration and ordered towards its achievement. So it is with the political ventures of a nation. To place before himself a great object and then to shrink in the name of expediency from the expenditure and sacrifice called for in its pursuit is not prudence but ineptitude. If you will be prudent, be prudent from the beginning. Fix your object low and creep towards it, or if you fix your object in the skies,

it will not do to crawl on the ground and because your eyes are sometimes lifted towards the ideal imagine you are progressing while you murmur to those behind, "Yes, yes, our ideal is in the skies because that is the place for ideals; but we are on the ground and the ground is our proper place of motion. Let us creep, let us creep." Such inconsistency will only dishearten the nation, unnerve its strength and confuse its intelligence. You must either bring down your ideal to the ground or find wings or aeroplane to lift you to the skies. There is no middle course.

We believe that this nation is one which has developed itself in the past on spiritual lines under the inspiration of a destiny which is now coming to fulfilment. The peculiar seclusion in which it was able to develop its individual temperament, knowledge and ideas;—the manner in which the streams of the world poured in upon and were absorbed by the calm ocean of Indian spiritual life, recalling the great image in the Gita,—even as the waters flow into the great tranquil and immeasurable ocean, and the ocean is not perturbed;—the persistence with which peculiar and original forms of society, religion and philosophical thought were protected from disintegration up till the destined moment;—the deferring of that disintegration until the whole world outside had arrived at the point when the great Indian ideal which these forms enshrined could embrace all that it yet needed for its perfect self-expression, and be itself embraced by an age starved by materialism and yearning for a higher knowledge;—the sudden return of India upon itself at a time when all that was peculiarly Indian seemed to wear upon it the irrevocable death-sentence passed on all things that in the human evolution are no longer needed;—the miraculous uprising and transformation of weakness into strength brought about by that return;—all this seems to us to be not fortuitous and accidental but inevitable and preordained in the decrees of an overruling Providence. The rationalist looks on such beliefs and aspirations as mysticism and jargon. When confronted with the truths of Hinduism, the experience of deep thinkers and the choice spirits of the race through thousands of years, he shouts "Mysticism, mysticism!" and thinks he has conquered. To him there is order, development, progress, evolution, enlightenment in the history of Europe, but the past of India is an unceasing mass of superstition and ignorance.

book of human life. These thousands of years of our thought and aspiration are a period of the least importance to us and the true history of our progress only begins with the advent of European education! The rest is a confused nightmare or a mere barren lapse of time preparing nothing and leading to nothing. This tone is still vocal in the organs of the now declining school of the nineteenth century some of which preserve their influence in the provinces where the balance in the struggle between the past and the future has not inclined decidedly in favour of the latter. In Bengal it is still represented by an undercurrent of the old weakness and the old want of faith which struggles occasionally to establish itself by a false appearance of philosophical weight and wisdom. It cannot really believe that this is a movement with a divine force within and a mighty future before it. The only force it sees is the resentment against the Partition which in its view is enough to explain everything that has happened, the only future it envisages is reform and the reversal of the Partition. Recently, however, the gospel of Nationalism has made so much way that the organs of this school in Bengal have accepted many of its conclusions and their writings are coloured by its leading ideas. But the fundamental idea of the movement as a divine manifestation purposing to raise up the nation not only for its own fulfilment in India but for the work and service of the world and therefore sure of its fulfilment, therefore independent of individuals and superior to vicissitudes and difficulties, is one which they cannot yet grasp. It is a sentiment which has been growing upon us as the movement progressed, but it has not yet been sufficiently put forward by the organs of Nationalism itself, partly because the old idea of separating religion from politics lingered, partly because the human aspects of the Nationalist faith had to be established before we could rise to the divine. But that divine aspect has to be established if we are to have the faith and greatness of soul which can alone help us in the tremendous developments the signs of the time portend. There is plenty of weakness still lingering in the land and we cannot allow it to take shelter under the cry of expediency and rationality and seek to kill the faith and force that has been born in the hearts of the young. The *Karma yugin* has taken its stand on the rock of religion and its first object will be to combat these reactionary tendencies and

lead the nation forward into the fuller light for which the *Bande Mataram* and other organs of the new faith only prepared. The gospel of Nationalism has not yet been fully preached; its most inspiring tenets have yet to be established not only by the eloquence of the orator and inspiration of the prophet but by the arguments of the legislator, the appeal to experience of the statesman and the harmonising generalisations of the scientist.

MR. MACKARNES' BILL.

We find in India to hand by mail last week the full text of Mr. Mackarnes' speech in introducing the Bill by which he proposes to amend the Regulation of 1818 and safeguard the liberties of the subject in India. We are by no means enamoured of the step which Mr. Mackarnes has taken. We could have understood a proposal to abolish the regulation entirely and disclaim the necessity or permissibility of coercion in India. This would be a sound liberal position to take, but it would not have the slightest chance of success in England and would be no more than an emphatic form of protest not expected or intended to go farther. British Liberalism is and has always been self-regarding, liberal at home, hankering after benevolent despotism and its inevitable consummation in dependencies. To ask Liberal England to give up the use of coercion in emergencies would be to ask it to contradict a deep-rooted instinct. We could have understood, again, a Bill which while leaving the Government powers of an extraordinary nature to deport the subject, under careful safeguards, in unusual and well-defined circumstances and for no more than a fixed period, would yet leave the aggrieved subject an opportunity after his release of vindicating his character and, if it appeared that he had been deported unwarrantably and without due inquiry or in spite of complete innocence, of obtaining fitting compensation. Such an act would meet both the considerations of State and the considerations of justice. It would leave the Government ample power in emergencies but would take from it the freedom to deport out of caprice, panic or unscrupulous reactionism. Deportation would then be a rare act of State necessity, not an autocratic *lettre-de-cachet* used to bolster up injustice or crush all opposition to the

continuance of autocratic absolutism. Mr. Mackarness' Bill seems to us to leave the essence of deportation just where it was before. The changes made are purely palliative and palliative not of the unjust, irritating and odious character of the measure but of the apparent monstrosity of deporting a man without even letting him or his friends or the world know what charge lay against him or whether any charge lay against him. It is this which gives an ultra-Russian character to the Regulation and makes the Liberal conscience queasy. The proposed changes are a salve to that conscience, not a benefit to the victim of deportation. It makes his position, if anything, worse. It is bad to be punished without any charge, it is worse to be punished on a charge which you are detained to all time from disproving.

There are three changes which the Bill contemplates. Instead of being able to confine a man until further orders the Viceroy has to renew his sanction every three months, a change which may have some deterrent effect on a Viceroy with a Liberal conscience but to others will mean merely a quarterly expenditure of a drop of ink and a few strokes of the pen. Another and more important change is the provision that, to qualify for deportation, "a British subject must be reasonably suspected of having been guilty of treasonable practices or of a crime punishable by law, being an act of violence or intimidation and tending to interfere with or disturb the maintenance of law and order." That, thinks Mr. Mackarness "insures in the first place that a man must have been guilty of some definite offence. At any rate it is intended to provide for that." Unfortunately the intention is all, there is no real provision for carrying it out, except the clause that the warrant shall contain a definite statement of the character of the crime. How will this clause help the alleged intention of the Bill? It is only the character of the crime that has to be defined and, if the authorities relying on a Marrue Hoq or a Lakhal Laha frame a charge against Srijut Surendranath Banerji of waging war or abetting or conspiring to wage war or financing unlawful assemblies and incontinently detain him, would the Liberal conscience be satisfied? Or would it be possible for the moderate Leader to meet this charge, to define its character? It is

evident that to carry out the "intention" of the Bill it would be necessary to name the specific act or acts which constitute the offence and the time and circumstances of commission, for it is only a precise accusation that can be met. Even if the charge be precise in its terms, Mr. Mackarness' Bill provides no redress to the deportee. All that he can do is to submit a "representation" to the officials who have deported him. Those who know the ways of the bureaucrat can tell beforehand the inevitable answer to such representations, "The Government have considered your representation and see no cause to alter the conclusions they had arrived at upon sufficient and reliable information." So the deportation will stand, the charge will stand and the last condition of the deportee will be worse than his first. The only advantage the Bill will secure is the greater opportunities for effective heckling in the House of Commons if facts can be secured which throw doubt on the charge; but the Government has always the answer that its evidence is reliable and conclusive but for reasons of State policy it is not advisable to disclose either its nature or its sources, and the relics of the Liberal conscience will be satisfied. As things stand the deportations have made even some Imperialistic consciences uneasy and that advantage will be lost under the new Bill.

Mr. Mackarness has admitted that the regulations are absolutely hateful and he would prefer to propose their entire abolition if such a proposal had any chance of acceptance by a British House of Commons. His amendments will not make them less hateful, they will only make them less calmly absurd. That is a gain to the Government, not to us or to justice. The only provisions that would make deportation a reasonable though still autocratic measure of State would be to allow the Viceroy to deport a person, stating the charge against him, for a period of not more than six months and oblige the Government to provide the deportee on release with full particulars as to the nature of the information on which he was deported, so that he might seek redress against malicious slander by individuals or, if it were considered impolitic to disclose the sources of information, for wanton and arbitrary imprisonment by the authorities. The measure would still be oppressive but it would then give some chance to an aggrieved and innocent man, so long as a sense of justice and some tradition of independence still

linger in the higher tribunals of the land. Such a measure would have been a moderate measure and would have left the essential absolutism of Government in India unchanged. But even to this the Bill does not rise. It is noticeable that the only Irish Nationalist whose name was on the Bill repudiated it as soon as he heard Mr. Mackarness' speech, on the ground that he had been under the impression that the Bill went much farther than was now stated. The other names were those of British Liberals or Conservatives. This is significant of the difference between the sympathy we may expect even from conscientious English Liberals and the real fellow-feeling of a Nationalist who has himself known what it is to live under the conditions of bureaucratic coercion. Mr. Mackarness has fought the cause of the deportees in the spirit of genuine Liberalism, but his Bill is a concession to that watery British substitute for it which is only Imperialism afraid of its convictions.

THE KATHA UPANISHAD.

FIRST PART; FIRST CHAPTER.

1. Vajasravas, desiring, gave all he had. Now Vajasravas had a son named Nachikatus.

2. As the gifts of the sacrifice went by, faith seized on the boy's pure heart and he pondered:

3. "Kine that have drunk their last water, [eaten their last grass, yielded their last milk, worn out their organs, of Undelight are the worlds to which he goeth that giveth these."

4. Therefore he said to his father, "Me to whom wilt thou give?" Twice he said it and a third time he said it: then his father said, "To Death I give thee."

5. Nachikatus said, "Among many I walk the first, among many I walk the midmost; something Death meaneth to do which to-day by me he will accomplish."

6. Lock back, O my father, to what the men of old were, lock round to what they are that they have come after. Man that is mortal withers like the grass of the field and like the grass of the field is born again."

7. His attendants said to Yama, "Like fire a guest entereth into the house that is a Brahmin, therefore men hasten to appease him. O son of Vivaasvan, bring the guest-water."

8. That man of little understanding in whose house a Brahmin sitteth fasting, all his hope and his expectation, the companionship he hath kept with saints, the virtue of kind words he hath spoken, the wells he hath dug and the sacrifices he hath offered, all his sons and all his cattle go from him to that guest unhonoured."

9. Yama said. "Because for three nights thou hast dwelt in my house fasting, O Brahmin, a guest worthy of reverence,—O Brahmin, salutation to thee, and to me peace and felicity,—there fore three boons do thou choose, for each night a boon."

10. Nachicatus said. "Tranquillised in feeling, gracious and serene be the Gautama, my father, let his sorrow for my sake pass away from him, let him know it is, I, let him greet me from thy grasp, O Death, delivered. This is the first boon of the three I choose, O Yama."

11. Yama said. "Even as before shall he know thee and believe, from me released, Auddalaky Arouny, thy father sweetly shall he sleep at night and his sorrow pass away from him, having seen thee rescued from the jaws of death, O Nachicatus."

12. Nachicatus said. "In heaven there is not any terror, in heaven, O Death, thou art not, the fear of old age ceaseth; crossing over hunger and death as over two rivers, leaving sorrow far behind, the soul in heaven only rejoiceth."

13. Therefore that celestial fire, O Death, which thou studiast, expound to me, for I believe. They who know Him are the people of heaven and their portion is immortality. This for second boon I have chosen."

14. Yama said. "Hearken to me O Nachicatus, I will expound to thee the celestial fire, for well do I know him. He is the possession of infinity and the foundation of existence: in the secret heart he is established, for such know him O Nachicatus."

15. Of Fire, the world's eldest, he told him, what are the bricks to him and what their number, and the manner of his building, and Nachicatus repeated what he told. Then Death was pleased and said to him yet farther;

16. Yea, he said to him, gratified the mighty mind, the Great One; "Yet a farther boon today I give thee, for by thy name shall this fire be called. This necklace also take, a necklace of many figures."

17. He that lighteth the three fires of Nachicatus and uniteth himself

with the three and doeth the triple works, passeth beyond death and birth for ever. He knoweth and seeth the God of our adoration who is omniscient and born of the Eternal Brahman and he attaineth utterly the peace.

18. When a man kindleth the three fires of Nachicatus, when he knoweth this threefold and so knowing heapeth the fire of Nachicatus, he thrusteth from him the cords of Death and leaving sorrow far behind entereth heaven rejoicing.

19. This, O Nachicatus, is the celestial fire which thou didst choose for second boon, and of this fire the world shall speak as thine. Choose yet a third boon, O Nachicatus."

20. Nachicatus said "This that men debate about the spirit that has passed and some say "he yet is" and others "He is not", this I would know from thy teaching, the third boon of the boons is this is, O Yama."

21. Yama said. "Even the gods debated this of old, for it is no easy riddle and very subtle is the law of it. Choose another boon, O Nachicatus; importune me not, no, nor urge me. This, this abandon."

22. Nachicatus said. "Even the gods debated this of old, it seemeth, and thou thyself sayest it is no easy riddle. None shall I find who can tell me of this as thou canst, nor is there any other boon at all that is its equal."

23. Yama said. "Choose sons and grandsons that shall live each a hundred years, choose many cattle, choose elephants and gold and horses, choose a mighty reach of earth and thyself live for as many year as thou listest."

24. This boon if thou deemest equal to thy asking, choose then riches and termless life, be king over a mighty country, O Nachicatus. I give thee thy will of all desirable things for thy portion."

25. Yea, all things that are desirable and hard to win by mortals, all these demand at thy pleasure. Lo, these glorious women with chariots and with bugles, their like is not to be won by human beings, these I give thee, live with these for thy slavegirls. But of death question not, O Nachicatus."

26. Nachicatus said. "Today man enjoyeth these, O Death, and tomorrow they are not, surely they turn to decrepitude the glory of the senses. Yea, all life is but for a moment. Thine be these chariots, and thine the dancing

of these women and their singing."

27. Man findeth no satisfaction in wealth, yea, and wealth I shall have since I have beheld thee, and shall live as long as thou art my master. That boon will I choose and no other."

28. Man that groweth old and dwelleth down on the unhappy earth, when he hath entered the presence of the ageless immortals and knoweth, yea, when he looketh very close at beauty and enjoyment and pleasure, what delight can he take in over-long living?

29. That of which they debate, O Death, do thou tell me, even the truth of that mighty passage. Than this boon entering into the secret of secrets no other chooseth Nachicatus."

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST.

In the relations between India and England since the beginning of the nineteenth century, two different and complementary tendencies have been at work, the relative significance of which is sometimes overlooked. These are the respective influences exercised by the culture and civilisation of each country upon the other. It is true that the Anglicisation of the East has been sufficiently obvious: the corresponding Indianisation of the West is often overlooked. For the first process manifests upon the surface of things, the other in more hidden ways.

In the realm of the practical, empirical and material life, India has been roused to a realisation of the fact that, in her devotion to the highest things, she has carried too far her indifference to the concrete. Stung by a sense of her own impotence, she seeks to-day to hold her own in efficiency and in manufacture against the nations of the West. The impulse towards this mastery of the concrete, the critical and historical sense, and above all the restatement of her own intuitions in the more exact terms of modern science, are the things which India will owe to the West.

The complementary lesson is the 'Message of the East.' The western nations, after a period of unparalleled success in the investigation of the concrete world, the 'conquest of nature,' and the adaptation of mechanical contrivances to the material ends of life, are approaching in every department a certain critical period. The far-reaching developments of commercialism are undermining their own stability. One-tenth of the British population dies in the goal, the workhouse or the lunatic asylum. The increasing contrast between extremes of wealth and poverty, the unemployed and many other urgent problems point the same moral. Extreme developments of vulgarity and selfishness imply the necessary reaction. In science, the limit of possible investigation by physical means is in sight. The main body of scientific men cannot much longer avoid the necessity for the investigation of super-physical

phenomena of the new psychology have made an obsolete science of the old. In all the arts, the extreme development of the scientific, scientific, and observing faculties has almost extinguished creative power. Science has corrupted art, until the aims of both are confused. And while on the one hand 'scientific materialism' is already out of date, the old religious formulas are more and more rapidly losing their hold on the best and most sincere minds. Even the accepted formulae of conventional morality are questioned by the most advanced thinkers. In every department of life there is evidence of the culmination of a particular line of development, and the imminent necessity of some new synthesis.

The inwardness of these circumstances has been obscured in various ways. England with a blindness characteristic of a youthful and materially successful country has conceived that it has been her mission not merely to awaken and unite, but to civilize India. Only very gradually is England realizing the truth of Sir Thomas Munro's declaration, that if civilization were to be met in a battle of commerce between the two countries, she would soon be heavily in debt. There is already abundant evidence of that permeation of western thought by Indian philosophy which Schopenhauer so clearly foresaw. The East has indeed revealed a new world to the West which will be the inspiration of a 'Renaissance' more profound and far-reaching than that which resulted from the re-discovery of the classic world of the west. It is the irony of fate that while the outward and visible Anglicisation of the East is only too apparent, this inward and subtle Indianisation of the West has, as it were, stolen a march in the night, and already there are groups of western thinkers whose purposes and principles are more truly Indian than are those of the average English-educated Indian of today. The Western no longer afford to ignore the wisdom of the East in any single department of culture.

The 'new Theology' is little else than Hinduism. The Theosophical movement is directly due to the stimulus of Indian thought. The socialist finds that he is striving for very much that which for two or three milleniums has been part and parcel of the fundamentally democratic structure of Indian society.* Exhibitions of Indian art are organised in London for the education of the people. The profound influence which Indian philosophy is destined to exert on Western thought and life is already evident. Indian science had a far-reaching effect on the development of certain aspects of mathematics earlier in the sixteenth century, and is now exerting its influence in other ways. Much of the modern theory of Western science goes to confirm and justify the intuitions of the old Indian religious-scientific writers, and they in their turn are proving suggestive to the modern worker. And finally, small group of artists and musicians—those particularly whose minds are most attuned to the great art of mediæval Europe—are turning their eyes towards the East for

inspiration. "When a new inspiration comes into European art," says a recent English writer, "it will come again from the East." It is of this coming of the East that I now write.

The chief characteristic of the bulk of modern European art—the art of the Salons and the Royal Academy—is a great development of imitative power. The exhibition walls are hung with studies in still life—studies of landscapes, of trees and animals and of human beings in every sort of situation and moved by every kind of feeling. Much of this is the expression in art of a comparatively new appreciation of nature in all her varying moods, an appreciation which (though characteristic of early Celtic literature) in modern times found just expression only in the Romantic Revival of the early sixteenth century, representing a healthy reaction from the false sentiment of the preceding century. At the same time, the love of nature in all her moods has increased by a natural compensatory tendency in proportion as human life has been divorced from nature. It is in the absence of nature, in the artificial life of towns, that we need pictures of nature's outward form to call up within us the memory of far-off peace and beauty. No one in the constant presence of his mistress needs at the same time her picture. It is only in absence that a picture is desired—and even so, perhaps he is the better lover who needs no picture in concrete form having a more perfect memory picture in his heart. The modern habit of dotting the walls of a house with framed pictures of beautiful things was unknown in the days when all the accessories of life itself were beautiful.

Such realistic art, however, when we consider so much of it as selects, appreciates and emphasizes the beautiful and the true, is educative alike to artist and to public, in the sense that we 'love things best first when we see them painted. This is also a necessary stage towards a higher synthesis. I cannot better express the significance, immediate and future, of this 'return to nature', than in the following words taken from a letter lately received from an English artist friend:—"What you say about design and the need for the type rather than the realistic nature study so exactly fits my own theory of doing that I am at once flattered and confirmed. Yet I would not for worlds discourage the affectionately interested, often passionate study of natural forms which one sees in young students' work now-a-days, because not only would that deprive them of a world of pleasure and a source of real education, it would perhaps shut the door on what I feel is the beginning of a great advance in artistic achievement. It is true that this artistic achievement may not be attained by these same students, but it will be largely the result of their studies. The racial mind will be a new 'trempe', dans le vrai, and out of the infinitely various studies, the type image will emerge." Realism thus regarded, marks a necessary stage in a return from artificiality to truth. India merely cannot remain untouched by the necessity for a similar transition period.

At the same time, there is an ever present danger of finding permanent satisfaction in the perfecting of this 'lesser appreciative' art, of becoming so absorbed in the concrete and

phenomenal as to wholly forget the abstract and the ideal. Those who defend realism as an ultimate aim make this mistake. Even more fatal is the view that makes the significance of art lie solely or primarily in the perfection of its own technique, the subject matter becoming indifferent, until at last many realists depict equally willingly the hideous and the beautiful, sometimes apparently by definite choice preferring the former, so that the term 'realistic' in art and literature has come to mean the detailed presentation of the unpleasant. But even apart from this obvious evil, satisfaction in the development and exercise of the imitative powers, carried to excess, precludes the evolution of the creative.

The essential limitation of this realistic presentation of natural beauty lies in the restriction to a definite point in space and time and in the mingling of desire with emotion: "the impression of the beautiful fades away in proportion as any relation of the beautiful object to the desires of the subject enters his consciousness." The element of the sensuous tends to prevail over that of emotional delight and there is a degradation from an attitude of disinterested exaltation, to that of desire to experience the pleasure associated in the mind with the objects represented. This is particularly obvious, for example, in the treatment of the nude, where the realistic manner excites or tends to excite desire and draws us "away from aesthetic contemplation to the sphere of individual willing." The same is equally true of a landscape picture that rather suggests a desire to be back again in so fair a place, than conveys a disinterested emotion or idea. Desires thus awakened, it should be noted, may be very far from wrong, but their awakening does not belong to the best that art can give us. What that best is, we shall see later. *The Modern Review.*

A. K. GOONARASWAMY.

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NOTICE.—On account of the inconvenience of the printing press there has been some irregularity in the publication of the second and the third issues of the paper. With a view to remove this difficulty we are making better arrangements for printing the paper. The next issue of Karmayogin will be published on Saturday the 17th instant instead of on Saturday the 10th. It will not affect the subscribers who will not be issued in course of a year.

* See 'The Indian Craftsman,' by A. K. Goonaraswamy, with preface by G. R. Ashby London, 1906.

1. Consider, for example the Tamil text: "One Lord is the dancer who like the heat latent in firewood, diffuses his power in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn. This is implicitly modern."

2. G. 'Two new worlds by Fourier d'Albe and review by'



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Fellow-countrymen, delegates and people of
Barisal and Backergunge:—

I have first to express to you my personal
gratitude for the kindly reception you have
accorded to me. For a year I have been se-
cluded from the fellowship and brotherly em-
brace of my fellow-countrymen. To me, there-
fore, the kindness of your welcome must
awake much keener feelings than would have
been the case in other circumstances. Espe-
cially it is a cause of rejoicing to me to have
that welcome in Barisal. When I come to this
District, when I come to this soil of Backer-
gunge which has been made sacred and ever
memorable in the history of this country—I
come to no ordinary place. When I come to
Barisal, I come to the chosen temple of the
Mother—I come to a sacred *pithan* of the
national spirit—I come to the birth-place and
field of work of Aswini Kumar Datta.

TROUBLES OF BARISAL.

It is now the fourth year since I came to
Barisal first on the occasion of the Provincial
Conference. Three years have passed since
then—they have been years of storm and stress
to the country,—they have been years during
which history has been making, during which
the people of India have been undergoing a
process of re-birth. Many things have hap-
pened in these years, especially in the last few
months. One sign of what has been happening
in the past is this empty chair (pointing to the
chair upon which Aswini Kumar's photo was
placed.) One aspect of these years has been
a series of repressions. They have been years
in which the country has had to undergo the
sufferings and sacrifices which repression invol-
ves. Barisal has had its full share of these
sufferings. They had begun even before I last
came among you. You had then the regulation
lathi of the Police and the Gurkha visitation.
After that there have been other forms of coer-
cion. In this very town of Jhalakati you had
to pay a punitive police tax. It was a punitive
tax, punitive not of any offence of which you
have been guilty,—for, you have been guilty
of none. In Barisal, there was no disturbance,
no breach of the law. On the contrary, you
have always been patient and self-restrained—
you have always kept within the four corners
of the law. What you have been punished for
was your patriotism—you were punished for
your Swadeshim—you were punished for your
successful organisation of boycott. That tax
was borne by the mahajans of Jhalakati with
the readiness and uncomplaining endurance of
large-hearted patriotism.

THE DEPORTATIONS.

And now there have come the deportations.
You have been called to endure the exile of
those who have been dearest to you, who stood
for all that was patriotic and noble in the
district. Of the deportation Barisal has had
more than its full share. Of those deported
three are sons of this district. The man whose
name will live for ever on the lips of his
countrymen as one of the great names of the
age—one of the makers of the new nation—
Aswini Kumar Datta has been taken away

from you. His active and devoted lieutenant
has been taken away from you. That warm-
hearted patriot whom I am proud to have had
the privilege of calling my personal friend—
Monoranjan Guha—has been taken away from
you. Why have they been exiled? What
was their offence? Can anyone in Barisal name
a single action—can anyone of those who have
sent him into exile name definitely any single
action which Aswini Kumar Datta has com-
mitted, of which the highest and noblest man
might not be proud? Can anyone name a single
action of Krishna Kumar Mitra's which would
be derogatory to the reputation of the highest
in the land? There have indeed been charges—
vague charges, shameless charges,—made. The
law under which they have been exiled requires
no charge. The law under which they have
been exiled has been impugned in Parliament
as an antiquated and anomalous Regulation,
utterly out of place and unfit to be used in mo-
dern times. When it was so attacked and its
use by the Government of India challenged,
Lord Morley, the man who rules India with
absolute sway and stands or should stand to us
as the incarnation of British statesmanship,
made an answer which was not the answer of a
statesman but of an attorney. "The law" he
said, "is as good a law as any on the Statute
Book". What is meant—what does Lord Mor-
ley mean—by a "good law"? In a certain sense
every law is good law which is passed by an
established authority. If there were a law
which made swadeshi illegal by which to buy a
Swadeshi cloth would become a criminal action
punishable by a legal tribunal—there have been
such laws in the past; and if that were enacted
by the Legislative Council it would be in Lord
Morley's sense of the word as good a law as any
up on the Statute book. But would it be a good
law in the true sense or a travesty of law and
justice? Lord Morley says it is a good law.
We say it is a lawless law, a dishonest law,—a
law that is in any real sense of the word, no law
at all. For what is its substance and purpose?
It provides that when you cannot bring any
charge against a man which can be supported
by proofs and when you have no evidence
which would stand for a moment before a court
of justice, in any legal tribunal—when you have
nothing against him except that his existence
is inconvenient to you, then you need not ad-
vance any charge, you need not bring any evi-
dence, you are at liberty to remove him from his
home, from his friends, from his legitimate activi-
ties and intern him for the rest of his life in a
jail. This is the law which is as good a law as
any on the Statute Book! But what does its
presence on the Statute Book mean? It means
that under certain circumstances or whenever
an absolute authority chooses, there is no law in
the land for any subject of the British Crown
—no safety for the liberty of the person. It is
under this law that nine of the most devoted
workers for the country have been exiled, some
of whose names are household words in India
and incompatible with any imputation of evil.
When the authorities were pressed in Parliament
for an account of the reasons for their action
they would not bring and refused to bring any
definite accusation. Once indeed under the pro-
cedure of cross-examination a charge was advanced,
—wild, vague and baseless. It was said in ef-
fect that these men were instigators and paymas-
ters of anarchy and bloodshed. What was the
authority under which such a charge was made?
How was it that this monstrous falsehood was

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allowed to proceed from the mouths of His Majesty's Minister and pollute the atmosphere of the House of Commons? Is there a man in his senses who will believe that Aswini Kumar Dutta was the instigator and paymaster of anarchy and bloodshed or that Krishna Kumar Mitra was the instigator and paymaster of anarchy and bloodshed,—men whose names were synonymous for righteousness of action and nobility of purposes and whose whole lives were the embodiment of uprightness, candour and fair and open living before all men? We have been told that it was not only on police evidence that they were exiled. That was not what was said at the beginning. At first it was on police information that the deportations were justified and any attempt to impugn that authority was resented. But now that police information has been shown to be false and unreliable, it is said that there was other than police information to justify the action the authorities. We know what that information must have been. I will not make any sweeping charge against a whole body of men without exception. I know that even among the police there are men who are upright and observe truth and honesty in their dealings. I have met such men and honoured them. But we know what the atmosphere of that department is, we know what the generality of police officers are and how little reliance can be placed upon them. Of the value of police information Midnapore is the standing and conclusive proof. Besides this police information what else there have been? Obviously the information on which the police has relied in certain of these cases—the evidence of the hired perjurer and forger, of the approver who to save himself from a baseless charge makes allegations yet more unfounded against others and scatters mud on the most spotless reputations in the land. If there were any other source besides this, we know too what that must have been. There are a sprinkling of *Vibhishanas* among us—men who for their own ends are willing to tell any lie that they think will please the authorities or injure their personal enemies. But if the Government in this country have upon such information believed that the lives of Aswini Kumar Dutta and Krishna Kumar Mitra are a mere mask and not the pure and spotless lives we have known, then we must indeed say "what an amount of folly and ignorance rules at the present moment in this unhappy country."

"THE HAMMER OF GOD."

Well, we have had many other forms of repression besides these deportations. We have had charges of sedition, charges of dacoity and violence, brought against the youngmen who are the hope of our country—charges such as those which we have seen breaking down and vanishing into nothing when tested by a high and impartial tribunal. This is the nature of the repression we have been called upon to suffer. It has been so engineered by the underlings of the Government that it strikes automatically at those who are most energetic, most devoted, most self-denying in the service of the mother country. It addresses itself to the physical, the outward manifestations of our national life, and seeks by suppressing them to put an end to that national life and movement. But it is a strange idea, a foolish idea, which

men have, indeed, always cherished under such circumstances, but which has been disproved over and over again in history—to think that a nation which has once risen,—once has been called up by the voice of God to rise—will be stopped by mere physical repression. It has never so happened in the history of a nation, nor will it so happen in the history of India. Storm has swept over us to-day. I saw it come. I saw the striding of the storm-blast and the rush of the rain and as I saw it an idea came to me. What is this storm that is so mighty and sweeps with such fury upon us? And I said in my heart "It is God who rides abroad on the wings of the hurricane,—it is the might and force of the Lord that manifested itself and His A mighty hands that seized and shook the roof so violently over our heads to-day." A storm like this has swept also our national life. That too was the manifestation of the Almighty. We were building an edifice to be the temple of our Mother's worship—were rearing her a new and fair mansion, a place fit for her dwelling. It was then that He came down upon us. He flung himself upon the building we had raised. He shook the roof with His mighty hands and part of the building was displaced and ruined. Why has He done this? Repression is nothing but the hammer of God that is beating us into shape so that we may be moulded into a mighty nation and an instrument for His work in the world. We are iron upon His anvil and the blows are showering upon us not to destroy but to re-create. Without suffering there can be no strength,—without sacrifice there can be no growth. It is not in vain that Aswini Kumar has been taken from his people. It is not in vain that Krishna Kumar Mitra has been taken from us and is rotting in Agra Jail. It is not in vain that all Maharashtra mourns for Tilak at Mandalay. It is He, not any other, Who has taken them and His ways are not the ways of men but He is all-wise. He knows better than we do what is needful for us. He has taken Aswini Kumar Dutta away from Barisal. Is the movement dead? Is Swadeshi dead? The rulers of the country in their scanty wisdom have thought that by lopping off the heads the movement will cease. They do not know that great as he is, Aswini Kumar Dutta is not the leader of this movement, that Tilak is not the leader. God is the leader. They do not know the storm that has been sweeping over the country was not sent by them, but by Him for His own great purposes. And the same

strength that was manifested in the storm to-day and in the storm of calamity that has passed over the country—the same strength is in us.

OUR "SPIRITUAL STRENGTH."

And if they are mighty to afflict, we are mighty to endure. We are no ordinary race. We are a people ancient as our hills and river and we have behind us a history of manifold greatness, not surpassed by any other race, we are the descendants of those who performed tapasya and underwent unheard of austerities for the sake of spiritual gain and of their own will submitted to all the sufferings of which humanity is capable. We are the children of those mothers who ascended with a smile the funeral pyre that they might follow their husbands to another world. We are a people to whom suffering is welcome and who have a spiritual strength within them, greater than any physical force, we are a people in whom God has chosen to manifest Himself more than any other at many great moments of our history. It is because God has chosen to manifest Himself and has entered into the hearts of his people that we are rising again as a nation. Therefore it matters not even if those who are great and most loved are taken away. Trust in God's mercy and believe that they will soon be restored to us. But even if they don't come again still the movement will not cease. It will move forward irresistibly until God's will is fulfilled. He fulfils His purposes inevitably and those too He will fulfil. Those who are taken from us must after all some day pass away. We are strong in their strength. We have worked in their inspiration. But in the inevitable course of nature they will pass from us and there must be others who will take their places. He has taken them away from us for a little in order that in their absence we might feel that it was not really in their strength that we were strong in their inspiration that we worked but that a Higher Force was working in them and when they are removed, can still work in the hearts of the people. When they pass away others will arise or even if no great men stand forth to lead, still the soul of this people will be great with the force of God within and do the work. This it is that He seeks to teach us by these separations—by these calamities. The men are gone, The movement has not ceased. The National School at Jhalakati was started one month after the deportation of Aswini Kumar Dutta, that is a patent sign that the movement is not as our rulers would ignorantly have it,

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got up by eloquent agitators. The movement goes on by the force of nature; it works as force of nature, works and goes inevitable on, whatever obstacle comes in the way.

OUR OBJECT.

What is it that this movement seeks, not according to the wild chimeras born of unreasoning fear but in its real aim and purpose? What is it that we seek? We seek the fulfilment of our life as a nation. This is what the word *Swaraj*, which is a bog bear and terror to the Europeans, really means. When they hear it, they are full of unreasoning terrors. They think *swaraj* is independence, it is freedom and that means that the people are going to rise against them in rebellion, that means there are bombs behind every bush, that every volunteer who gives food to his famine-stricken countrymen or nurses the cholera-stricken is a possible rebel and dacoit. *Swaraj* is not the Colonial form of Government nor any form of Government. It means the fulfilment of our national life. That is what we seek, that is why God has sent us into the world to fulfil Him by fulfilling ourselves in our individual life, in family, in the community, in the nation, in humanity. That is why He has sent us to the world and it is this fulfilment that we demand, for this fulfilment is life and to depart from it is to perish. Our object, our claim is that we shall not perish as a nation, but live as a nation. Any authority that goes against this object will dash itself against the eternal throne of justice—it will dash itself against the laws of nature which are the laws of God, and be broken to pieces.

OUR MEANS.

This then is our object and by what means do we seek it? We seek it by feeling our separateness and pushing forward our individual self-fulfilment by what we call Swadeshi—Swadeshi in commerce and manufacture, in politics, in education, in law and administration, in every branch of national activity. No doubt this means independence, it means freedom; but it does not mean rebellion. There are some who fear to use the word "freedom," but I have always used the word because it has been the *mantra* of my life to aspire towards the freedom of my nation. And when I was last in jail I clung to that *mantra*; and through the month of my counsel I used this word persistently. What he said for me—and it was said not only on my behalf, but of all who cherish this ideal,—was this: If to aspire to independence and preach freedom is a crime you may cast me into jail and there bind me with chains. If to preach freedom is a crime then I am a criminal and let me be punished. But freedom does not mean the use of violence—it does not mean bombs; it is the fulfilment of our separate national existence. If there is any authority mad enough to declare that Swadeshi, national education, and *Swaraj*, association for improvement of our physique, is illegal it is not stamping out anarchism; it is on the contrary establishing a worse anarchism from above. It sets itself against the law of God that gives to every nation their primary rights. The Judge in the Alipore case said that the aspiration after independence and the preaching of the ideal of independence was a thing no Englishman could condemn. But if you say that the

aspiration after independence is a thing done run endema and yet put down by force the only powerful means of securing independence you are really declaring that it is the practice of independence which you will not tolerate. Because a few have gone mad and broken the law you have chosen to brand a whole people, to condemn a nation and to suppress a whole national movement. With that we have nothing to do. We have no voice in the Government of our country; and the laws and their administration are things in which you don't allow us to have any concern. But one thing is in our own power: our courage and devotion are in our power our sacrifice, our suffering are in our power that you cannot take away from us, and so long as you cannot take that from us you can do nothing. Your repression cannot for ever continue, for it will bring anarchy into the country. You will not be able to continue your administration if this repression remains permanent. Your Government will become disorganised; the trade you are using such means to save will become and capital be frightened from the country.

CONCLUSION.

We have therefore only to suffer. We have only to be strong and enduring. All this machinery of coercion, all this repression, will then be in vain. That is the only virtue that is needed. We shall never lose our fortitude, our courage, our endurance. There are some who think that by lowering our heads the country will escape repression. That is not my opinion. It is by looking the storm in the face and meeting it with a high courage, fortitude and endurance that the nation can be saved. It is that which the Mother demands from us,—which God demands from us. He sent the storm yesterday and it carried the roof away. He sent it to-day with greater violence and it seized the roof to remove it. But to-day the roof remained. This is what He demands of us.—"I have sent my storms upon you, so that you may feel and train your strength. If you have suffered by them, if something has been broken, it does not matter, so long as you learn the lesson that it is for strength I make you suffer and always for strength." What did the volunteers do to-day when they flung themselves in crowds on the roof and braved the fury of the hurricane and by main strength held down the roof over their heads? That is the lesson that all must learn and especially the young men of Bengal and India. The storm may come down on us again and with greater violence. Then remember this, brave its fury, feel your strength, train your strength in the struggle with the violence of the wind, and by that strength hold down the roof over the temple of the Mother.

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

THE LAMONE EXHIBITION.—Professor Bhoji Ram Sahni, of the Local Government College, has been placed on special duty in connection with the coming Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition.

SWADESHI.—Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter writes to Rai Bahadur Jodu Nath Maanondar, Managing Director of the Jessore Comb, Button and Mat Factory as follows:—"The young and earnest promoter of the Industry (Mr. Ghosh) saw me. I wish to encourage him in every way. I shall myself take 10 shares and ask my friends to take shares."

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.—The following scholars have been selected for scholarships for industrial education in Europe:—Bombay,—R. V. Gurjar, processes of bleaching dyeing and printing in mills; B. R. Pradhan, electrical and mechanical engineering. Bengal—Mannatha Nath Bysack, Textile Chemistry with special reference to the dyeing, printing and bleaching, textile fabrics. Punjab—M. Nawabuddin, tanning industry. Burma,—Maung Po Thein mining engineering. E. B. and Assam Srijit Giris Chandra Bardalai, mining engineering. C. P.—Saiyid Faizuddin, leather tanning.

TARPUR SUGAR WORKS & LD.—WRITES THE BENGALER.—We have great pleasure to note that the above Company has been revived under the auspices of a strong Board of Directors consisting of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra and others. The objects of the Company are (1) to manufacture sugar, especially date-sugar, without the use of animal charcoal or any substance which may be repugnant to religious feelings; (2) to prepare useful trade articles out of the by-products and wastages after the manufacture of sugar, and (3) to develop new industries by utilisation of the extra forces of the very powerful engines with which the Company's machine is fitted. It is expected to turn out 400 maunds of sugar and 750 maunds of molasses daily. The capital of the Company has been fixed at Rs. 4,00,000 divided into 16,000 shares of Rs. 25 each. We wish this Swadeshi enterprise every success, and hope that the shares will be speedily taken up. Gentlemen willing to purchase share will please apply to Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra, 83, Grey Street, Calcutta.

INDIAN PLUMAGE.—Business men in Calcutta will be interested to hear that Lord Morley has been approached with the object of securing withdrawal of the notification of September the 19th, 1902, prohibiting the export of bird skins and plumage from India. This action has been taken by a joint Committee of the East India and the China Trade Section and the Textile Trade Section of the London Chamber of Commerce. It will be recalled that in his lecture at the Society of Arts in December last, Mr. Douglas Dewar stated that though exports are prohibited, they still continue in some degree, the law being evaded by means of false declarations. He said that large numbers of Indian birds had been sold in London since the passing of the prohibitory Act of 1903.

NEWS.

PURLOINED JEWELLERY. The Jorabager Police on Monday produced before the Commissioner of Police, a Marwari merchant named Sanchia Lall, of Purneah, and his durwan Roop Singh, who were arrested on Sunday having in their possession a large amount of silver jewellery valued about Rs. 50,000 which they were negotiating to sell among the merchants at Mondhatta Street. The police suspected that the jewellery was stolen property. The first accused stated that he had purchased the jewellery from famine-stricken villagers in the Purneah District. Enquiries were made to show that within the past three or four months the accused and other Marwari merchants had purchased jewellery to the value of about Rs. 2,00,000 from the famine-stricken villagers at exceptionally low rates and sold them in Calcutta at the ordinary market price of silver thereby reaping a rich harvest at the expense of the distressed villagers of Purneah.

CASE AGAINST THE "ENGLISHMAN." The suit brought by Lala Lajpat Rai against H. N. Munim, A. E. Deschamps, Editors, and R. L. Gupta, Printer of the "Englishman" claiming Rs. 50,000 as damages for alleged defamation was heard by Mr. Justice Fletcher on the 28th and 29th June. The defendants in their written statement admitted the publication, but stated that the plaintiff had not specifically set out any charges and imputations, that the plaintiff declared no cause of action, that the words complained of were comment and criticism on a matter of public interest, that the words contained no allegation of fact, that they were published in the belief that they were true, that they were fair comments and in good faith without malice, that the publication had not injured the plaintiff in his reputation and that the plaintiff had no cause of action against the defendants. Mr. Norton, counsel for the defence, asked leave to amend the 10th and 11th paragraphs of the written statement by adding the second, and they were published on "privileged occasions." He was not allowed to do so. Judgment has been reserved.

THE POLICE VARS. One Hindy Nath Basu of Jessore expired at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital on the 15th February. In his dying declaration he said that he had been suspected of having taken part in a theft at the Naldanga Rajpura and arrested by the Police. He said: "At midnight the Kahazang Dargah and Janadar of the Rajpura ordered me to be beaten and they said that I should rather be beaten to death than the stolen things should remain uncovered. The Rajpura, Janadar, two more Raj servants and one constable then began to assault me. After that they tied and pressed a bamboo over my chest and I became almost unconscious. They then confined me in the *gupti dahan* (house of worship), at 8 or 9 A.M. next day, when Kunga came, they sent me away with two coolies. Kunga told me that he had been made to write out and sign a hand note for Rs. 500 by the Raja's men and

that he must not allow me to bring any case against the Raja's men or the Police." After a prolonged enquiry the Jury expressed the opinion that death was due to torture inflicted by the Raj men and the Police. We hope Mr. Stevenson Moore, whom Magistrate of Jessore still remembers his old friend the Raja of Naldanga.

SOCIAL EQUALITY. The *Morning Post* published the following: "On Friday evening the 11th June, the two sons of a well-known and wealthy Indian Raja were travelling from Delhi to Rajputana. They had reserved two first class berths in the Rajputana mail. A British military officer, it seems, was travelling by the same train. When he got into the carriage, he found the two young Indian princes there, and with that peculiar form of Anglo-Indian insolence which is not entirely a novelty in India, he demanded that his two fellow-passengers should clear out. They objected. The officer, then, we understand, threatened to chuck them out, and as his attitude lent colour to the belief that he intended to enforce his threat by the exercise of physical violence, one of the young Indians, thoroughly aroused, drew a revolver. Then there was trouble in real earnest. The police were called, the station authorities hurried up and the infuriated Major laid up a charge against those whom he deemed to be his assailants. The followers of the two young princes were armed and they themselves were detained in the station under surveillance during the night until the next morning. In the meanwhile, the princes had wired to their father who at once sent them some thousands of rupees with instructions to get the best counsel possible and fight the case. He also wired to His Majesty the King and to Lord Minto, the result of this action being that all idea of a criminal prosecution was at once dropped and in common parlance the matter was 'hushed up.'

WHITE AND BROWN. The *Khulasa Advocate* publishes the following: "In a recent letter our Jullundur correspondent pointed out certain instances of what he calls the working of barbarous laws in Cantonnments, one of which is that any Indian may be deported out of Cantonnement limits at the mere whim and pleasure of the Cantonnement Magistrate for an offence whatever, or for what may be considered as offence by any swollen-headed military officer. The existence of such a law and the absolute refusal of any civil status to the Indian population of Cantonnments lead to strange incidents such as were reported by our correspondent, and two fresh cases of which nature have just occurred in the military town of Solon. It appears that the Indian passing by with the umbrella over his head is an indignity which the totary of Mar cannot bear, and now that Lord Morley is bragging of having ushered in the millennium in India by the Reform scheme and the deportations, it is time the Government issued some specific instructions to prevent friction such as may be caused by cases like the following reported by a trustworthy correspondent. We will let him tell the story in

his own words. "The small town of Solon in the Simla District has become a little too hot for the Indian gentry residing there, owing to the misbehaviour of some of the military officers stationed in the Cantonnement. The first victim was Mr. Dev Ratan of the Dev Samaj, a religious body; having its summer headquarters at Solon. The gentleman was met by four Subalterns one day and ordered to take off his umbrella. Mr. Dev Ratan could not see his way to comply with this improper request, whereupon the Subalterns threatened him with lull sticks which however, they had the good sense not to actually bring into action. The second and still worse was the treatment meted out to an Indian Christian of high culture and position, Mr. Golak Nath, who is residing here temporarily with his wife and children, was one day ordered by a couple of Subalterns to take off his umbrella. Mr. Golak Nath protested but in vain. He was not allowed to proceed unless he took off the umbrella, a demand which Mr. Golak Nath had no other alternative but to comply with, as the Subalterns had assumed a threatening attitude. Mr. Golak Nath, who is a great admirer of the English, has been very greatly upset by this incident. He is the brother of Mr. Charles Golak Nath, Barrister-at-Law of Lahore, and is very closely related to some of the personal friends of the Viceroy himself. Such incidents ought to be stopped with a strong hand. As at present there are several Indian ladies and gentlemen, also some of the Dev Samaj Solon family, residing at Solon in their bungalows and the roads are so very frequently visited by Military European Officers and men that unless a check is put on such incidents, these may someday lead to serious consequences." The time of "knives and pistols" may be ended as Lord Morley hopes, by the policy of deportations, but the days of Indians being turned out of Railway carriages or called upon to take down their umbrellas by upstart Englishmen threaten to go on and on for ever.

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KARMAYOGIN.

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

An unequal fight.

Our controversy with the *Bengalee* is like a conflict between denizens of two different elements. Not only has our contemporary the advantage of prompt reply, but he has such a giant's gulp for formulas, such a magnificent and victorious method of dealing with great fundamental questions in a few sentences, such a generous faculty for clouding a definite point with sounding generalisations that he leaves us weak and gasping for breath. However in our own feeble way we shall try to deal with the several points he has raised. Their importance must be our excuse for the length of our reply. One great difficulty in our way is that our contemporary for the convenience of his argument chooses to attribute to us the most ridiculous opinions born out of his own prolific brain and generous faculty in reading whatever he chooses into other people's minds. He thinks, for instance, that by seeing a special manifestation of Divine Power and grace in a particular movement we mean to shut God out from all others. This is a fair sample of the "inconsistencies" which the *Bengalee* is always finding in his own brain and projecting into ours. If we have to guard ourselves at every point against such gratuitous misconceptions, argument becomes

impossible. Neither space nor patience will allow of it.

God and His Universe.

The *Bengalee* takes as its fundamental position that God is Absolute, Eternal and Universal in all movements and not limited to any particular. Very true, but a vague statement of abstract truth like this leads nowhere beyond itself. What are the concrete implications in this generalisation? God is not only the Absolute, Eternal and Universal in his own essence, but He manifests in the relative, transient and particular. The Absolute is an aspect of Him necessary for philosophical completeness; but if He were only Absolute, then this phenomenal world would be only Maya, God *akarta* and all action purely illusory. If He were only Eternal we might regard this world as something not full of Him, but a separate creation which may or may not be subject to His immediate action. It is because He is the Universal that the clarified vision sees Him in every being and every activity. As the Absolute He stands behind every relative, as the Eternal He supports every transient and assures the permanence of the sum of phenomena, as the Universal He manifests Himself in every particular.

The Scientific Position.

Still, there is the question, how does He manifest Himself? There is a school which holds that He has once

for all manifested Himself in certain eternal and universal laws and has no other connection with the universe. This was the attitude definitely taken by the *Indian Social Reformer* when it ridiculed Sri Aurobindo Ghose's Uttarpada speech. God does not speak to men through their inner selves in Yoga or otherwise, there is no way of communion between Him and humanity, there is no special action of His power or grace anywhere. He speaks to men only through His laws; in other words He does not speak to them at all. He does not act personally. He acts through His laws; in other words, He does not act at all. His laws act. This is an intelligible position and it contains the whole real quarrel between Science and Religion. Science does not as yet recognise God. Taking its stand on the material senses and logical argument from external phenomena it demands proof before it will admit His existence. It sees plenty of proof of Shakti, of Prakriti, of Nature; it sees none of the Purusha or any room for His existence. If He exists at all, it must be as an Impersonal Being immanent in but different from Force and Energy and Himself inactive; but even of this there is no proof. Religion holds that God is not only impersonal but personal, not only Purusha but Prakriti, not only Being but Shakti; He is all. For the proof of its pos-

tion Religion appeals to something higher than logic or the senses, to spiritual experience and the direct knowledge drawn from the secret discipline it has developed in most parts of the world.

Force Universal or Individual.

It is not clear whether our contemporary recognises any personality in its Universal God or only recognises Him in all movements as natural Law. We hold that He manifests Himself in particulars not as Law, which is only a generalisation of the methods by which He acts, but as Shakti working for the Purusha. He puts Himself as force, energy, [motive-power into every particular. It is perfectly true that every particular contains Him, but there are differences in the force of His manifestation. This is obvious in individuals. The strength of every particular individual is the strength of God and not his own, because every particular strength is merely a part of the Universal force and it is really the Universal force and not the individual strength that is acting. But in living, beings when consciousness has become separate, the individual is allowed to suppose himself to be strong in his own strength. He is not really so. God gave the strength and He can take it away. He gave it power to act and He can baffle its action of the fruits the individual sought and turn it to quite other results. This is so common an experience that we do not see how any man with the power of introspection can deny it. Only at ordinary times, when things seem to be moving according to our calculations, we forget it, but on certain occasions He manifests Himself with such force either in events or in our own actions that unless we are blinded by egoism or by infatuation we are compelled to perceive the universality of the force that is acting and the insignificance of the individual. So also there are particular movements in particular epochs in which the Divine Force manifests itself with supreme power shattering all human calculations, making a mock of the prudence of the careful statesman and the scheming politician, falsifying the prognostications of the scientific analyser and advancing with a vehemence and velocity which is obviously the manifestation of a higher than human

force. The intellectual man afterwards tries to trace the reasons for the movement and lay bare the forces that made it possible, but at the time he is utterly at fault, his wisdom is falsified at every step and his science serves him not. These are the times when we say God is in the movement, He is its leader and it must fulfil itself however impossible it may be for man to see the means by which it will succeed.

Faith and Deliberation.

The next point is the question of mature deliberation. The *Bengalee* here tries to avoid confession of its error by altering the meaning of language. The mature deliberation of which it spoke applies only to particular acts and, even then it was not one man or a dozen but the whole self-conscious part of the country which took part in these mature deliberations. The facts do not square with this modified assertion. The majority even of the particular steps taken in pursuance of the ideas which swept over the country were not taken in pursuance of mature deliberation but were the result in some men of a faith which defied deliberation and in others of a yielding to the necessity of the moment. The National Council of Education came into existence because S. J. Subodh Chander Mallik planked down a lakh of rupees and was followed by the zemindar of Gauripur, an act of faith, because the Rangpur school-boys and their guardians refused to go back on their action in leaving the Government school and established a school of their own, also an act of faith, and because some leading men of the country recognized that something must be done on the spot to prevent the honour of the nation being tarnished by abandonment of this heroic forlorn hope while others thought it a good opportunity to materialize their educational crotchets. Was this mature deliberation or a compound of faith, idealism and risky experiment? The Boycott came into existence because of the wrath of the people against the Partition and the vehement advocacy of a Calcutta paper which, supported by this general wrath, bore down the hesitations of the thinkers, the politicians and the economists. Almost every step towards Swadeshi,

every National school established was an act of faith in the permanence of the movement, a faith not justified by previous experience. These were acts of boldness, often of rashness, not of mature deliberation. Mature deliberation implies that having consulted the lessons of past experience and weighed the probabilities of the future and the possibilities of the present, we take the step which seems most prudent and likely to bring about sure results. The Bombay millowners deliberated maturely when they said, "This movement born of a moment's indignation will pass like the rest; go to, let us raise our prices and make hay while the sun shines." The leaders deliberated maturely when they said, "The rush towards National Education will not last and if encouraged it will mean the destruction of private institutions and the payment of a double tax for education." So they stopped the student's strike, withheld their moral support and by this mature deliberation put, like the Bombay millowners, almost insuperable obstacles in the way of the movement. It was the unconsciously prepared forces in the country that made their way in spite of and not because of the mature deliberation. It was a minority convinced of the principles of self-help and passive resistance, full of faith, careless of obstacles, believing in the force of ideas, and not the whole self-conscious portion of the country, which mainly contributed, by its eloquence, logic, consistency, self-sacrifice and the impact of its energy on the maturely-deliberating majority, to the permanence of the movement. These are the facts. As for the conclusion from them we never made the absurd statement evolved out of the *Bengalee's* imagination that God is everywhere except in the conscious and deliberate activities of men. What we say and hold to is that the Divine force manifests itself specially when it effects mighty and irresistible movements which even the ignorance and egoism of man is obliged to recognise as exceeding and baffling his limited wisdom and his limited strength.

Our "Inconsistencies."

A third point is the proposition that out of evil cometh good and that everything that happens or can hap-

pen is for the best. Here our contemporary finds an inconsistency, for did we not say that *just now* everything works for the upraising of India because there is an upward trend which all forces assist. "Curiously enough," he says, "the writer thinks the two propositions identical." Curiously enough, we do. We say that just now India is being raised up and everything tends to God's purpose in raising her up; even calamity, even evil, even error. He uses them for His purpose and out of evil bringeth good. We said "just now," because it is not true that God has always raised up India and always there has been an upward trend; sometimes He has cast her down, sometimes there has been a downward trend. Even that was for the good of India and the world as we shall take occasion to show. Where then is the limitation or the inconsistency? The limitation in the phrase "just now" applies to the upward trend, to the particular instance and not to the principle that out of evil cometh good, which is universal and absolute.

Good out of evil.

It is strange to find a philosopher like our contemporary parading in this twentieth century the ancient and hollow platitude that such a doctrine, however true, ought not to be applied to individual conduct because it will abrogate morality and personal responsibility. This is a strange answer, too, to an argument which simply sought to confirm the faith and endurance of our people in calamity by the belief that our confidence in our future was not mistaken and that these calamities were necessary for God's high purpose. The evil we spoke of was not moral evil, but misfortune and calamity. But we do not shrink from the doctrine that sin also is turned to His purposes and, so far as that goes, we do not see how such a doctrine abrogates morality. The wisdom and love of God in turning our evil into His good does not absolve us of our moral responsibility. Our contemporary shows this want of connection between the two positions himself when he asks whether one should not in that case play the traitor in order to assist the progress of the tendency. The gibe shows up the absurdity not of our faith but of his argument. Our selfish or sinful acts, our persistence in ignorance or perversity are for the best in this obvious sense that God makes out

of them excellent material for the work He is about, which always tends to the good of humanity. The persecution of Christianity by the powers of the ancient world was utterly evil, but it was for the best; without it there could not have been that noble reaction of sublime and exalted suffering which finally permeated the human mind with the impulse of sacrifice for high ideals, and by introducing a mental soil fit for the growth of altruism sowed the seeds of love, sweetness and humanity in that hard selfish lust-ridden European world. The *Bengalee* no doubt would have counselled the Christian martyrs not to be so rash and unreasoning but to demand from God a balance of profit and loss for each individual sacrifice and only after mature deliberation decide whether to obey the voice of God in their conscience or offer flowers to Venus and divine homage to Nero.

Loss of courage.

But the question of self-sacrifice needs separate handling and we have not the space to deal with it in this issue as its importance deserves. The *Bengalee* counters our suggestion about the superfluity of prudence and the instinct of self-preservation at the present moment by the assertion that there is an excess of unreasoning rashness. That is a question of standpoint and vocabulary. But when the *Bengalee* goes on to say that when evil results ensue from their imprudence the rash and unreasoning lose heart and become unbelievers, we have a right to ask to whom the allusion is directed. In the young, the forward, the men stigmatised by the *Bengalee* as rash and unreasoning we find no loss of courage or faith but only a hesitation on what lines to proceed now that the old means have been broken by repressive laws. Among the older men we do indeed find a spirit of depression for which we blame those who in the face of the repressions drew in their horns out of mature deliberation and allowed silence and inactivity to fall on the country. But these were never men of faith. We who believe in God's dispensations have not lost heart, we have not become unbelievers. Our cry is as loud as before for Swaraj and Swadeshi; our hearts beat as high.

Intuitive Reason.

However there is hope for our contemporary. He has admitted in his idea of rationality the place of

the intuitive reason, and it is precisely the intuitive reason, speaking of-tenest in the present stage of human development through the inspiration that wells up from the heart, which is the basis of faith and exceeds the limits of the logical intellect. For this is the highest form of faith when the intuitive reason speaks to the heart, captures the emotions and is supported by reflection. This is the faith that moves mountains and there is nothing higher and more powerful except the yet deeper inner knowledge.

YOGA AND HYPNOTISM.

When the mind is entirely passive, then the force of Nature which works in the whole of animate and inanimate creation, has free play; for it is in reality this force which works in man as well as in the sun and star. There is no doubt of this truth whether in Hinduism or in Science. This is the thing called Nature, the sum of cosmic force and energy, which alone Science recognises as the source of all work and activity. This also is the Prakriti of the Hindus to which under different names Sankhya and Vedanta agree in assigning a similar position and function in the Universe. But the immediate question is whether this force can act in man independently of man's individual will and initiative. Must it always act through his volition or has it a power of independent operation? The first real proof which Science has had of the power of action independent of volition is in the phenomena of hypnotism. Unfortunately the nature of hypnotism has not been properly understood. It is supposed that by putting the subject to sleep the hypnotist is able in some mysterious and unexplained way to substitute his will for the subject's. In a certain sense all the subject's activities in the hypnotic state are the results of his own volition, but that volition is not spontaneous, it is used as a slave by the operator working through the medium of suggestion. Whatever the hypnotist suggests that the subject shall think, act or feel, he thinks, acts or feels, and whatever the hypnotist suggests that the subject shall become, he becomes. What is it that gives the operator this stupendous power? Why should the mere fact of a man passing into this sleep-condition suspend the ordinary reactions of mind and body and substitute others at the mere

word of the man who has said to him, "Sleep"! It is sometimes supposed that it is the superior will of the hypnotist which overcomes the will of the other and makes it a slave. There are two strong objections to this view. It does not appear to be true that it is the weak and distracted will that is most easily hypnotised; on the contrary the strong concentrated mind forms a good subject. Secondly, if it were the operator's will using the will of the subject, then the results produced must be such as the latter could himself bring about, since the capacities of the instrument can not be exceeded by the power working through the instrument. Even if we suppose that the invading will brings with it its own force still the results produced must not exceed the sum of its capacity plus the capacity of the instrument. If they commonly do so, we must suppose that it is neither the will of the operator nor the will of the subject nor the sum of these two wills that is active, but some other and more potent force. This is precisely what we see in hypnotic performance. 19522.

What is this force that enables or compels a weak man to become so rigid that strong arms cannot bend him? that reverses the operations of the senses and abrogates pain? that changes the fixed character of a man in the shortest of periods? that is able to develop power where there was no power, moral strength where there was weakness, health where there was disease? that in its higher manifestations can exceed the barriers of space and time and produce that far-sight, far-hearing and far-thinking which shows mind to be an untrammelled agent or medium pervading the world and not limited to the body which it informs or seems to inform. The European scientist experimenting with hypnotism is handling forces which he cannot understand, stumbling on truths of which he cannot give a true account. His feet are faltering on the threshold of Yoga. It is held by some thinkers, and not unreasonably if we consider these phenomena, that mind is all and contains all. It is not the body which determines the operations of the mind, it is the mind which determines the laws of the body. It is the ordinary law of the body that if it is struck, pierced

or roughly pressed it feels pain. This law is created by the mind which associates pain with these contacts, and if the mind changes its *dharma* and is able to associate with these contacts not pain but insensibility or pleasure, then they will bring about those results of insensibility or pleasure and no other. The pain and pleasure are not the result of the contact, neither is their seat in the body; they are the result of association and their seat is in the mind. Vinegar is sour, sugar sweet, but to the hypnotised mind vinegar can be sweet, sugar sour. The sourness or sweetness is not in the vinegar or sugar, but in the mind. The heart also is the subject of the mind. My emotions are like my physical feelings, the result of association, and my character is the result of accumulated past experiences with their resultant associations and reactions crystallizing into habits of mind and heart summed up in the word, character. These things like all the rest that are made of the stuff of associations are not permanent or binding but fluid and mutable. *Anityah sarvasamskaraḥ*. If my friend blames me, I am grieved; that is an association and not binding. The grief is not the result of the blame but of an association in the mind. I can change the association so far that blame will cause me no grief, praise no elation. I can entirely stop the reactions of joy and grief by the same force that created them. They are habits of the mind, nothing more. In the same way though with more difficulty I can stop the reactions of physical pain and pleasure so that nothing will hurt my body. If I am a coward today, I can be a hero tomorrow. The cowardice was merely the habit of associating certain things with pain and grief and of shrinking from the pain and grief; this shrinking and the physical sensations in the vital or nervous man which accompany it are called fear, and they can be dismissed by the action of the mind which created them. All these are propositions which European Science is even now unwilling to admit, yet it is being proved more and more by the phenomena of hypnotism that these effects can be temporarily at least produced by one man upon another; and it has it even been proved that disease can be permanently cured or character

permanently changed by the action of one mind upon another. The test will be established in time by the development of hypnotism.

The difference between Yoga and hypnotism is that what hypnotism does for a man through the agency of another and in the sleeping state, Yoga does for him by his own agency and in the waking state. The hypnotic sleep is necessary in order to prevent the activity of the subject's mind full of old ideas and association, from interfering with the operator. In the waking state he would naturally refuse to experience sweetness in vinegar or sourness in sugar or to believe that he can change from disease to health, cowardice to heroism by a mere act of faith; his established associations would rebel violently and successfully against such contradictions of universal experience. The force which transcends matter would be hampered by the obstruction of ignorance and attachment to universal error. The hypnotic sleep does not make the mind a *tabula rasa* but it renders it passive to everything but the touch of the operator. Yoga similarly teaches passivity of the mind so that the will may act unhampered by the *samskaras* or old associations. It is these *samskaras*, the habits formed by experience in the body, heart or mind, that form the laws of our psychology. The associations of the mind are the stuff of which our life is made. They are more persistent in the body than in the mind and therefore harder to alter. They are more persistent in the race than in the individual; the conquest of the body and mind by the individual is comparatively easy and can be done in the space of a single life, but the same conquest by the race involves the development of ages. It is conceivable, however, that the practice of Yoga by a great number of men and persistence in the practice by their descendants might bring about profound changes in human psychology and, by stamping these changes into body and brain through heredity, evolve a superior race which would endure and by the law of the survival of the fittest eliminate the weaker kinds of humanity. Just as the rudimentary mind of the animal has been evolved into the fine instrument of the human being so the rudiments of higher force and faculty in the present race might evolve into the perfect budhi of the Yogi.

To yacchruddhar an eva sat.

According as is a man's fixed and complete belief, that he is,—not immediately always but sooner or later, by the law that makes the psychical tend inevitably to express itself in the material. The will is the agent by which all these changes are made and old *sanskaras* replaced by new, and the will cannot act without faith. The question then arises whether mind is the ultimate force or there is another which communicates with the outside world through the mind. Is the mind the agent or simply the instrument? If the mind be all, then it is only animals that can have the power to evolve; but this does not accord with the laws of the world as we know them. The tree evolves, the cloud evolves, everything evolves. Even in animals it is evident that mind is not all in the sense of being the ultimate expression of existence or the ultimate force in Nature. It seems to be all only because that which is all expresses itself in the mind and passes everything through it for the sake of manifestation. That which we call mind is a medium which pervades the world. Otherwise we could not have that instantaneous and electrical action of mind upon mind of which human experience is full and of which the new phenomena of hypnotism, telepathy etc are only fresh proofs. There must be contact, there must be interpenetration if we are to account for these phenomena on any reasonable theory. Mind therefore is held by the Hindus to be a species of subtle matter in which ideas are waves or ripples, and it is not limited by the physical body which it uses as an instrument. There is an ulterior force which works through this subtle medium called mind. An animal species develops according to the modern theory, under the subtle influence of the environment. The environment supplies a need and those who satisfy the need develop a new species which survives because it is more fit. This is not the result of any intellectual perception of the need nor of a resolve to develop the necessary changes, but of a desire, often though not always a mute, inarticulate and unthought desire. That desire attracts a

force which satisfies it. What is that force? The tendency of the psychical desire to manifest in the material change is one term in the equation; the force which develops the change in response to the desire is another. We have a will beyond mind which dictates the change, we have a force beyond mind which effects it. According to Hindu philosophy the will is the *Jiva*, the *Purusha*, the self in the *anandakosha* acting through *vijnanu*, universal or transcendental mind; this is what we call spirit. The force is *Prakriti* or *Shakti*, the female principle in Nature which is at the root of all action. Behind both is the single Self of the universe which contains both *Jiva* and *Prakriti*, spirit and material energy. Yoga puts these ultimate existences within us in touch with each others and by stilling the activity of the *sanskaras* or associations in mind and body enable them to act swiftly, victoriously, and as the world calls it, miraculously. In reality there is no such thing as a miracle; there are only laws and processes which are not yet understood.

Yoga is therefore no dream, no illusion of mystics. It is known that we can alter the associations of mind and body temporarily and that the mind can alter the conditions of the body partially. Yoga asserts that these things can be done permanently and completely. For the body conquest of disease, pain and material obstructions, for the mind liberation from bondage to past experience and the heavier limitations of space and time, for the heart victory over sin and grief and fear, for the spirit unclouded bliss, strength and immutation, this is the gospel of Yoga. is the goal to which Hinduism points humanity.

EXIT BIBHISAN.

Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale has for long been the veiled prophet of Bombay. His course was so ambiguous, his sympathies so divided and self-contradictory that some have not hesitated to call him a masked Extremist. He has played with Boycott, "that criminal agitation;" he has gone so far in passive resistance as to advocate refusal of the payment of taxes. Eloquent spokesman of the people in the Legislative Council, luminous and ineffective debate: scattering his periods in

vain in that august void, he has been at once the admired of the people and the spoilt darling of the *Times of India*, the trusted counsellor of John Morley and a leader of the party of Colonial self-government. For some time the victim of his own false step during the troubles in Poona he was distrusted by the people, favoured by the authorities, some of whom are said to have canvassed for him in the electoral fight between him and Mr. Tilak. The charge of cowardice which he now hurls against his opponents was fixed on his own forehead by popular resentment. So difficult was his position that he refrained for some years from speech on the platform of the Congress. But his star triumphed. His own opponents held out to him the hand of amity and re-established him in the universal confidence of the people. Gifted, though barren of creative originality, a shrewd critic, a splendid debater, a good economist and statistician, with the halo of self-sacrifice for the country over his forehead enringed with the more mundane halo of Legislative Councilorship, petted by the Government, loved by the people, he enjoyed a position almost unique in recent political life. He was not indeed a prophet honoured in his own country and *baet* looks and *black* words were thrown at him by those who distrusted him, but throughout the rest of India his name stood high and defied assailants.

In his recent speech at Poona the veiled prophet has unveiled himself. The leader of the people in this strange and attractive double figure is under sentence of elimination and the budding Indian Finance Minister has spoken. The speech has caused confusion and searching of the heart among the eager patriots of the Bengal Moderate school, rejoicing in the ranks of Anglo-India. The *Bengalee* labours to defend the popular cause without injuring the popular leader, the *Statesman* rejoices and holds up the speech even as Lord Morley held up the certificate to him as the Savior of India for the confusion of rebels in Parliament and outside it. Covered by a reprobation of the London murders it is a sweeping, a damning philippic against the work of the last four years and a call to the country to recede to

the position occupied by us previous
 • 1905] It is a forcible justification of repression and a call to Government and people to crush the lovers and preachers of independence. The time at which it comes lends it incalculable significance. The Morleyan policy of crushing the new spirit and rallying the Moderates has now received publicly the imprimatur of the leading Moderate of western India and that which was suspected by some, prophesied by others at the time of the Surat Congress, the alliance of Bombay Moderatism with officialdom against the new Nationalism, an alliance prepared by the Surat sitting, cemented by subsequent events, confirmed by the Madras Convention, is now unmasked and publicly ratified.

The most odious part of the Poona speech is that in which Mr. Gokhale justifies Government repression and attempts to establish by argument what Mr. Norton failed to establish by evidence, the theory that Nationalism and Terrorism are essentially one and under the cloak of passive resistance. Nationalism is a conspiracy to wage war against the King. This proposition he seeks to establish by implication with that skill of the debater for which he is justly famous. By taking the London murders as the subject-matter for the exordium of a speech directed against the forward party he introduces the element of prejudice from the very outset. After reviewing past political activities he takes up the clue he had thus skilfully thrown down and pursues it. In his view, the ideal of independence was the beginning of all evil. The ideal of independence is an insane ideal; the men who hold it even as an ultimate goal, Tilak, Chidambaram, Aswini Kumar, Manoranjan, Bipinchandra, Aurobindo, are madmen outside the lunatic asylum. Not only is it an insane ideal, it is a criminal ideal. "It should be plain to the weakest understanding that towards the idea of independence the Government could adopt only one attitude, that of stern and relentless repression, for these ideas were bound to lead to violence and as a matter of fact they had, as they could all see, resulted in violence." Farther, in order to leave no loophole of escape for his political opponents, he proceeds to assert that

they were well aware of this truth and preached the gospel of independence knowing that it was a gospel of violence and physical conflict with the Government." We again quote the words or the reported speech. "Some of their friends were in the habit of saying that their plan was to achieve independence by merely peaceful means, by a general resort to passive resistance. The speaker felt bound to say that such talk was ridiculous nonsense and was a mere cloak used by the means these men to save their own skins." In other words we are charged with having contemplated violence such as we all see, viz., the murders in London and the assassinations in Bengal, as inevitable effects of our propaganda, and physical conflict with the Government, in other words rebellion, as the only possible means of achieving independence. We are charged with preaching this gospel of violence and rebellion while publicly professing passive resistance, with the sole motive of cowardice anxiety for our personal safety. The accusation is emphatic, sweeping, and allows of no exception. All the men of the Nationalist party revered by the people are included in the anathema, branded as lunatics and cowards, and the country is called upon to denounce them as corruptors and perturbors of youth and the enemies of progress and the best interests of the people.

Mr. Gokhale stops short of finding fault with European countries for being free and clinging to their freedom. He is good enough not to uphold subjection as the best thing possible for a nation, and we must be grateful to him for stopping short of the gospel of the *Englishman* whose abusive style he has borrowed. But man is progressive and it may be that Mr. Gokhale before he finishes his prosperous career, will reach the Hare Street beatitudes. At present he adopts the philosophy of his ally and teacher, Lord Morley, and wraps himself in the Canadian fur-coat. The love of independence may be a virtue in Europe, it is crime and lunacy in India. Acquiescence in subjection is weakness and unmanliness in non-Indians; in this favoured country it is the only path to salvation. In the west the apostles of liberty have been prophets when they succeeded,

martyrs when they failed. In this country they are corruptors and perturbors of youth, enemies of progress and their country. Mendicancy, euphoniously named co-operation, can bring about colonial self-government in India although there is no precedent in history, but passive resistance, although, when most imperfectly applied and hampered by terrorism from above and below, it gave the seed of free institutions to Russia, cannot bring about independence in India even if it be applied thoroughly and combined with self-help, because there is no precedent in history. As has often been pointed out by Nationalist writers, both mendicancy and self-help plus passive resistance are new methods in history; both are therefore experiments; but while mendicancy is an isolated experiment which has been fully tried, failed thoroughly and fallen into discredit; self-help and passive resistance are methods to which modern nations are more and more turning, but they have been as yet tried only slightly and locally. It must be admitted that in India, so tried, their only result so far has been the Morley reforms. But was it not Mr. Gokhale who to defend mendicancy declared that the book of history was not closed and why should not a new chapter be written? But the book, is only open to the sacred hands of the Bombay Moderate; to the Nationalist it seems to be closed. But according to Mr. Gokhale we ought in any case to acquiesce because England has not done so badly in India as she might have done. His argument is kin to the Anglo-Indian logic which calls open to be contented and loyal because England is not Russia and repression here is never so savage as repression there; as if a serf were asked to be contented with serfdom because his master is kind or else his whip does not lacerate so fiercely as the other master's next door. Mr. Gokhale cannot be ignorant that our ideal of independence has nothing to do with the badness or goodness of the present Government in its own kind. We object to the present system because it is a bureaucracy, always the most narrow and unprogressive kind of Government because it is composed of aliens, not Indians, and subject to alien control, and most essentially because

is based on a foreign will imposed from outside and not on the free choice and organic development of the nation.

We might go on to expose the other inconsistencies and sophistries of Mr. Gokhale's speech. We might well challenge the strangeness of a sweeping and general charge of cowardice against the nation's leaders proceeding from the "broken reed" of Poona. But we are more concerned with the significance of his attitude than with the hollowness of his arguments. Lord Morley the other day quoted Mr. Gokhale's eulogium of the Asquith Government, saviours of India from chaos, as a sufficient answer to the critics of deportation. There was some indignation against Lord Morley for his disingenuousness in suppressing Mr. Gokhale's condemnation of the deportations; but it now appears that the British statesman did not make the mistake of quoting Mr. Gokhale without being sure of the thoroughness of the latter's support. As if in answer to the critics of Lord Morley Mr. Gokhale hastens to justify the deportations by his emphatic approval of stern and relentless repression as the only possible attitude for the Government towards the ideal of independence even when its achievement is sought through peaceful means. Mr. Gokhale's phrase is bold and thorough; it includes every possible weapon of which the Government may avail itself in the future and every possible use of the weapons which it holds at present. On the strength of Mr. Gokhale's panegyric Lord Morley, mocked at Mr. Mackarness and his supporters as more Indian than the Indians. We may well quote him again and apply the same ridicule, the ridicule of the autocrat, to Mr. Beachcroft, the Alipur judge, who, acquitted an avowed apostate of the ideal of independence. Mr. Gokhale, at least, has become more English than the English. A British judge, certainly not in sympathy with Indian unrest, expressly admits the possibility of peaceful passive resistance and the blamelessness of the ideal of independence. A leader of Indian Liberalism denounces that ideal as necessarily insane and criminal and the advocates of passive resistance as lunatics and hypocrites; and calls for the denunciation of them as enemies of their country and their re-

moval by stern and relentless repression. Such are the ironies of both cooperation. It is well that we should know who are our enemies even if they be of our own household. Till now many of us regarded Mr. Gokhale as a brother with whom we had our own private differences, but he has himself by calling for the official sword to exterminate us removed that error. He publishes himself now as the righteousness Bibhishan who, with the Sugrivas, Angads and Hanumans of Madras and Allahabad has gone to join the Avatar of Radical absolutism in the India Office, and ourselves as the Rakshasa to be destroyed by this new Holy Alliance. Even this formidable conjunction does not alarm us. At any rate Bibhishan has come out of Lanka, and Bibhishans are always more dangerous there than in the camp of the adversary.

TWO PICTURES

The modern Review and Prabasi are doing monthly a service to the country the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. The former review is at present the best conducted and the most full of valuable matter of any in India. But good as are the articles which fill the magazine from month to month, the whole sum of them is outweighed in value by the single page which gives us the reproduction of some work of art by a contemporary Indian painter. To the lover of beauty and the lover of his country every one of these delicately executed blocks is an event of importance in his life within. The Reviews by bringing these masterpieces to the thousands who have no opportunity of seeing the originals are restoring the sense of beauty and artistic emotion inborn in our race but almost blotted out by the long reign in our lives of the influence of Anglo-Saxon vulgarity and crude tasteless commercialism. The pictures belong usually to the new school of Bengali art, the only living and original school now developing among us and the last issues have each contained a picture—especially important not only by the intrinsic excellence of the work but by the perfect emergence of that soul of India which we attempted to characterise in an article in our second issue.

The picture in the July number is by Mahomed Hakim Khan, a

student of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, and represents Nadir Shah ordering a general massacre. It is not one of those pictures salient and imposing which leap at once at the eye and hold it. A first glance only shows three figures almost conventionally Indian in pose which also seem conventional. But as one looks again and again the soul of the picture begins suddenly to emerge, and one realises with a start of surprise that one is in the presence of a work of genius. The reason for this lies in the extraordinary restraint and simplicity which conceals the artist's strength and subtlety. The whole spirit and conception is Indian and it would be difficult to detect in the composition a single trace of foreign influence. The grace and perfection of the design and the distinctness and vigour of form which support it are not European; it is the Sarcenic sweetness and grace, the old Vedantic massiveness and power transformed by some new nameless element of harmony into something original and yet Indian. The careful and minute detail in the minutiae of the dresses, of the armour of the warrior seated on the right, of the flickering lines of the pillar on the left are inherited from an intellectual ancestry whose daily vision was accustomed to the rich decoration of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri or to the fullness and crowded detail which informed the massive work of the old Vedantic artists and builders, Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist. Another peculiarity is the fixity and stillness which, in spite of the Titanic life and promise of motion in the figure of Nadir, pervade the picture. A certain stiffness of design marks much of the old Hindu art, a stiffness courted by the artists perhaps in order that no insistence of material life in the figures might distract attention from the expression of the spirit within which was their main object. By some inspiration of genius the artist has transformed this conventional stiffness into a hint of rigidity which almost suggests the lines of stone. This stillness adds immensely to the effect of the picture. The petrified inaction of the three human beings contrasted with the expression of the faces and the formidable suggestion in the pose of their sworded figures affects us like the silence of murder crouching for his leap.

The central figure of Nadir Shah dominates his surroundings. It is from this centre that the suggestion of something terrible coming out of the silent group has started. The strong proud and regal figure is extraordinarily impressive, but it is the face and the arm that give the individuality. That bare arm and hand grasping the rigid upright scimitar are inhuman in their savage force and brutality; it is the hand, the fingers, one might almost say the talons of the human wild beast. This arm and hand have action, murder, empire in them; the whole history of Nadir is there expressed. The grip and gesture have already commenced the coming massacre and the whole body behind consents. The face corresponds in the hard firmness and strength of the nose, the brute cruelty of the mouth almost lost in the moustache and beard. But the eyes are the master-touch in this figure. They overcome us with surprise when we look at them, for these are not the eyes of the assassin, even the assassin upon the throne. The soul that looks out of these eyes is calm, aloof and thoughtful, yet terrible. Whatever order of massacre has issued from these lips, did not go forth, from an ordinary energetic man of action moved by self-interest, rage or blood-thirst. The eyes are the eyes of a Yogin but a terrible Yogin; such might be the look of some adept of the left-hand ways, some mighty Kapalika lifted above pity and shrinking as above violence and wrath. Those eyes in that face, over that body, arm, hand seem to be that of one whose spirit is not affected by the actions of the body, whose natural part and organs are full of the destroying energy of Kali while the soul, the witness within, looks on at the sanguinary drama tranquil darkly approving but hardly interested. And then it dawns on one that this is not so much the Nadir of history unconsciously perhaps the artist has given a quiet but effective delineation of the Scourge of God, the man who is rather a force than a human being, the Asura with a mission who has come to do God's work of destruction and help on the evolution by carnage and ruin. The soul within is not that of a human being. Some powerful Yogin of a Lemurian race has incarnated in this body, one born when the simian might and strength of the *manava* had evolved into the

perfection of the human form and brain with the animal still uneliminated, who having by *tapasya* and knowledge separated his soul from his nature has elected this reward that after long beatitude, *praty punyakritam lokan ushitva sashwatih samah*, he should reincarnate as a force of nature informed by a human soul and work out in a single life the savage strength of the outward self, taking upon himself the foreordained burden of empire and massacre.

From Nadir the coming carnage has passed into the seated warrior and looks out from his eyes at the receiver of the order. The gaze is contemplative but not inward like Nadir's, and it is human and indifferent envisaging massacre as part of the activities of the soldier with a matter-of-fact approval. The figure is almost a piece of sculpture, so perfect is the rigidity of arrested and expectant action. The straight strong sword over the shoulder has the same rigid preparedness. There is a certain defect in the unnatural pose and obese curve of the hand which is not justified by any similar detail or motive in the rest of the figure. We notice a similar motiveless strain in the position of Nadir's left arm, though here something is perhaps added to the force of the attitude. A standing figure receives the sanguinary command. The folded hands and the scimitar suspended in front are full of the spirit of ready obedience and there is an expression of pleasure, almost amusement which makes even this commonplace face terrible, for the decree dooming thousands is taken as lightly as if it were order for nautch or banquet. The three mighty swords by, a masterly effect of balanced design, fill with death and menace the terrace on which the men are seated. Behind those formidable figures is a part of the palace gracious with the simple and magical lines of Indo-Saracenic architecture and in the distance on the right from behind a mass of heavy impenetrable green a slender tapering tower rises into the peaceful quiet of Delhi.

On another page of the same review we have a picture by one of the greatest Masters of European Art, Raphael's vision of the Knight. the picture is full of that which Greece and Italy perfected as the aim of Art, beauty and such soul-

expression ightens physical beauty. It is beauty that is expressed in the robust body and feminine face of the armed youth both full of an exquisite languour of sleep, in the sweet face, the voluptuous figure, the gracious pose of the temptress offering her delicate allurements of flowers, in the other's grave strong and benign countenance, the vigorous physique and open gesture of promise and aspiration extending a book and a fine slender sword, in the delicacy of the landscape behind and the tree under which the dreamer lies. There is suggestion but it is the suggestion of more and more beauty, there is harmony and relation but it is the harmony and relation of loveliness of landscape as a background to the loveliness of the nobly-grouped figures. There is an attempt to express spiritual meanings but it is by outward symbols only and not by making the outward expression a vehicle for something that comes from within and overpowers unpalpably. This is allegory, the other is the drawing and painting of the very self of things. Only in the delicate spiritual face of the Knight is there some approach to the Eastern spirit. This is one kind of art and a great art, but is the other less? Beauty for beauty's sake can never be the spirit of art in India, beauty we must seek and always beauty, but never lose sight of the end which India holds more important, the realisation of the Self in things. Europeans create out of the imagination. India has always sought to go deeper within and create out of the Power behind imagination, by passivity and plenary inspiration, in Yoga, from samadhi.

MADRAS CINCHONA.

The competition of Java continues to seriously affect the Cinchona industry in the Madras Presidency from which the exports of the bark are now less than a third of what they were five years ago. The following statistics of the export trade in recent years indicate forcibly the steady decline in the industry:—

Year.	Quantity. lbs.	Value Rs.
1907-08	473,300	1,08,187
1908-09	312,032	67,030

Average of 5 years
ending

1900-07	1,055,249	2,66,429
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The bulk of the Madras shipments go to the United Kingdom, where the market has been consistent in its demand for the Madras product.

THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

Speech by Sri. Arunachala Guha
at Howrah.

(Annual meeting of Hindia People's Association.)

My friend, Pandit Gopati Kavyatirtha has somewhat shirked to-day his duty as it was set down for him in the programme and left it to me. I hope you will not mind if I depart a little from the suggestion he has made to me. I would like, instead of assuming the role of a preacher and telling you, your duties, which you know well enough yourselves, to take, if you will allow me, a somewhat wider subject, not unconnected with it but of a wider range. In addressing you to-day I wish to say a few words about the general right of association especially as we have practised and are trying to practise it in India to-day. I choose this subject for two reasons, first, because it is germane to the nature of the meeting we are holding, and secondly, because we have seen arbitrary hands laid upon that right of association which is everywhere cherished as a sign and safeguard of liberty and means of development of a common life.

There are three rights which are particularly cherished by free nations. In a nation the sovereign powers of Government may be enjoyed by the few or the many, but there are three things to which the people in European countries cling, which they persistently claim and after which, if they have them not, they always aspire. These are first, the right of a free Press, secondly, the right of free public meeting, and, thirdly, the right of association. There is a particular reason why they cling to these three as inherent rights which they claim as sacred and with which authority has no right to interfere. The right of free speech ensures to the people the power which is the greatest means for self-development, and that is the power of spreading the idea. According to our philosophy it is the idea which is building up the world. It is the idea which expresses itself in matter and takes to itself bodies. This is true also in the life of humanity; it is true in politics, in the progress and life of a nation. It is the idea which shapes material institutions. It is the idea which builds up and destroys administrations and Governments. Therefore the idea is a mighty force, even when it has no physical power behind it, even when it is not equipped with means, even when it has not organised itself in institutions and associations. Even then the idea moves freely abroad through the minds of thousands of men and becomes a mighty force. It is a power which by the very fact of being palpable assumes all the greater potency and produces all the more stupendous results. Therefore the right of free speech is cherished because it gives the idea free movement; it gives the nation that power which ensures its future development, which ensures success in any struggle for national life, however delayed it may be.

of means, it is the idea which is the power which by the very fact of being palpable assumes all the greater potency and produces all the more stupendous results. Therefore the right of free speech is cherished because it gives the idea free movement; it gives the nation that power which ensures its future development, which ensures success in any struggle for national life, however delayed it may be.

This right of free speech takes the form first of a free Press. It is the Press which on its paper wings carries the idea abroad from city to city, from province to province until a whole continent is bound together by the links of one common aspiration. The right of public meeting brings men together. That is another force. They meet together on a common ground, moved by a common impulse, and as they stand or sit together in their thousands, the force of the idea within moves them by the magnetism of crowds. It moves from one to another till the hidden shakti, the mighty force within, stirred by the words thrown out from the platform travels from heart to heart and masses of men are not only moved by a common feeling and common aspiration, but by the force of that magnetism prepared to act and fulfil the idea. Then comes the right of association, the third of these popular rights. Given the common aspiration, common idea, common enthusiasm and common wish to act, it gives the instrument which binds men to strive towards the common object by common and associated actions; the bonds of brotherhood grow, energy increases, the idea begins to materialize itself to work in practical affairs and that which was yesterday merely an idea, merely a word thrown out by the eloquence of the orator, becomes a question of practical politics. It becomes work for it begins to work and fulfil itself. Therefore the people prize these rights, consider them a valuable asset, cling to and cherish and will not easily sacrifice them. Therefore they resent the arbitrary interference which takes from them what they consider indispensable for the preparation of national life.

Association is the mightiest thing in humanity; it is the instrument by which humanity moves, it is the means by which it grows, it is the power by which it progresses towards its final development. There are three ideas which are of supreme moment to human life and have become the watch-words of humanity. Three words have the power of repulsing nations and Governments, liberty, equality and fraternity. These words

are the words which have moved the great movement of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century and they point to the ultimate goal towards which human evolution ever moves. This liberty to which we progress is liberation out of a state of bondage. We move from a state of bondage to an original liberty. This is what our own religion teaches. This is what our own philosophy suggests as the goal towards which we move, mukti or moksha. We are bound in the beginning by a lapse from pre-existent freedom; we strive to shake off the bonds, we move forward and forward until we have achieved the ultimate emancipation, that utter freedom of the soul, of the body of the whole man, that utter freedom from all bondage towards which humanity is always aspiring. We in India have found a mighty freedom within ourselves, our brother-men in Europe have worked towards freedom without. We have been moving on parallel lines towards the same end. They have found out the way to external freedom. We have found out the way to internal freedom. We meet and give to each other what we have gained. We have learned from them to aspire after external as they will learn from us to aspire after internal freedom.

Equality is the second term in the triple gospel. It is a thing which mankind has never accomplished. From inequality and through inequality we move, but it is to equality. Our religion, our philosophy set equality forward as the essential condition of emancipation. All religions send us this message in a different form but it is one message. Christianity says we are all brothers, children of one God. Mahomedanism says we are the subjects and servants of one Allah, we are all equal in the sight of God. Hinduism says there is one without a second. In the high and the low, in the Brahmin and the Sudra, in the saint and the sinner, there is one Narayana, one God and he is the soul of all men. Not until you have realised Him, known Narayana, in all, and the Brahmin and the Sudra, the high and the low, the saint and the sinner are equal in your eyes, then and not until then you have knowledge, you have freedom, until then you are bound and ignorant. The equality which Europe has got is external political equality. She is now trying to achieve social equality. Now a days their hard-earned political liberty is beginning to pall a little upon the people of Europe because they have found it does not give perfect wellbeing or happiness and it is barren of the sweetness of brotherhood. There is no fraternity in this liberty. It is merely a political liberty. They have not either the liberty within or the full equality or the fraternity. So they are turning a little from what they have and they say increasingly, "Let us have equality, let us have the second term of the gospel towards which we strive." Therefore socialism is growing in Europe. Europe is now trying to achieve external equality as the second term of the gospel of mankind, the univer-

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al ideal. I have said that equality is an ideal even with us but we have not tried to achieve it without. Still we have learned from them to strive after political equality and in return for what they have given us we shall lead them to the secret of the equality within.

Again there is fraternity. It is the last term of the gospel. It is the most difficult to achieve, still it is a thing towards which all religions call and human aspirations rise. There is discord in life, but mankind yearns for peace and love. This is the reason why the gospels which preach brotherhood spread quickly and excite passionate attachment. This was the reason of the rapid spread of Christianity. This was the reason of Buddhism's rapid spread in this country and throughout Asia. This is the essence of humanitarianism, the modern gospel of love for mankind. None of us have achieved our ideal, but human society has always attempted an imperfect and limited fulfilment of it. It is the nature, the *dharma* of humanity that it should be unwilling to stand alone. Every man seeks the brotherhood of his fellow and we can only live by fraternity with others. Through all its differences and discords humanity is striving to become one.

In India in the ancient times we had many kinds of association, for our life was much more complex and developed than it became afterwards. We had our political associations, we had our commercial associations, our educational, our religious associations. As in Europe, so in India men united together for many interests and worked in association for common ideals. But by the inroads of invasion and calamity our life became broken and disintegrated. Still, though we lost much, we had our characteristic forms in which we strove to achieve that ideal of association and unity. In our society we had organised a common village life. It was a one and single village life in which every man felt himself to be something, a part of a single organism. We had the joint family by which we tried to establish the principle of association in our family life. We have not in our social developments followed the path which Europe has followed. We have never tended to break into scattered units. The principle of association, the attempt to organize brotherhood was dominant in our life. We had the organisation of caste of which nowadays we hear such bitter complaints. It had no doubt many and possibly inherent defects, but it was an attempt, however imperfect, to base society upon the principle of association, the principle of closely organising a common life founded on common ideas common feelings, common tendencies, a common moral discipline and sense of corporate honour. Then we had an institution which in its form was peculiar to India which helped to bind men together in close brotherhood who had a common guru or the initiation into a common religious fraternity. All these we had. Then the impact of Europe came upon us and one by one these institutions began to be broken. Our village life is a thing of the past. The village has lost its community it has lost its ideals, it has lost that mutual

cordiality and binding together by an intimate common life which held it up and made its life sweet and wholesome. Everywhere we see in the village moral deterioration and material decay. Our joint family has been broken. We are scattering into broken units and brother no longer looks upon brother. There is no longer the bond of love which once held us together, because the old ties and habit of association are being broken up. Our caste has lost its reality. The life has gone from within it and it is no longer an institution which helps towards unity, a common life or any kind of brotherhood. For once the idea is broken, the ideal within which is the principle of life is impaired the form breaks up and nothing can keep it together. Therefore we find all these things perishing. (*To be continued*.)

NEWS.

SIR EDWARD BAKER ON THE LONDON MURDERS:

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council Mr. Das condemned the London murders. In this connection Sir Edward Baker said—

"The words which have fallen from Mr. Das this morning on the subject of the recent murders in London will I trust find an echo in the hearts of all right-thinking men in Bengal. I will not detract from its impressiveness by adding any remarks of my own. Not only in this province, but also in many other parts of India, the press and public speakers alike have hastened to denounce this outrage as well as those others which preceded it. Some of those may have been less prominent in the public eye, but I doubt whether they were less insidious in their effects or less dangerous in the long run to public tranquillity. But, gentlemen, it has been pointed out that the time has come when something much more than denunciation is required. The time has come for action. It would be well if all those now present, and also all the great audience outside, were to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the forcible pronouncement which was made on this subject a few days ago by Mr. Gokhale at Poona. He has laid down with perfect clearness the lines on which the people of India must act, if they desire to put a peremptory end to these ill-aimed atrocities whose only consequence must be the holding back of the national advancement of the country. They must not be content merely to talk. They must organise an active and universal campaign of co-operation with the Government. Parents and guardians must act. Those who hold the conduct of education in their hands must act. Above all the student community itself must act. These three classes comprehend between them the power of the present and the control of the coming generation. If they will act, and act together, they will wipe out, as with a sponge,

all traces of that mischievous movement which might almost be classed with comic opera if it were not on occasion homicidal. But if they fail to use the peaceful weapon that lies ready to their hands, if they abdicate their authority in favour of a handful of young men of immature age, of imperfect or non-existent education and of undisciplined emotions, they may rest assured the solution will come none the less, but it will be neither painless nor peaceful but that in the application of the remedy there will be little room for nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

WYLLIE MEMORIAL.

Sir W. Lee-Warner and Sir Donald Robertson, in a letter to the "Times" have asked that steps be taken towards a memorial to Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, expressive of the warm attachment of his co-workers and of sympathy arising from his tragic death.

MADAN LAL IN COURT.

In the proceedings against Madan Lal the prosecution showed that the prisoner purchased a revolver in January and had since practised regularly at a revolver range. Madan Lal asserted that he was a patriot, working for the emancipation of the Motherland. He objected to the word "murderer," saying that the deed was perfectly justified. The English would have done the same if the Germans came to England. He characterised a witness, named Vinha, as a traitor to his country.

ANANDA MOYEE'S CASE.

Mr. Coutts, District Judge, took up to day the appeal case of Ananda Moyee against the acquittal of Police Inspector Wainwright, Pleader Gagan Ghose and her adopted son Gokul Das charged with dacoity, assault, housebreaking and trespass. Mr. Das, counsel, and Babu Ananda Chandra Rai appeared respectively for the appellant and the defence. His Honour held the order of the acquittal by the Magistrate illegal and ordered a fresh enquiry. In this case on the 12th July Mr. Dass, counsel, appeared in support of the rule. The Public Prosecutor on behalf of the Crown informed the Court that he was instructed not to oppose the rule. The Sessions Judge made the rule absolute and ordered further enquiry.

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NEWS.

KARWAN MURDER CASE.

Local Government has called for whole proceedings in the Chief Court and the Sessions Court in the Karwan Murder trial wherein all the four accused were acquitted on appeal.

THE DEPORTATIONS.

In Monday's "Times" Sir Henry Cotton answering the attacks against Parliamentary agitation on deportations declares that it is strictly constitutional and will continue, its sole aim being the vindication of the reputation of British justice.

A DAOCA SEARCH.

Nepal Babu and Sarat Babu, two C. I. D. Inspectors, with a dozen constables, searched the house of Jogesh Guha, mukhtar, at Jindabhar's Lane and found six cartridges in an air hole near the ceiling. No arrest has been made. Nine gentlemen live in the room in which the cartridges were found.

THE FATEHGANJUR CASE.

Jatindra Nath Roy, of village Nagor, who was arrested the other day in Calcutta in connection with the Fatehganjur murder case was brought down to Madaripur for identification by Gobesh, a police informer, and by the sister-in-law of the deceased. Jatindra was produced before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate.

NASIK SEDITION.

The case in which Vaman Shridhar Barve, Jagirdar of Kothura, stands charged with publishing seditious leaflets in Tanil was again called on for hearing before Mr. Jackson, District Magistrate, Nasik. His Honour said he had received a telegram from Mr. Hardless, Expert in Handwriting in Calcutta, expressing his regret for unavoidable non-attendance and stating he would attend positively if the case be fixed for August 12th. His Honour also said that the Commission issued for the examination of the late postmaster of Tippekulum was returned unexecuted and added he should have to seriously consider whether he should keep the accused in custody any longer, pending completion of the prosecution case, as he had already been in custody for nearly two months. His Honour subsequently passed an order for the release of the accused on his own recognisance for Rs. 500 and on his furnishing two sureties for the same amount. The case was then adjourned to August 12th.

NEWS

DEATH OF LORD RIPON.

The news of the death of Lord Ripon has been received with regret in India. The Chief events of his viceroyalty are—the termination of the Afghan war, the restoration of Mysore to its lawful owners, the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the establishment of the Local Self-Government, the appointment of an Education Commission, arrangements for the framing of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the taking off of the import duties on cotton goods, the re-establishment of the Department of Agriculture to guard the country against famine, proposal to give to the higher classes of Indian Judges a large amount of jurisdiction in case of offences committed by British-born subjects. His sympathy for the Indians made him unpopular with the Anglo-Indians and Mr. Buckland has recorded how "a conspiracy had been formed by a number of men in Calcutta, who had bound themselves, in the event of the Government adhering to their projected legislation (about the jurisdiction of Indian Judges), to overpower the sentries at Government House, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal ghat, and send him to England via the Cape. The existence of this conspiracy was known to the Lieutenant-Governor, and to the responsible officer who subsequently gave me (Mr. Buckland) this information."

SIRDAR AJIT SINGH'S LECTURE.

Sirdar Ajit Singh delivered a lecture on the "cause of the rise and fall of nations" before a big gathering at the Bradlugh Hall Lahore on the 11th instant. Ramahari, formerly Editor of the Allahabad "Swaraj," who was convicted of sedition, read some "patriotic" poems. The lecturer referred to the ancient and modern history of Italy and Greece and other countries and then dwelt at length on Sikh history and the sacrifice of the Gurus. Coming to the present times, he referred to the sacrifices made by Tilak and Arabindo. The road to the rise of nations does not lie through primrose path but is strewn with trouble, privation and sacrifice. He said that reformers should approach the hamlets where the real nation dwells, and strongly censured the attitude of the upper ten of the Indian society. He asked his hearers to be true Swadeshi and set up private arbitration courts and not to let a day pass without doing some work of the country. His brother, Kishan Singh released recently, was present. Lalchand Falak, poet of the defunct Bharatmata party, read some poems and the meeting ended with shouts of "Bande Mataram."

MR. KEIR-HARDIE SUES FOR SLANDER.

Mr. Keir-Hardie has instituted slander proceedings against Mr. Creswell, the Unionist candidate for Mid Derby. Mr. Keir-Hardie, in a speech on Saturday, alluded to the report of a speech delivered by Mr. Creswell stating that Mr. Keir-Hardie's speech in India fed the sedition movement, which culminated in the murder of Sir W. Curzon-Wallis. He added that he could give Mr. Creswell an opportunity of proving his statements in the courts.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

SWADESHI BANK IN BOMBAY:—

Great impetus was given to the swadeshi movement by the inauguration on the 8th July of a large Bank with a capital of one crore-divided into one lakh shares of one hundred rupees each. A subscription list was opened and within five hours, capital was subscribed six times over, three being applications for no less than six crores worth of shares. This phenomenal success in floating is due to Jainarayan Dani of perhaps India's greatest bankers Shival Motilal. Mr. Dani is the moving spirit of the new Bank which is composed of a most powerful directorate of prominent merchants. In the history of Indian banks, this is the first instance of a record of over subscriptions within a space of a few hours and Mr. Dani whose banking experience and influence among mercantile community is great, has earned public congratulations.

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BABU KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA IN JAIL.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND HIS SON.

The following has been sent to us for
publication:—

From Babu Sukumar Mitra.
To Sir Harold Stuart, K. C. V.
O. Secretary, Home Department to the
Government of India.

6, College Square,
Calcutta, 18th May, 1909.

Sir,

I beg to thank you for kindly allowing
me to have an interview with my father
Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra at Agra.
But I found him living in an one-storied
house, which is neither well-ventilated
nor well-lighted and I have reasons to
believe that he is always kept under lock
and key except for half an hour or so
in the morning and in the evening and
it seemed to me that he has considerably
lost flesh and looked decidedly the worse
for his incarceration. If the Government
kindly allow him a little more freedom,
I shall be very thankful.

2. In this hot season, the inhabitants
of U. P. even the poorest man, sleep
in the open air as it is almost impossible
to sleep inside a room. Will the Govern-
ment kindly allow him to sleep in the
open air at night, if he so desires?

3. The man who cooks for my father
does not know how to prepare such food
as Bengalis are in the habit of taking.
Will the Government employ a cook who
can prepare the food to which the Ben-
galis are accustomed?

4. Hearing that he has got to take
food that is not according to his taste, I
wanted to send him some fruits and con-
diments but the jail authorities infor-
med me that he was under jail regu-
lations and therefore they could not allow
him those things. I beg that per-
mission be given to us to send him from
time to time such food and condiments
as may be to his liking. I need not
add that we shall send nothing except
what is good and healthy for him.

I have the Honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd) SUKUMAR MITRA.

From H. G. Stokes Esqr. Additional
Deputy Secretary of the Government of
India.

To Babu Sukumar Mitra, 6, College
Square, Calcutta.

Home Department Political.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the re-
ceipt of your letter dated the 17th
May, 1909 in which you complain (1) that
your father is living in an one-storied
house which is neither well-ventilated
nor well-lighted; (2) that he is always
kept under lock and key except for
half an hour or so in the morning and
in the evening; (3) that he has lost flesh
and looked decidedly the worse for his

incarceration when you visited him; and
(4) that the servant who cooks for him
does not know how to prepare food
which Bengalis are in the habit of tak-
ing. You also make the following requests
viz.— (1) that your father may be al-
lowed more freedom. (2) that he may be
allowed to sleep in the open air, if he
so desires, (3) that a cook may be em-
ployed for him who can prepare food to
which Bengalis are accustomed; and (4)
that you may be given permission to
send him food and condiment.

In reply I am to state with regard to
the complaints made by you that the
Superintendent of the Central Jail,
Agra, who is an officer of the India
Medical Service, and who was referred
to in the matter, reports that your father
is living in a large airy, well-ventilated
and well-lighted barrack with a large
central corridor; that he is allowed two
hours exercise outside his barrack in the
morning and an hour in the evening;
that during day time there is ample room
for exercise in the large central corridor
of his barrack and that he is in good
health being no thinner than when he
was first admitted into the jail, while
his weight, since his incarceration, has
not appreciably varied.

3. As regards the request made by
you I am to say that the Government
of India see no reason to allow your
father more freedom than he has at
present, nor are they prepared to grant
you permission to send him food and
condiments. As regards a Bengali cook,
the Government of India regret there is
no suitable man available, but the cook
who now prepares the prisoner's food
provides him with a plain wholesome
diet quite suitable for him. It is not
possible to arrange for your father to
sleep in the open air and the Super-
intendent of the Jail reports that the
large corridor is quite well suited for
sleeping as the open air. Moreover your
father is provided with a Jost fan and
a mosquito net.

4. The attention of the Government
of India has been drawn to an interview
published in the *Bengalee* of 20th, May
which purports to have been granted
to you and in which you are represen-
ted as having given publicity to the
foregoing complaints as to your father's
treatment, with the addition that he is
not allowed pen and ink. The latter
statement is also incorrect. Your father
is allowed the use of writing materials
whenever he requires them.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd) H. G. Stokes.
Additional Deputy Secretary to the Govern-
ment of India.

The following was published in the
Statesman on June 22. The public will
notice how its language is very much
that of the Government of India's letter
to Babu Sukumar Mitra, published
above.

KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA.

NEWSPAPER STATEMENTS DENIED.

A well-informed correspondent writes:—Statements have appeared of late in several native newspapers regarding the treatment of the State prisoner, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra. It has been alleged that the prisoner is confined in a place which is neither well lighted nor well ventilated, that he is kept under lock and key except for half an hour or so in the morning and the evening; that he has lost flesh and suffered in health owing to his incarceration and that he is not allowed pen and ink. All these statements are incorrect. The prisoner is living in a large airy, well-lighted and well ventilated barrack with a large central corridor. He is allowed two hours exercise out side his barrack in the morning and an hour in the evening, and during day time there is ample room for exercise in the large central corridor of the barrack. He is in good health, being no thinner than when he was first admitted into jail, while his weight since he entered the jail has not varied appreciably, the prisoner is always allowed the use of books and of writing materials whenever he requires them.

One newspaper stated that Babu K. K. Mitra had twice memorialised the Government, but had received no reply. This also is incorrect. The orders of the Government of India on both his memorials were duly communicated to him. The Government of India have received no complaints from Babu K. K. Mitra himself on the subject of his treatment.

MR. GOKHALE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha the Hon. Mr. Gokhale delivered to a crowded audience an address in Marathi on the present situation, the Hon. Mr. Dixit being in the chair.

CONDEMNATION OF RECENT OUTRAGE.

Mr. Gokhale began by expressing, in the strongest terms the horror and indignation with which the dreadful news of the assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wyke and Dr. Lalena by an Indian student in London had been received. The foul deed, he said, had blackened the Indian name and they must hang down their heads in shame before the whole civilized world. Fortunately the rulers were men who generally knew how to keep their heads cool even in times of excitement; and Mr. Gokhale trusted that there would be no indiscriminate condemnation of Indian students in London owing to this wicked and detestable crime. During his last visit to England nothing struck him more or filled him with deeper anxiety and apprehension than the growth of wild anarchical opinions among a section of the Indian students residing in that country. It was an extremely small section, not more than forty or fifty at the outside, out of about seven hundred young men, but they

generally took care to keep themselves in evidence and make themselves as thoroughly disagreeable as possible to those from whom they differed on all public occasions.

OUR GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY.

Now that things had culminated in this horrible and dastardly outrage, they must lose no time in recognising the grave responsibility resting on them as to the influences to which these young men were exposed in foreign countries. The Government was dealing with the question in its own way, but without the co-operation of the parents and guardians and the general public the Government could not effect much. It was an extremely difficult question and Mr. Gokhale proposed to deal with it as also with the other phases of the student problem separately on another occasion.

GROWTH OF POLITICAL AGITATION.

Turning next to the subject of his address Mr. Gokhale reviewed briefly the history of political agitation in this country which roughly was a growth of the last forty years. He pointed out how at the beginning of the last century British rule appeared to the people over the minutest part of India more as a deliverance from chronic disorder and misrule than as a foreign rule with its inevitable drawbacks. He also pointed out how the earlier efforts for an improvement of their political status had come principally from Englishmen themselves.

PRESENT POLITICAL IDEAS.

After discussing the hopes and the faith that lay behind the Congress movement of the last quarter of a century, the speaker came to the political ideas which at present were working in the minds of the people. These ideas, he said, could in the first instance be divided into two categories—those which aimed at independence and those which sought only such progress for the people as was achievable under British rule. Though a certain hankering after independence must have existed here and there in individual minds from the very commencement of the British rule in India, as a factor to be reckoned with has been a growth of the last four or five years only. They had their origin in the despair which over-spread the Indian mind towards the close of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, in the general feeling of protest against European domination which had sprung up, as recognized by European observers in recent years throughout the East. It must be admitted that these ideas partly owing to their natural attractiveness and partly owing to a lack of political discrimination and judgment among the people had spread rapidly in the country; and they have constituted to-day a serious obstacle in the path of the country's progress. No man, said Mr. Gokhale, could be so fallen as to think that there was any special merit in living under a foreign Government or that there were not humiliations—at times painful and bitter humiliations—inseparable from it, but it was not a question of abstract theories or of mere sentiment.

It was a question of what was practicable and what was in the best interests of the country in the present circumstances. They had to recognize two things: One was that considering the difficulties of the position, England had done very well in India; and the second was that there was no alternative to British rule not only now but for a long time to come, in view of their endless divisions, their feeble public spirit, their general lack of energy, and other grave defects of national character. Only mad men outside lunatic asylums could think or talk of independence. That same patriotism which, in other countries, had taken other forms, must lead them in their situation to work loyally with the British Government for the progress and prosperity of their country. It should be plain to the weakest understanding that towards the idea of independence the Government could adopt only one attitude—that of stern and relentless repression, for, these ideas were bound to lead to violence, and as a matter of fact, they had as they could all see resulted in violence.

RESORT TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Some of their friends were in the habit of saying that their plan was to achieve independence by merely peaceful means—by a general resort to passive resistance. The speaker felt bound to say that such talk was ridiculous, nonsense and was a mere cloak used by these men to save their own skins. Independence never had been achieved in the history of the world and never would, except by force; and the British would as stated recently by Lord Curzon, spend their last shilling and sacrifice their last man before they would suffer their rule to be overthrown. Therefore, ideas of independence meant physical conflict with the government of the country, and that necessarily would leave no option to the Government except stern repression. They often said that the good faith of the Government was involved in carrying out the programme given to the people of this country in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858. Had not the Government on the other side an equal right to say that the people of his country having accepted British rule and certain liberties having been conferred on them on the basis of that understanding, good faith required them not to harbour ideas directed against the very existence of that rule? However strenuous their exertions for winning large liberties or acquiring a larger share in the administration of the country, it was of the utmost importance that they should give no reasonable ground for the suspicion that what they desired was an end of British rule itself. Of course, sometimes the authorities entertained such suspicion unjustly or unreasonably and often in the past, thoroughly loyal and constitutional agitation had been regarded with great disfavour by them and attempts made to brand it as disloyal. On such occasions they had stood up against the authorities with clear conscience and gone their own way and they would do so again. But the spread of wild ideas paralysed them all.

even in loyal and constitutional work and the repression which it invited, restricted the liberties of all and made further progress for the country, which in the circumstances could only be a peaceful progress, impossible.

THE STUDENT POPULATION.

The worst harm done by this propaganda was that it had unsettled the minds of the student population of the country. Their susceptible nature and immature judgments rendered them readily accessible to such influences; and on all sides they saw evidences of the deplorable results that had ensued. The speaker, therefore, emphatically asserted that they must denounce those who spread such wild ideas in the country as enemies of their progress and their best interests.

PROGRESS ACHIEVABLE UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Passing on to the political progress achievable under British rule, Mr. Gokhale said that there was practically no limit to it. Such progress had to lie in two directions, first, a steady obliteration of distinctions on grounds of race between individual Englishmen and individual Indians, and secondly, a steady advance by the people of this country towards that form of Government which Englishmen enjoyed in other parts of the Empire. The progress in both these directions was bound to be slow and in the second even more slow than in the first. The justice of their claim as regarded the steady obliteration of race distinction had been recently admitted even by Lord Curzon,—the same Lord Curzon who in the plenitude of his power had sought to explain away the Queen's Proclamation in open Council. Mr. Sinha's appointment as Law member of the Government of India under the new Reform Scheme was a striking recognition of that claim, and though it has not removed all inequalities they must acknowledge with deep gratitude that a momentous step towards equality had been taken by Government.

OUR MAIN DIFFICULTIES.

As regards their advance towards the goal of what might be roughly termed Colonial Self-Government, it had been urged by critics that it was unwise and even mischievous to mention such a goal since it could not concern the present or the near future. The speaker however did not share that view. He thought it was most useful and most important that they should be able to say to their countrymen that in the fulness of time they could hope to attain under British rule a form of Government worthy of the self-respect and of the civilized communities. Moreover those who spoke of such a goal spoke of it not to suggest what their countrymen might immediately ask for or the Government could be expected to grant, but to keep before their minds an ideal of what they had to qualify themselves for. For, the whole question, after all, was a question of character and capacity and qualification.

THE CONCLUSION.

They must realise that their main difficulties were in themselves. The present Hindu-Mohammedan agitation had drawn the pointed attention of everybody to the

absence of any real unity in the country and had shown how deep and wide the fissures were. Their average character and capacity would have to be considerably raised before they could hope to bear the responsibilities of any real measure of self-government. Mr. Gokhale in conclusion dwelt on the new prospect opened by the reform Scheme and pointed how they could employ themselves usefully in the service of their country in various directions. Such work must be inspired by real, deep, passionate love of their country and not by a mere hatred or impatience of the foreigner, to be enduringly useful. They should do such work honestly and patiently so they would be qualified to take the next step in the order of natural development.

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No. 5.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Indiscretions of Sir Edward.

The speech of Sir Edward Baker in the Bengal Council last week was one of those indiscretions which statesmen occasionally commit and invariably repent, but which live in their results long after the immediate occasion has been forgotten. The speech is a mass of indiscretions from beginning to end. Its first error was to rise to the bait of Mr. Madhusudan Das' grotesquely violent speech on the London murders and assume a political significance in the act of the young man Dhingra. The theory of a conspiracy behind this act is, we believe, generally rejected in England. It is not supported by a scrap of evidence and is repudiated by the London police, a much more skilful detective body than any we have in India and, needless to say, much more reliable in the matter of scrupulousness and integrity. It is the opinion of the London police that the act was dictated by personal resentment and not by political motives. It is not enough to urge in answer that the young man who committed this ruthless act himself alleges political motives. His family insist that he is a sort of neurotic maniac, and it is a matter of common knowledge that natures

so disturbed often 'catch at tendencies in the air to give a fictitious dignity and sensational interest to actions really dictated by the exaggerated feelings common to these nervous disorders. Madanlal Dhingra evidently considered that Sir William Curzon-Wyllie was his personal enemy trying to alienate his family and interfere with his personal freedom and dignity. To an ordinary man these ideas would not have occurred or, if they had occurred, would not have excited homicidal feelings. But in disturbed minds such exaggerated emotions and their resultant acts are only too common. Unless and until something fresh transpires, no one has a right to assume that the murder was a political assassination, much less the overt act of a political conspiracy. Anglo-Indian papers of the virulent type whose utterances are distorted by fear and hatred of Indian aspirations, may assume that of which there is no proof,—nothing better can be expected of them. But for the ruler of a province not only to make the assumption publicly but to base upon it a threat of an unprecedented character against a whole nation is an indiscretion which passes measure.

The demand for co-operation.

The second crying indiscretion in Sir Edward's speech is the extra-

ordinary demand for co-operation which he makes upon the people of this country. It is natural that a Government should desire co-operation on the part of the people and under normal circumstances it is not necessary to ask for it; it is spontaneously given. The circumstances in India are not normal. When a Government expects co-operation, it is because it either represents the nation or is in the habit of consulting its wishes. The Government in India does not represent the nation, and in Bengal at least it has distinctly set itself against its wishes. It has driven the Partition through against the most passionate and universal agitation the country has ever witnessed. It has set itself to baffle the Swadeshi-Boycott agitation. It has adopted against that movement all but the ultimate measures of repression. Nine deportations including in their scope several of the most respected and blameless leaders of the people stand to their debit account unredeemed. Even in giving the new reforms, inconclusive and in some of their circumstances detrimental to the best interests of the country, it has been anxious to let it be known that it is not yielding to the wishes of the people but acting of its own autocratic motion. Against such a policy and principle of administration the people of

this country have no remedy except the refusal of co-operation and even that has been done only within the smallest limits possible. Under such circumstances it is indeed a grotesque attitude for the ruler of Bengal to get up from his seat in the Council and not only request co-operation but demand it on pain of indiscriminate penalties such as only an autocratic government can inflict on the people under its control, and this with the full understanding that none of the grievances of the people are to be redressed. The meaning of co-operation is not passive obedience, it implies that the Government shall rule according to the wishes of the people and the people work in unison with the Government for the maintenance of their common interests. By advancing the demand in the way he has advanced it, Sir Edward Baker, has made the position of his Government worse and not better.

What co-operation?

The delusion under which the Government labours that the Terrorist activities have a great organisation at their back, is the source of its most fatal mistakes. Everyone who knows anything of this country is aware that this theory is a fabrication. If it were a fact, the conspiracy would by this time have been exposed and destroyed. The assassinations have in all instances, except the yet doubtful Maniktola conspiracy now under judicial consideration, been the act of isolated individuals, and even in the Maniktola instance, if we accept the finding of the Sessions Court, it has been shown by judicial investigation that the group of young men was small and so secret in their operations that only a few even of those who lived in their headquarters knew anything of the contemplated terrorism. Under such circumstances we fail to see either any justification for so passionate a call for co-operation or any possibility of an answer from the public. All that the public can do is to express disapprobation of the methods used by these isolated youths. It cannot turn itself into a huge Criminal Investigation Department to ferret out the half dozen men here and there who possibly contemplate assassination and leave its other occupations and duties after the pat-

tern of the police who in many quarters are so busy with suppressing fancied Swadeshi outrages that real outrage and disloyalty go unpunished. We do not suppose that Sir Edward Baker himself would make such a demand, but if he has any other co-operation in view it would be well if he would define it before he proceeds with his strenuous proposal to strike out right and left at the innocent and the guilty without discrimination. On the other hand the Anglo-Indian papers are at no loss for the definite method of cooperation which they demand from the country on peril of "stern and relentless repression." They demand that we shall cease to practise or to preach patriotism and patriotic self-sacrifice and submit unconditionally to the eternally unalterable absolutism which is the only system of government Lord Morley will tolerate in India. That demand has only to be mentioned to be scouted.

Sir Edward's Menace.

The final indiscretion of Sir Edward Baker was also the worst. We do not think we have ever heard before of an official in Sir Edward's responsible position uttering such a menace as issued from the head of this province on an occasion and in a place where his responsibility should have been specially remembered. We have heard of autocrats threatening contumacious opponents with condign punishment, but even an autocrat of the fiercest and most absolute kind does not threaten the people with the punishment of the innocent. The thing is done habitually—in Russia; it has been done recently in Bengal; but it is always on the supposition that the man punished is guilty. Even in the deportations the Government has been eager to impress the world with the idea that although it is unable to face a court of justice with the "information, not evidence" which is its excuse, it had ample grounds for its belief in the guilt of the deportees. Sir Edward Baker is the first ruler to declare with cynical openness that if he is not gratified in his demands, he will not care whether he strikes the innocent or the guilty. By doing so he has dealt an almost fatal blow at the prestige of the Government. If this novel principle of administration is applied, in what

will the government that terrorises from above be superior to the dynamiter who terrorises from below? Will not this be the negation of all law, justice and government? Does it not mean the reign of lawless force and that worst consummation of all, Anarchy from above struggling with Anarchy from below? The Government which denies the first principle of settled society, not only sanctions but introduces anarchy. It is thus that established authority creates violent revolutions. They abolish by persecution all the forces, leaders, advocates of peaceful and rapid progress and by their own will set themselves face to face with an enemy who cannot so be abolished. Terrorism thrives on administrative violence and injustice; that is the only atmosphere in which it can thrive and grow. It sometimes follows the example of indiscriminate violence from above; it sometimes, though very rarely, sets it from below. But the power above which follows the example from below is on the way to committing suicide. It has consented to the abrogation of the one principle which is the lifebreath of settled governments.

The Personal result.

Sir Edward Baker came into office with the reputation of a liberal ruler anxious to appease unrest. Till now he has maintained it in spite of the ominous pronouncement he made, when introducing measures of repression, about the insufficiency of the weapons with which the Government was arming itself. But by his latest pronouncement, contradicting as it does the first principles not only of Liberalism but of all wise Conservatism all over the world, he has gone far to justify those who were doubtful of his genuine sympathy with the people. Probably he did not himself realize what a wound he was giving to his own reputation and with it to his chances of carrying any portion of the people with him.

A one-sided proposal.

A writer in the Indian World has been holding out the olive branch to the advanced Nationalist party and inviting them into the fold of the body which now calls itself the Congress. The terms of this desirable conciliation seem to us a little peculiar. The Nationalists are to give up all their contentions and in return the Bombay

coterie may consciously give up their personal dislike of working with the Nationalist leaders. This is gracious but a little unconvincing. The only difficulty the mediator sees in the way is the constitutional point raised by a section of the Moderates against the arbitrary action of the Committee of the Convention in passing a constitution and forcing it on the delegates without submission to freely elected delegates sitting in a session of the Congress itself. The mediator proposes to get round the objection by the Bombay coterie agreeing to pass the Constitution en bloc through the Congress provided an undertaking is given by the Nationalists that they will accept bodily the whole of the constitution and make no opposition to any of its provisions! A very remarkable proviso! The writer assumes that the Nationalists have accepted the Constitution bodily and are willing to sign the creed. We think he is in error in his assumptions. The Nationalists are not likely to give any undertaking which will abrogate their constitutional right to make their own proposals about the Constitution at the beginning or to suggest amendments to it hereafter. They will sign no creed, as it is against their principles to make the Congress a sectional body and they refuse to bind themselves to regard colonial self-government as the ultimate goal of our national development. Whatever resolutions are passed by a properly constituted Congress they will accept as the temporary opinion of the majority while reserving the right, which all minorities reserve, of preaching their own convictions. They refuse to regard the Madras Convention or the contemplated Lahore Convention as a sitting of the Congress or its resolutions as the will of the country. The position taken, that the Bombay coterie are in possession of the Congress and it is theirs to admit Nationalists or not at their pleasure is one we cannot recognize. If there is to be an united Congress it must resume its life at the point where the Calcutta session broke off. All that has happened in between is a time of interregnum.

The only Remedy.

The attempt to reunite the parties on such lines is doomed to failure. Nor is it likely that even if the Nationalists were entirely accommodating there would be any

change of opinion. The attitude of Mr. Gokhale is unchangeable on this point. Not only has he completely separated himself and his school from the activities of Congress and passive resistance but he has denounced them as enemies of the country and handed them over to the "stern and relentless repression" of the authorities. The *Tribune* calls on Bengal to give up the boycott on the ground that it is no longer sanctioned by the "Congress" as it chooses to call a body which even the whole of the Moderate party were unable to join. The only remedy for the situation is for those who desire unity to rebuild the National Assembly from the bottom on the basis of provincial unity and abstention from any mutilated body Moderate or Nationalist, however august the name under which it masks its unrepresentative character, so long as it professes to speak for the nation and yet refuses to admit freely its elected representatives.

The Bengalee and Ourselves

The *Bengalee* has answered our facts and opinions with its facts and comments. Unfortunately we find in our contemporary's answer all comment and no fact. For the most part he is busy trying to prove that we were really inconsistent and contradictory, or, if he misunderstood us, it was due to our uninstructed use of language. In the first place we did not expressly say that we saw God in every thing and only specially in special movements. Of course we did not. As we pointed out we could not be always guarding ourselves against gratuitous misconceptions, and the omnipresence of God is such an obvious fact that it has not to be expressly stated. It is curious that our contemporary's powerful intelligence seems still unable to grasp the point about leadership. If the movement were the result of human calculation or guided by human calculation, or even if every constructive step were the result of mature deliberation, there would be no point in insisting that the movement was created and led (we beg pardon, we mean specially created and led,) by God and not by human wisdom. We pointed out that none of these statements could be advanced in the face of the facts, and our contemporary has not been able to meet our arguments; he has simply restated his

previous unsupported assumption. Secondly, we were unfortunate enough to use in one place the word "His" where our contemporary thinks we should have used the word "that." With all submission we think our language was perfectly clear. We said His purpose and we meant His purpose, the purpose of raising up India. Then again we were unfortunate enough to indulge in an ironical repetition of our contemporary's phrase "mere" faith, with in commas inverted and our contemporary with portentous seriousness insists on taking this as our own epithet and seriously meant. We have pointed out that in our idea of faith it includes the logical analysing reason, it includes experience and exceeds it. It exceeds logical reason because it uses the higher intuitive reason; it exceeds experience because experience often gives the balance of its support to one conclusion where faith using intuition inclines to the opposite conclusion.

God and Man.

Our contemporary does not understand why we wrote of God and the universal force or why we insisted on the special manifestation of the divine force as opposed to its veiled workings through human egoism. We did so because we had to oppose the excess of that very egoism. We have not risen to the heights of Monism from which he scoffs benignly at our dualism. It may be the final truth that there is nothing but God, but for the purposes of life we have to recognise that there is a dualism in the underlying unity. It profits nothing to say, for instance, "The Divine Force wrote two columns of Facts and Comments the other day in the *Bengalee*." God reveals Himself not only in the individual where He is veiled by ignorance and egoism, but in Himself. When the *Bengalee* sees no alternative to man's selfconsciousness except unconscious action, it is under the influence of the European materialism which sees only conscious creatures in an unconscious inanimate Nature. The Divine Force is not unconscious but conscious and intelligent and to see Him as a conscious power only in men is to deny Him altogether. When again our contemporary uses a misapprehension

of the truth of Adwaita to justify the deifying of his own reason, he is encouraging practical atheism while taking the divine name in vain. God manifests Himself in everything. He manifests himself in our reason, therefore let us forget God and rely on our own human calculations. That is the train of argument. What is the use of relying on God? let us look to our own safety. What is the use of being brave in the hour of peril? If our leader goes, the movement stops. *Matra anusmara yullhya cha*, is the motto of the Karmayogin. God manifests himself in the individual partially, but He stands behind the progress of the world wholly. We are bound to use our own intellects, we cannot help it if we would, but we must remember that it is a limited intellect and be prepared for the failure of our schemes and plans, for calamity, for defeat, without making these things an excuse for abandoning His work, laying our principles on the shelf or sending out a cry to discourage steadfastness and self-sacrifice. Our plans may fail, God's purpose cannot. That is why we laid so much stress on the fact that this has been a movement which, as the man in the street would say, has led itself, in which individuals have been instruments and not the real shapers and leaders. We have faith and we believe in the great rule of life in the Gita, "Remember me and fight." We believe in the mighty word of assurance to the bhakta, *Macchittah sarva durgani matprasadat tarishyasi*, "If thou reposest thy heart and mind in Me by My grace thou shalt pass safe through all difficulties and dangers. We believe that the Yoga of the Gita will play a large part in the uplifting of the nation, and this attitude is the first condition of the Yoga of the Gita. When anybody tries to discourage our people in this attitude, we are bound to enter the lists against him. We recognise that to argue with those who have only opinions but no realisation is a hopeless task, since it is only by entering into communion with the Infinite and seeing the Divine Force in all that one can be intellectually sure of its conscious action. But at least we can try to remove the philosophical delusions and confusions which mislead men from the right path and veil European materialism under generalities drawn from Vedanta.

THE GREATNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

In all movements, in every great mass of human action it is the spirit of the Time, that which Europe calls the Zeitgeist and India Kala, who expresses himself. The very names are deeply significant. Kali, the Mother of all and destroyer of all, is the Shakti that works in secret in the heart of humanity manifesting herself in the perpetual surge of men, institutions and movements, Mahakala the Spirit within whose energy goes abroad in her and moulds the progress of the world and the destiny of the nations. His is the impetus which fulfils itself in Time, and once there is movement, impetus from the Spirit within, Time and the Mother take charge of it, prepare, ripen and fulfil. When the Zeitgeist, God in Time, moves in a settled direction, then the whole forces of the world are called in to swell the established current towards the purpose decreed. That which consciously helps, swells it, but that which hinders swells it still more, and like a wave on the windswept Ocean, now rising now falling, now high on the crest of victory and increase, now down in the troughs of discouragement and defeat the impulse from the hidden Source sweeps onward to its pre-ordained fulfilment. Man may help or man may resist, but the Zeitgeist works, shapes, overbears, insists.

The great and memorable vision of Kurukshetra when Sri Krishna manifesting his world-form declared himself as destroying Time, is significant of this deep perception of humanity. When Arjun wished to cast aside his bow and quiver, when he said, "This is a sin we do and a great destruction of men and brothers, I will forbear," Sri Krishna after convincing his intellect of error, proceeded by that marvellous vision described in the eleventh canto of the Gita to stamp the truth of things upon his imagination. Thus run the mighty stanzas:

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत्प्रभो
लोकान् समहरन्मिह प्रवृत्तः ।
कतमपि त्वां न भविष्यति सर्वं
येऽवस्थिताः प्रतरन्तीकु येथाः ॥
तस्मात्सुखिष्ठं यमो वभक्ष
क्षित्वा यद्वृक्षं, राज्यं सद्यः ।
मयैवैते निहतः पूर्वमेव
निमित्तमात्रं भवं संवराचिनः ॥

"I am time who waste and destroy the people; Lo, I have arisen in my might, I am here to swallow up the nations. Even without thee all they shall not be, the men of war who stand arrayed in the opposing squadrons. Therefore do thou arise and get thee great glory, conquer thy foes and enjoy a great and wealthy empire. For these, they were slain even before and it is I who have slain them; be the occasion only, O Savyasachin."

It is not as the slow process of Time that Sri Krishna manifests himself; it is as the Zeitgeist consummating in a moment the work carefully prepared for decades that He appears to Arjuna. All have been moving inevitably towards the catastrophe of Kurukshetra. Men did not know it: those who would have done everything possible to avert the calamity, helped its coming by their action or inaction; those who had a glimpse of it strove in vain to stop the wheels of Fate; Sri Krishna himself as the *nishkama karmayogin* who does his duty without regard to results, went on that hopeless embassy to Hastinapura; but the Zeitgeist overbore all. It was only afterwards that men saw how like rivers speeding towards the sea, like moths winging towards the lighted flame all that splendid powerful and arrogant Indian world with its clans of Kings and its weapons and its chariots and its gigantic armies were rushing towards the open mouths of the destroyer to be lost in His mighty jaws, to be mangled between His gnashing teeth. In the lila of the Eternal there are movements that are terrible as well as movements that are sweet and beautiful. The dance of Brindaban is not complete without the death-dance of Kurukshetra; for each is a part of that great harmonic movement of the world which progresses from discord to accord, from hatred and strife to love and brotherhood, from evil to the fulfilment of the evolution by the transformation of suffering and sin into beauty, bliss and good, *shivam, shantam, suddham, anandam*.

Who could resist the purpose of the Zeitgeist? There were strong men in India then by the hundred, great philosophers and Yogins, subtle statesmen, leaders of men, kings of thought and action, the efflorescence of a mighty intellectual civilisation at its height. A little turning to the right instead of to the left on the part

of a few of these would, it might seem, have averted the whole catastrophe. So Arjun thought when he flung aside his bow. He was the whole hope of the Pandavas and without him their victory must seem a mere dream and to fight an act of madness. Yet it is to him that the Zeitgeist proclaims the utter helplessness of the mightiest and the sure fulfilment of God's decree. "Even without thee all they shall not be, the men of war who stand arrayed in the opposing squadrons." For these men are only alive in the body; in that which stands behind and fulfils itself they are dead men. Whom God protects who shall slay? Whom God has slain who shall protect? The man who slays is only the occasion, the instrument by which the thing done behind the veil becomes the thing done on this side of it. That which was true of the great slaying at Kurukshetra is true of all things that are done in this world, of all the creation, destruction and preservation that make up the lila.

The greatness of this teaching is for the great. Those who are commissioned to bring about mighty changes are full of the force of the Zeitgeist. Kali has entered into them and Kali when she enters into a man cares nothing for rationality and possibility. She is the force of Nature that whirls the stars in their orbits, lightly as a child might swing a ball, and to that force there is nothing impossible. She is *aghatana-ghatana-patrayasi*, very skilful in bringing about the impossible. She is the *devatmashakti svaguneir nigudha*, the Power of the Divine Spirit hidden in the modes of its own workings, and she needs nothing but time to carry out the purpose with which she is commissioned. She moves in Time and the very movement fulfils itself, creates its means, accomplishes its ends. It is not an accident that she works in one man more than in another. He is chosen because he is a likely vessel, and having chosen him she neither rejects him till the purpose is fulfilled nor allows him to reject her. Therefore Srikrishna tells Arjun.

यदङ्कारमाकृत्य न वेत्स्यसि इति मनसो
विद्येयं वाचसायने प्रकृतिकम् विद्येयमिति

"The thought which thou thinkest and takest refuge in egoism saying 'I will not fight,' this thy resolve is a vain thing; Nature will yoke thee to thy work." When a

man seems to have rejected his work, it merely means that his work is over and Kali leaves him for another. When a man who has carried out a great work is destroyed, it is for the egoism by which he has misused the force within that the force itself breaks him to pieces, as it broke Napoleon. Some instruments are treasured up, some are flung aside and shattered, but all are instruments. This is the greatness of great men, not that by their own strength they can determine great events, but that they are serviceable and specially-forged instruments of the Power which determines them. Mirabeau helped to create the French Revolution, no man more. When he set himself against it and strove, becoming a prop of monarchy, to hold back the wheel, did the French Revolution stop for the backsliding of France's mightiest? Kali put her foot on Mirabeau and he disappeared; but the Revolution went on, for the Revolution was the manifestation of the Zeitgeist, the Revolution was the will of God.

So it is always. The men who prided themselves that great events were their work, because they seemed to have an initial hand in them, go down into the trench of Time and others march forward over their shattered reputations. Those who are swept forward by Kali within them and make no terms with Fate, they alone survive. The greatness of individuals is the greatness of the eternal Energy within.

THE DOCTRINE OF SACRIFICE.

The genius of self-sacrifice is not common to all nations and to all individuals; it is rare and precious, it is the flowering of mankind's ethical growth, the evidence of our gradual rise from the self-regarding animal to the selfless divinity. A man capable of self-sacrifice, whatever his other sins, has left the animal behind him: he has the stuff in him of a future and higher humanity. A nation capable of a national act of self-sacrifice ensures its future.

Self-sacrifice involuntary or veiled by forms of selfishness is, however, the condition of our existence. It has been a gradual growth in humanity. The first sacrifices are always selfish—they involve the sacrifice of others for

one's own advancement. The first step forward is taken by the instinct of animal love in the mother who is ready to sacrifice her life for the young, by the instinct of protection in the male who is ready to sacrifice his life for his mate. The growth of this instinct is the sign of an enlargement in the conception of the self. So long as there is identification of self only with one's own body and its desires the state of the *jiva* is unprogressive and animal. It is only when the self enlarges to include the mate and the children that advancement becomes possible. This is the first human state but the animal lingers in it in the view of the wife and children as chattels and possessions meant for one's own pleasure, strength, dignity, comfort. The family even so viewed becomes the basis of civilisation because it makes social life possible. But the real development of the god in man does not begin until the family becomes so much dearer than the life of the body that a man is ready to sacrifice himself for it, and give up his ease or even his life for its welfare or its protection. To give up one's ease for the family, that is a state which most men have attained; to give up one's life for the honour of the wife or the safety of the home is an act of a higher nature of which man is capable in individuals, in classes, but not in the mass. Beyond the family comes the community and the next step in the enlargement of the self is when the identification with the self in the body and the self in the family gives way to the identification with the self in the community. To recognize that the community has a larger claim on a man than his family is the first condition of the advance to the social condition. It corresponds to the growth of the tribe out of the patriarchal family and to the perfection of those communal institutions of which our village community was a type. Here again, to be always prepared to sacrifice the family interest to the larger interest of the community must be the first condition of communal life and to give one's life for the safety of the community the act of divinity which marks the consummation of the enlarging self in the communal idea. The next enlargement is to the self in the nation. The evolution of the nation is the growth which is most important now to humanity

because human selfishness, family selfishness, class selfishness having still deep roots in the past must learn to efface themselves in the larger national self in order that the God in humanity may grow. Therefore it is that Nationalism is the *dharma* of the age, and God reveals himself to us in our common Mother. The first attempts to form a nationality were the Greek city, the Semetic or Mongolian monarchy, the Celtic clan, the Aryan *kula* or *jati*. It was the mixture of all these ideas which went to the formation of the mediaeval nation and evolved the modern peoples. Here again, it is the readiness to sacrifice self-interest, family interest, class interest to the larger national interest which is the condition of humanity's fulfilment in the nation and to die for its welfare or safety is the supreme act of self-consummation in the larger national ego. There is a yet higher fulfilment for which only a few individuals have shown themselves ready, the enlargement of the self to include all humanity. A step forward has been taken in this direction by the self-immolation of a few to humanitarian ideals, but to sacrifice their interests of the nation to the larger interests of humanity is an act of which humanity in the mass is not yet capable. God prepares, but He does not hasten the ripening of the fruit before its season. A time will come when this also will be possible, but the time is not yet. Nor would it be well for humanity if it came before the other and lesser identification were complete; for that would necessitate retrogression in order to secure the step which has been omitted. The advance of humanity is a steady progress and there is no great gain in rushing positions far ahead, while important points in the rear are uncaptured.

The national ego may easily mean nothing more than collective selfishness. I may be ready to sacrifice money and ease for the country in order to secure my wealth, fame, or position and property which depend upon her security and greatness. I may be ready to sacrifice these and more for her because of the safety of the home and the hearth which her safety ensures. I may be ready to sacrifice much for her because her greatness, wealth, ease mean the greatness, wealth, ease of my community or my class. Or I may be ready to sacrifice everything to

secure her greatness because of my pride in her and my desire to see my nation dominant and imperial. All these are forms of selfishness pursuing man into the wider life which is meant to assist in liberating him from selfishness. The curse of capitalism, the curse of Imperialism which afflict modern nations are due to this insistence. It is the source of that pride, insolence and injustice which affect a nation in its prosperity and by that fatal progression which the Greeks with their acute sense for these things so clearly demarcated, it leads from prosperity to insolence and outrage and from insolence and outrage to that *ate*, that blind infatuation, which is God's instrument for the destruction of men and nations. There is only one remedy for this pursuing evil and it is to regard the nation as a necessary unit but no more in a common humanity.

There are two stages in the life of a nation, first, when it is forming itself or new-forming itself, secondly, when it is formed, organised and powerful. The first is the stage when Nationalism makes rightly its greatest demands on the individual, in the second it should abate its demands and having satisfied should persevere itself in Cosmopolitanism somewhat as the individual preserves itself in the family, the family in the class, the class in the nation, not destroying itself needlessly but recognising a larger interest. In the struggles of a subject nation to realise its separate existence, the larger interest can only be viewed in prospect and as a higher inspiration to a broadminded and generous patriotism. No sacrifice of the nation to the larger interest is possible, for the nation must exist before it can sacrifice its interests for a higher good.

We are at present in the first or formative stage, and in this stage the demand of Nationalism is imperative. It is only by the sacrifices of the individual, the family and the class to the supreme object of building up the nation that under such adverse circumstances Nationalism can secure the first conditions for its existence. Every act of the new Nationalism has been a call for suffering and self-sacrifice. *Swadeshi* was such a call, arbitration was such a call, national education was such a call, above all, passive resistance was such a call. None of these things can be

secured except by a general readiness to sacrifice the individual and the family to the interests of the nation. Nowadays a new call is visibly forming, the call on the higher classes to sacrifice their privileges and prejudices, as the Japanese *Samurai* did, for the raising up of the lower. The spread of a general spirit of ungrudging self-sacrifice is the indispensable prelude to the creation of the Indian nation. This truth is not only evident from the very nature of the movement we have initiated, but it is borne out by the tests of history and experience to which we have been recently asked to refer in each individual case before the act of sacrifice is decided. It is by the appeal to history and experience that the Nationalist party has convinced the intellect just as by its inspiring ideals and readiness to suffer it has carried with it the heart of the nation. The demand that we should in every individual case go into a review of the whole question is excessive and impossible. It is enough if we are generally convinced of the utility and necessity of sacrifice and feel the individual call. It must be remembered that we cannot argue from the condition of a people formed, free and prospering to that of a people subject, struggling and miserable. In the first case the individual is not called to frequent acts of self-sacrifice but only to those regularly demanded by the nation and to a general readiness for especial sacrifice in case of necessity, but in the second the necessity is a constant quantity. Nor is it a sound principle to demand in such circumstances an adequate value for every individual act of courage and self-denial. It would indeed be singular for the individuals of a subject nation asked for the price of their liberty to say to the Dispenser of *Karma*, "You shall give me so much in return for every individual sacrifice and we must know your terms beforehand. We will not trust you to the extent of a single pie worth of result for our sufferings." Not by such method such a spirit have subject nations been delivered.

YOGA.

What is yoga? The average man of the world generally connects yoga with living in forests and caves, and going about in sackcloth and ashes.

Yoga is union in partition, unity in diversity. It is the many becoming one. In it lies strength. I can easily break a twig, but a bundle of twigs defies my muscularity.

By a knowledge of the laws of union and disunion man has brought the powers of Nature under his control. Electricity comes down from the clouds to light our room, turn our fans, cook our meals, and brush our shoes. This is a matter of every day experience now.

Yoga is the focussing of man's various powers on any subject. Yoga may be physical, intellectual and spiritual as well as national and international.

Yoga begets power, and strength makes possible what is otherwise impossible.

Yoga is sometimes misunderstood. It is not the union of the human soul with God, for the soul and the oversoul are already in union. The soul is in God. God is in the soul, you can only unite what is not united. To talk of uniting the human soul in the God betrays an ignorance of the entire relation between God and man, between the creator and the created. It is insanity to talk of marriage of an already married couple. It will be just as unnatural to talk of uniting your material body with space, because every atom that has material existence is already in space.

Yoga is not the union of the human soul in the Divine soul. It is the uniting of all of the powers of the soul, the focussing of the scattered rays, as it were, in order to throw a strong flood of spiritual light on the hitherto unexplored regions of the spirit. There is the Light in us—in all. What we want is to know it, feel it, and see it. This is not uniting in a purely physical sense, but the object of yoga is actual perception, realisation of the Divine Personality, as well as development of the powers of the Soul.

Yoga is a means to an end. The end is not union, but perception and living realisation of God.

in the soul and the soul in God, as having its being in God, and living, moving, and eternally existing in God.

PHYSICAL YOGA.

The mechanic, chemist and carpenter know very well how to accomplish something by uniting or disuniting different things and, component parts.

The Pyramids have been possible in the past by the united efforts of man. Look at the big warehouses, marts, wharves, armies and navies, and see what union amongst men can accomplish.

This new era in the history of mankind is an era of Yoga, of united effort amongst men and women. What was impossible fifty years ago has been possible now. The Railway, the telegraph the Post Office, or aerial navigation was the wildest dream of the ancients. A man who would talk of such things being possible was considered fit enough for nothing else and already on the highway to Bedlam. But to-day they are objects of actual experience to every man and woman and child. These things and much more are the results of physical union. We shall see by and by what man can accomplish by uniting amongst millions and nations.

The boxer puts the whole strength and weight of his body in one arm and into one blow. The sonata of Mozart and the soul-entrancing raptures of Tansen and Beethoven are due to the uniting together in a beautiful manner of the different sounds of the gamut. The Taj and the Apollo Belvedere and the Madonna owe their perfection of beauty to the knowledge of the union. Put the different parts together properly and you have the highest work of art. Take the parts separately and the enchantment is gone.

The manner, the procedure, the scientific method by which such results are brought about may be called Yoga. Similarly the process by which God is perceived in the soul is called Yoga.

INTELLECTUAL YOGA.

It is only when man can unite his scattered mental powers that he can accomplish anything great. Focus the mind, concentrate your attention properly, and the problem which hitherto laughed at your solutions is revealed to your ken and becomes clear as daylight.

By this sort of intellectual yoga Newton saw the law of gravitation in the falling apple,—Archimedes found the secret of specific gravity and cried "Eureka," and Edison unravelled the mysteries of Electricity.

It is only when man can thus withdraw himself entirely from the world of passing phenomena and retire into the chamber of silence within that he is face to face with Truth and can see and know truth at first hand. Truth is like Heaven's glorious sun that is not to be won with saucy looks. It requires whole-souled and continued effort of the mind to discover and know Truth and the laws of nature. It is by means of this Intellectual Yoga that man can work in the mine of Truth. Men of genius can take the necessary pains to go through this process. Genius has been defined to be the capacity for taking infinite pains in any matter. Truth has thus been worshipped by her votaries in all ages and in all climes. There is no other royal road to Truth. This process of knowing truth at first hand may be called Intellectual Yoga.

When the mind is absolutely absorbed in any pursuit, it loses touch with everything else. When our attention is entirely engaged in study of any subject, say, a beautiful piece of poetry, romance, painting or architecture, or in the interesting game of chess, we forget everything else and do not mind the ticking of the clock or the hum of human voices and are lost, as it were, to the world for the time being.

(To be continued.)

HEMENDRA NATH SINHA.

MEETING IN COLLEGE SQUARE.

BABU AUROBINDO GHOSE'S SPEECH.

The following is the full text of the speech of Babu Aurobindo Ghose who presided at Sunday's meeting in College Square:—

I thank you for the kindly welcome that you have accorded to me. The time fixed by the law for the breaking up of the meetings is also at hand, and I am afraid I have disappointed one or two speakers by getting up so soon. But there is just one word that has to be spoken to-day.

SIR E. BAKER'S SPEECH

Recently a speech has been made in the Bengal Legislative Council by the J. J. of this province, a speech which I think is one of the most unfortunate and most amazing that have ever been delivered by a ruler in his position. The occasion of the speech was a meeting to obtain

murders that have recently been committed in London. Those murders have been committed by a young man with whom there has been no proof that any other man in India or in England is connected, no proof that any conspiracy has been behind him. Not only so but the Police in London have declared that so far as their evidence goes they find that the murder was dictated by personal and not political motives. That crime is still the subject of a trial which has not been closed. Was this the time, was this the occasion for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to rise from his seat in the Legislative Council and practically associate practically make the whole country responsible for the crime of a single isolated youth in London? Not only so, but the Lieutenant-Governor, in referring to the crime said that there had been plenty of denunciation in this country but those denunciations did not go far. And he wanted from us one thing more and that was co-operation. He wants co-operation from the whole community. He further saddled his request with the threat that if this co-operation were not obtained, steps would have to be taken in which there would be no room for nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.

The murders that have been committed in Bengal have been sufficiently proved by the failure of case after case to be the acts of isolated individuals. There has been only a single instance which is still *subjudice*, and if it even were fully established, it would only prove that the crime was done in one case by a small group of men. Under such circumstances what is the co-operation that the L.G. demands from us? He will not be satisfied if we denounce and disassociate ourselves from the crime. He wants co-operation. It is at least desirable that he should name and describe the co-operation he insists on before he carries out the remarkable threat with which he has sought to enforce his demand. There has been much talk recently, in a wider sense, of co-operation. Now, gentlemen, we are a people who demand self-government. We have a government in which we are not at all associated and over which we have no control. What is the co-operation a government of this kind can really demand from us? It can only demand from us obedience to the law, co-operation in keeping the law and observing peace and order. What further co-operation can they expect from us? Even in the matter which the L.G. has mentioned, we are at a loss to see how a people circumstanced like ourselves can help him. Still I have a proposal to make. I think there is only one way by which these unfortunate occurrences can be stopped. The ruler of Bengal in his speech spoke in approval of a certain speech made by Mr. Gokhale at Poona recently. In that speech Mr. Gokhale declared that the ideal of independence was an ideal which no sane man could hold. He said that it was impossible to achieve independence by peaceful means and the people who advocate the peaceful methods of passive resistance are men who, out of cowardice, do not speak out the thought that is in their heart. That idea of Mr. Gokhale's has been contradicted beforehand by the Sessions Judge of Alipore and even an Anglo-Indian paper was obliged to say that

Mr. Gokhale's justification of the repressions on the ground that stern and relentless repression was the only possible attitude the Government could adopt towards the ideal of independence was absurd because the ideals and the thoughts of a nation could not be punished. This was a very dangerous teaching which Mr. Gokhale introduced into his speech, that the ideal of independence—whether we call it Swaraj or autonomy or Colonial Self-Government, because these two things in a country circumstanced like India meant in practice the same (loud applause),—cannot be achieved by peaceful means. Mr. Gokhale knows or ought to know that this ideal which he decries is deeply-rooted in the minds of thousands of the people and cannot be driven out. He has told the ardent hearts which cherish this ideal of independence, and are determined to strive towards it that their ideal can only be achieved by violent means. If any doctrine can be dangerous, if any teacher can be said to have uttered words dangerous to the peace of the country, it is Mr. Gokhale himself. (Loud cheers.) We have told the people that there is a peaceful means of achieving independence in whatever form we aspire to it. We have said that by self-help, by passive resistance we can achieve it. We have told the young men of our country, "Build up your own industries, build up your own schools and colleges, settle your own disputes. You are always told that you are not fit for self-government. Show by example that you are fit to govern yourselves, show it by developing self-government through self-help and not by depending upon others." There is a second limb to that policy and it is passive resistance. Passive resistance means two things. It means first that in certain matters we shall not co-operate with the Government of this country until it gives us what we consider our rights. Secondly, if we are persecuted, if the plough of repression is passed over us, we shall meet it not by violence, but by suffering, by passive resistance, by lawful means. We have not said to our young men, "when you are repressed, retaliate;" we have said, "suffer." Now we are told that by doing so we are encouragers of sedition and anarchism. We have been told by Anglo-Indian papers that by speaking in Beadon Square and other places on patriotism and the duty of suffering we encourage sedition. We are told that in preaching passive resistance we are encouraging the people to violate law and order and are fostering violence and rebellion. The contrary is the truth. We are showing the people of this country in passive resistance the only way in which they can satisfy their legitimate aspiration without breaking the law and without resorting to violence. This is the only way we can find to co-operate in maintaining peace and order. The co-operation we expect from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal not from the Government of this country in return is that they will respect the primary rights of the people of this country, they will respect the right of public meeting and the right of a free press and the right of free association. If they co-operate so far then we can assure them that this movement will advance on peaceful lines and

the thing which troubles them will cease for ever. But the L.G. says that measures will be passed which will observe no nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. A more cynical statement has seldom issued from a ruler in the position of Sir Edward Baker. If the threat is carried out, who will be the gainers? I do not deny that it may for a time stop our public activities. It may force the school of peaceful self-development and passive resistance to desist for a while from its activities at least in their present form. But who will gain by it? Not the Government neither Mr. Gokhale and his school of passive co-operation. It is the very terrorists, the very anarchists, whom you wish to put down, who will gain by it. It will remove from the people their one hope, but it will give the terrorists a fresh incentive and it will teach the violent hearts, the undisciplined and ardent minds a very dangerous lesson that there is no peaceful way to the fulfilment of their aspirations and the consequence will be such as one trembles to contemplate. I trust the threat will never be carried out. I trust that the Government will be ruled by wise counsels and consider the matter more carefully. There are ominous signs and it seems as if measures were about to be passed which will put an end to the right of public meeting and the public expression of our feelings. But I trust that wiser counsels will yet prevail. The Government should remember that it stands dissociated from the people by its very constitution. If it wants co-operation it cannot get the co-operation which is simply another name for passive obedience. That is the doctrine which is being taught to day, the doctrine of the divine right of officials and the obligation on the people of passive obedience. That is a doctrine which no modern nation can accept. No modern nation can accept the extinction of its legitimate and natural hopes. Co-operation can only be given if the Government which is now alien becomes our own, if the people have a share in it, not merely in name, not merely by the right of talk in the legislative council, not merely by apparent concessions, but by getting some measure of control in the matter of legislation, in the expenditure of the taxes they are called on to pay for the maintenance of the administration, if, in short, they can be given some starting-point from which in future the Government of the country can be developed into a Government of the people. That is the only condition upon which the co-operation, of which we hear so much now-a-days, can be given. Without it co-operation is a satire, it is a parody. It is the co-operation in which one side acts and the other side merely says, "yes" which is demanded of us. We cannot give our sanction to such co-operation. So long as even that little of substantial self-government is not conceded to us, we have no choice but to cleave firmly to passive resistance as the only peaceful path to the realisation of our legitimate aspirations. We cannot sacrifice our country. We cannot give up the ideal that is dear to our heart. We cannot sacrifice our Mother. If you take away our primary rights all that is left for us is passive resistance and peacefully to suffer, peacefully to refuse the parody of co-operation which we are asked to give.

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SWADESHI IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY: AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT DEVELOP- MENTS.—I.

(From the Dawn.)
INTRODUCTORY.

We have described in great detail in some previous numbers, the growth of the *Textile Swadeshi* in the Presidency of Bombay which as we noticed, though threatened in its China market, has been steadily gaining ground in the home (Indian) market, thanks to the growing expansion of the Swadeshi Movement in India. For the rich Bombay Mill-owner, unmindful of the depression abroad, has been, to quote the *London Times* "busy increasing his spindles and looms and calculating his well-earned profit in all ease and comfort, under the blessing of the Swadeshi-Beycott Movement." Not only this; but there has been visible a marked endeavour on the part of the capitalists to launch forth many other concerns in the industrial and commercial lines.

To give our readers an account of the many-sided activities shown by the people of the Western Presidency we give the following brief account of the many industries that have of late sprung up there, this account, however, including no information about the growth of industries in the Native States in the Presidency. [We may add here that we are collecting materials for an independent article on the latter subject, which in due course, will be published in this journal.]

MATCH-MANUFACTURE.

This industry has been taken up here more earnestly than in any other province of India. The following is a brief account of the factories started.

The Belgaum Match-Manufacturing.—This Company was started recently at Belgaum with a capital of Rs. 30,000 divided into 1200 shares of Rs. 25 each. The Secretaries of the Company are S. J. Vaman Appaji Nilajkar and S. J. Balkrishna Hari Khataw, both of whom learned the industry in Japan. The wood used is obtained from the same locality. The matches manufactured there have already been placed on the market. The office Company is 699 Aditwar Peth, Belgaum.

* We omitted to give in our previous accounts of the Indian Textile Industry a reference to a Bengali Mill enterprise at Ahmedabad, in the shape of the "Sree Ramkrishna Mills," of Ahmedabad

which is a purely Swadeshi concern, conceived, controlled and conducted by Bengalis. The reason of the promoters having selected Ahmedabad as the site is that many advantages are to be had there which are practically absent here. Thus a workshop in Bengal would cost at least Rs. 10,000 to equip but at Ahmedabad with so many mills working there is no necessity of setting up exclusively for the new enterprise. We understand the dhobis, saris, mulla, etc., turned out by the "Sree Ram-Krishna Mills" are excellent in quality up to the mark.

The Deccan Match-Manufacturing Company.—This Company was launched early in the beginning of the current year at Satara. Buildings having been secured ready-made at Karad, and machinery all fitted up, operations have already been begun on a grand scale. Match-wood, match-boxes, etc., used here being of good quality, the matches are said to burn steadily and easily.

The Karnatak Match-Factory, Dharwar.—This Factory was started nearly a year ago at Dharwar. The safety-matches manufactured in this factory are said to burn steadily and the general get-up of the boxes is good.

The Western India Match Works.—This Company has been recently started at Bombay with a capital of a lakh of rupees divided into 4,000 shares of Rs. 20 each. Messrs. D. B. Chitambar, B.A., LL.B., Baghavayya, B.Sc., LL.M., M.V., Athley, B.A., and G.N. Potdar, B.A., (Chemical Engineer) are on the Directorate, while Messrs. Ramchandra & Co., are the Managing Agency. The special merit of the Company is that two of the officers on its Managing Agency have the qualification of having done practical work in large Match-Factories in Japan, while Mr. G. N. Potdar, B.A., who is on the Directorate is a passed Chemical Engineer from the Imperial University of Tokio, in Japan. Some other salient features of the Company are (1) the manufacture of the chemicals required for the purpose of which a Laboratory-Workshop is about to be erected; (2) practical help given by responsible Government Forest Officers with regard to the proper site, wood, etc., (3) assurance of 6 p. c. dividend to shareholders and (4) the opportunity given to the rich and the poor alike keeping the value of each share at Rs. 20 only.

The Gujarat Islam Factory of Ahmedabad.—This Factory, though started earlier than those mentioned above, deserves mention here. It has excellent machinery, imported from Germany, on which the

proprietor, a Mahomedan, spent about a lakh of rupees. A large number of workmen are employed there. Matches manufactured there are largely sold in the town itself, while a good quantity is sent to Southern India. The white match-wood grows plentifully in the woody hills of Panch Mahals, but the Railway freight rates seriously diminish the profit. A European expert has been engaged for this factory under whose management the quality of the matches manufactured has greatly improved.

All these Match-factories, if they prove to be eventually successful, will not only be able to put a stop to the foreign annual drain of about 65 lakhs of rupees from the country, but will be an object-lesson to other provinces which have not as yet taken to match-manufacturing on a truly proper scale.

CUTLERY, BRASS-WARES, ETC.

The Penkar Cutlery Co., Ltd.—This long-standing Factory has been turning out various kinds of knives, razors, scissors, etc., which may favourably be compared with imported articles, both in respect of quality and price. The manager is Mr. Monohar who received his training in London.

Among the flourishing hand-industries in the department, may be mentioned, spear-heads of Ahmednagar, hunting-knives, swords, and chain armour in Cutch, Kathiawar and Baroda, brass wares of Nasik and Poona, and brass utensils of the Bombay city and of Ahmedabad.

SUGAR-MANUFACTURES.

There is one sugar-factory at Akole (Belgaum), which is conducted by Messrs. Kulakarni and Co., on the Hadi principle. The sugar manufactured here is said to have excelled imported sugar in taste.

The sugar-factories at Kolhaour, Bridhhal and Hudli have up-to-date machineries. The total annual out-put is worth about Rs. 50,000.

LEATHER AND PAPER MANUFACTURES.

There are several leather-factories in the city of Bombay. There are also others in the Presidency:—e. g., a factory at Navasari (Surat), two in the Native State of Gwalior, namely, Scindhia Leather Factory and the Mortor Tannery; also a recently-started Chrome tanning factory, in the State of Baroda,—all owing their birth to the Swadeshi Movement.

The hand-made leather industry, too, has undergone a great development during the last few years. Among articles of leather work are saddle covers, shoes,

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legging, and accoutrement manufactured in Sindh, not to mention the time-honoured manufacture of shields at Ahmedabad.

Quite recently Mr. J. W. Dhupkar of Alibagh has manufactured a kind of red leather as highly polished as imported articles.

There are paper-mills located at Gwalior (Seindhia Mills), Bombay (Girgaum Mills), Surat (four small mills) and Poona (Reay mills), most of which are managed by Indians.

As regards hand-industry under this heading, coarse paper is still to some extent manufactured from vegetable fibres in several of the large towns in the Presidency, especially at Ahmedabad and Baroda.

(To be continued.)

THE ANAKAPALLE PENCIL FACTORY.

—000—

AN APPEAL.

Gentlemen, when the swadeshi movement is being preached everywhere in India both on the platform and in private conversation, it is not too much to expect support for the above small concern and we expect at least a little material self-sacrifice in action as a proof of surety of word and mind. Swadeshi spirit is not purely a spirit calculating profits alone but a spirit full of patriotism. (One's Own Country) ready to make self-sacrifice. "He is a good Divine that follows his own instructions" says Shakespeare.

The above company is registered under the Indian co's act with one lac of rupees as capital divided into 10,000 shares of two rupees each. A few shares only are available. The Directors expect 20 per cent. net profit. Extracts from some of the testimonials are published below and they will, I think, convince the public that the company is not a bogus one.

Amrita Bazar Patrika writes under date June 1, 1908. The factory has already commenced manufacturing pencils of different variety and from the specimens that we have seen, they are in no way, inferior to what we usually get in the market. Speaking of the competency of Mr. Narayanarow, the managing director of the factory, the Bal Gungadhar Tilak writes "I have discussed with Mr. Narayanarow his scheme for starting a small pencil factory and the idea appears to me to be quite possible. I wish him every success and I have no doubt that he deserves it fully." The Asst. Registrar of joint stock companies writing of this factory observes that it is the most economically managed concern in his jurisdiction. Mr. J. C. N. Fowler the Head Asst. collector of Vizagapatam writes "I confidently recommend the concern as an investment." Mr. Dinsha Edulji Wacha writes "I am convinced that your pencil making is bound to succeed." The Hon. Mr. Sarada Chandra Mitter, late a well known justice of the Calcutta High Court writes under date

June 24, 1908. "I have made considerable enquiries as to the Industrial Development Co., Ltd. Anakapalle. It is not a bogus company, but although small, it has a substantial footing. I have after enquiries applied for shares and I expect other gentlemen in Bengal will come forward to support the undertaking. I may say that some of the companies that are being floated will in all likelihood fail, but a good many will survive to the benefit of the country and I have reason to believe that the Anakapalle company will survive." Babu Arabindo Ghosh writes. "The Anakapalle Pencil Factory is, I believe, the only institution for its purpose begun on the scale and with the preparations necessary for success. The shares are very small being only Rs. 10 and therefore it is written the competence of most to take a few shares. I hope the public of Bengal will contribute their share by taking part if not all the shares and thus assure the capture of one very important article of manufacture by that Swadeshi movement of which Bengal is the cradle." In the words of Dewan Bahadur R. V. Dhamanskar, Ex Dewan of Baroda State "It is the bounden duty of every son and daughter of India to do all that he or she can to revive the indigenous industry without which, as our wise men in the country have declared, the regeneration of the country would be practically impossible. I have every confidence that all sensible people will join me by generously contributing to the undertaking to ensure its success."

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SAMADHAY'S CASE.

THE APPROVER.

Mr. S. C. Mullick, Additional Sessions Judge, Presiding over, the Howrah Criminal Sessions, on Tuesday resumed the hearing of the case in which Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhayi stands charged with having harboured two dacoits in connection with the Biglali case.

THE APPROVER.

The examination-in-chief of Paana Lal Chatterjee was concluded at about 3-30 P.M. when he was cross-examined by Mr. N. C. Sen Bar-at-Law, for the defence.

Witness stated:—I gave up my studies three years ago. I have been sitting at home idling away my time, without doing any work. I remember the Bighati Case in High Court. Since the Bighati case I have been doing nothing, except working as a Police informer. I confessed because I repented. After repenting, I became approver. I did state before the Deputy Magistrate that I first met Kartic Dutta at the time of the "Ardhodya Yoga." I first came to know Mokhoda at the Telinipara house on the afternoon of the day of the dacoity. I had never seen Mokhoda before that. I came to know Suresh Mitra the day that we first became known to Mokhoda. I may have said in the lower Court that our gang consisted of Kartic Dutta, Dhiren Ghosh, Biren Mullick, Suresh Mitra, Lalit Ganguly, Jiten Rai and others.

Mr. Sen: Did you read your deposition in the lower Court, before you signed it?—Yes.

Mr. Sen: Did you notice any mistake there?—I do not remember.

Mr. Sen: Did you live in Ram Mohan Shah's Lane?—Yes, the "Yugantar" office was there.

Mr. Sen: Where did you go after your gang as you said, had removed from there?—To Chetla, Durgapur, I had been to 28, Shib Naran Dass's Lane after that.

To further questions, witness replied: I said in the lower court, that Kartic Dutt, Dhiren Ghosh, Biren Mullick, Suresh Mitter, Lalit Ganguly, Jiten Roy and others lived at 28, Shampukur Street. I showed the letter came from Benares from Mokhoda to Ram Sital Maitra. I got that letter back and I kept it in my possession. I tore it up probably after two or three days. I remember distinctly that I did not take it to Manickganj in Dacca District. I don't remember that I ever said I tore that letter up after I had gone to Baroda Babu's house.

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Mr. Sen : If you had said so that is false ?—It is a mistake.

Mr. Sen : It is false then ?—No why should it be false. It is a mistake.

The approver's statement in the lower Court was then read over by Counsel, which was to the effect that the witness tore the letter up in the house of Baroda Kanto Mukerjee.

The witness being asked whether he had any doubt as to the accuracy of this statement, answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Sen: What reason have you to doubt that? Was the Magistrate short sighted or hard of hearing—No, because I do not remember exactly what I said.

Mr. Sen: When did you assume the name of Nanda Kumar?—At Bally, I assumed it when I gave my name to Ram Sital Babu.

Witness continued:—I do not remember when Sureah Mitter assumed the name of "Motilal." Probably at Shahebgunj. It may be at Bally. There was no consultation between ourselves about our assuming names. I do not remember, how we were described in the letters written by Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhyai. I do not remember the exact wording of the letters, but the purport of that. Although I have heard these letters read out to me several times in Court I did not remember whether the name of the "two boys" were mentioned there. The "two boys" were mentioned in the letter, but could not definitely say in which of the letter it was written.

Mr. Sen: Why did you say at first then that you did not remember whether the names were at all in the letter?—Because I could not understand your question very well.

At this stage the Court rose for the day.

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OURSELVES.

In our third issue we wrote "On account of the inexperience of the printing press there has been some irregularity in the publication of the second and the third issues of the paper. With a view to remove this difficulty we are making better arrangements for printing the paper. The next issue of *Karmayogin* will be published on Saturday the 17th instant instead of on Saturday the 10th." The publication of the next issue was, consequently delayed. We are glad to be in a position to inform our readers that better arrangements have been made, and henceforth the *Karmayogin* will be regularly published, and our readers will be able to detect an improvement in the setup of the paper. The unusual and unexpected demand for the paper necessitates the reprinting of the back numbers. We shall be glad to know the issue or issues each subscriber would want. We would take this opportunity of saying that we have no connection with the Bengalee *Karmayogin* to be published from Uttarpara. It is an independent paper with which we have no connection. The conductors of the paper have only our permission to publish Bengalee translations of articles appearing in the *Karmayogin*.

NEWS.

THE EX-SHAH OF PERSIA.—

A Russian circular to the Powers declares that the Shah's taking refuge in the Russian Legation in no way modifies the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Persia laid down in the circular of 14th July.

THE MIDNAPORE ENQUIRY.—

On the 19th the following petition was made to the Commissioner by Babu Pyari Mohan Das regarding the boy Bonomali Das who was alleged to have placed the bomb in Pyari Babu's house. Sir,—I beg most respectfully to bring your Honour's notice to the fact that I have been informed that Bonomali Das, who was a witness for the defence in the Midnapore conspiracy case in the Sessions Court, has been cited as a witness in the inquiry which is being held by your Honour and that certain police officers against whom the charge of fabricating evidence has been laid, have been trying to get hold of the boy for some time past and that the

boy had been with them the day before yesterday. This morning one of the principal policemen whose conduct is under investigation, was taking the boy with him in the public road. I apprehend that undue influence is being exercised over the boy. I hope your Honour will make an enquiry about this matter and do justice to the case.

The petition was presented by Pyari Babu while Bonomali Das was being examined. We, the press representatives, are quite in the dark as to what this important witness has stated as he is not to be found anywhere in the town. There is a strong rumour current that he has been taken to Santragachi for the verification of certain statements that he had made in the Sessions Court. Certain rumours regarding the manner in which Bonomali was taken away from his house this morning led us to see his mother in the evening. She said that in the morning Bonomali was sitting in the house when a certain constable with two or three others suddenly appeared and handed over a paper, ostensibly the summons, and had it signed by him. No sooner the signature was got than the constables seized the boy and literally dragged him away. A certain police officer was standing in the lane close by. The mother does not know of the boy's whereabouts since then. Sensational developments are expected.

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NEWS.

THE CASE THAT MATTERS.—

The "Calcutta Weekly Notes" in noticing the judgment of the High Court in the Calcutta Bomb case makes the just comment that, having regard to the disclosures in this case, the Executive Government would have done better to have set its mind at rest about the alleged conspiracy and "turn its undivided attention to the raising of the moral tone of the Magistracy and the Police which in this country certainly stands at present at a very low level." Neglect of so obvious a method of correction is really at the bottom of these Police scandals. Police reform has taken a wholly vicious turn, for while the cost of maintaining the Police has enormously increased, there is no corresponding improvement in moral or method of work. It is as certain as any thing can be that the Police will never improve so long as Magistrates feel compelled to convict on grounds of policy. The discovery of crime is no doubt a legitimate function of the Magistracy in India, as Sir Edward Candy points out in a letter to the Congress Organ, "India," reproduced elsewhere. But it does not follow from this that the Magistrates must "find" evidence for the Police or countenance objectionable Police methods of "finding" evidence. We do not understand Sir Edward Candy to claim the authority of Sir William Markby, Sir Maxwell Melville and Sir James Stephen for the preposterous proposition that "necessary measures to ensure a conviction" comprehend extortion or fabrication of evidence.

NEWS.

EASTERN BENGAL TRADE.—

The outstanding features of Eastern Bengal trade during the last official year were the diminution in the coasting trade and the increase under foreign trade, by over a crore of rupees, counter-balanced however by a decrease in the imports of salt, provisions and hardware and cutlery. Another feature, to which Government draws the attention of the Forest Department, is the increase in the imports of "wood and manufacture of wood" due to importations from Australia by the Assam Bengal Railway. Rice and paddy exported in 1906-07 was only 373 maunds and in the following year 7,906. But thanks to improved agricultural conditions, the export aggregated 16,661. Jute exports were Rs. 77.48 lakhs or 35.7 per cent. better. An arrangement has been made by Assam-Bengal Railway for a new service of steamers between London and Chittagong, which, as the Board of Revenue remarks, will doubtless be proved of the greatest service to the trade of the Province. Proposals for dredging the port of Chittagong and improving its Jetty accommodation are under consideration.

THE NEW SHAH OF PERSIA.—

The new Shah, who is thirteen years old, left the Russian Legation yesterday and drove escorted by two Indian sowars and two Russian Cossacks to Sultanabad Palace where he was formally informed of his accession. The escort returned on reaching the gate of the Palace indicating that the new Sultan was no longer under Anglo-Russian protection.

NEWS.

FATEHJANGPUR MURDER.—

The Fatehjangpur murder case, in which Nishi Kanta Banerjee was charged with murdering a brother of Gobesh, a police informer, was taken up to-day by the Sub-divisional officer. Three witnesses, including accused's father were examined and the case was adjourned to August 3rd.

MR. SYAMJI KRISHNA VARMA ON SURENDRA NATH.—

While Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee has been posing before the British public as the real representative of India and attempting to connect Syamji with the recent London murders Syamji, in a letter to the Times, declares that Babu Surendra Nath is a sycophant and self-seeking flatterer praising the foreign yoke, and says it is a mistake to rely on the loyalty of the Indian masses, who are joining in the great revolution now beginning in earnest.

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NEWS.

STAMMION THE LONDON MURDER:—

Mr. Krishnavarma, in a letter to the "Times" while saying that he is absolutely unconnected with the deed, approves of the assassination of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie. With regard to Dhangra he says that he is a martyr to the cause of Indian independence. He predicts that ere long a catastrophe will stagger humanity unless the British withdraw from India.

INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST:—

Mr. Arthur Horsely, Printer of "Indian Sociologist," has been committed for trial on a charge of printing scandalous and seditious libel. He pleaded not-guilty and was released on bail.

Press CONFISCATION:—

The rule issued in the "Tilak" press confiscation case by the District Magistrate, Hoshiarpur, calling upon the editor and proprietor to show cause why the order of confiscation should not be made absolute will be hard on the 30th instant.

Spleen-Rupture:—

A punkha coolie was, it is alleged, done to death in the Infantry lines of the Cameronians at Cawnpur about a week ago. Military doctors traced death to spleen-rupture. The Cantonment Magistrate has taken up the enquiry.

GIFT TO MR. MACKARNESS:—

The Lahore Indian Association at a meeting passed resolutions expressing abhorrence at the London outrage, sorrow at Lord Ripon's death, and disapproval of concessions to the Moslem League. It further resolved to present Mr. Mackarness, M. P., with a silver tea-set of Kashmir make for his advocacy of the cause of the Deportees.

THE LONDON MURDER.

COURT PROCEEDINGS.

The police-court proceedings at Westminster, where the arrested man—whose name was given as Madan Lal Dhangra—was brought up before Mr. Horace Smith on the morning of July 2nd, were very brief.

The prisoner was remanded for a full period of eight days at the request of the prosecuting solicitor after formal evidence had been given by two police officers of his arrest and being charged.

The prisoner was led into court by a police officer, who held him firmly by the arm and placed him in the dock, where he remained standing with his hands in his pockets and leaning against the front rail during the brief period he was in court. He was dressed in a well-worn dark lounge suit, and with his gold-rimmed spectacles and thin face he looked like a native student of not very ample means.

He only spoke once, and that was when asked by the clerk if he had any question to put to Superintendent Isaacs, who gave evidence as to the charge against him. This, as the prosecuting solicitor had previously explained to the magistrate in his opening statement, was "the wilful murder of Sir Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaea."

The prisoner hesitated when asked for any question, then blurted out very rapidly, "Only one, sir. It was not wilful murder in the case of Dr. Lalcaea." The rest of his question was lost in the torrent of words which came from the prisoner.

"Did you hear what he said" asked the solicitor of the Superintendent. "Not all of it, sir," replied the officer. But the prisoner was not asked to repeat his words.

EVIDENCE OF ARREST.

Evidence of the arrest was given by Constable Frederick Nichols, of the B Division. He stated that about ten minutes past eleven the previous night, in consequence of certain information, he went to the Indian section of the Imperial Institute. He there saw the prisoner being held by some gentlemen.

He also saw the bodies of Sir Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaea.

He took the prisoner into custody. After an interval he was taken to the Walton-street police-station. He was detained there for a time, and then charged.

The constable added that he saw Sir Curzon-Wyllie was dead on his arrival. Dr. Lalcaea, however, was still alive.

The prisoner, on being asked if he wished to put any questions to the constable, merely shook his head.

Superintendent Albert Isaacs stated that the prisoner was at Walton-street on his arrival about 11-30 a. m. When he was charged he saw him nod his head, while his lips moved, but he could not hear if he said anything.

This evidence and the incident of the prisoner's question, already described, concluded the proceedings.

After a momentary consultation with his clerk and the prosecuting solicitor, the magistrate remanded the prisoner for eight days.

It was a noticeable feature that no Indians were present in the court or outside when the case came on. At the hearing of the assault case in which Sir William Lee-Warner figured some months ago the court was thronged with young Indians resident in London.

Mr. Musket, who prosecuted on behalf of the police, stated that there was more behind that case than appeared.

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INDIAN PAPER MILLS.

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LAHORE EXHIBITION.

The estimated expenses of the forthcoming Lahore Industrial Exhibition amount to three lakhs. The Municipal grant is Rs. 10,000, public subscriptions amount to Rs. 23,000, the local Government grant is one lakh, Rs. 25,000 is expected from the Frontier Government and a like amount from the Kashmir State.

BURMESE PONIES.

Sanction has been given to the addition of a Deputy Superintendent to the establishment of Civil Veterinary Department in Burma in connection with pony breeding in the province. The scheme contemplates the purchase of twelve Shan stallions, of which eight will be located in Shan States and four in Burma. The syces and others to be employed under the scheme will receive six months' training in the Army Remount Department.

GROUND-NUT.

Experiments in ground-nut cultivation in 1908 are reported to have given good results at all Government Agricultural Stations in Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Experiments are being repeated this year on a commercial scale with a view to the introduction of this crop into the Province. No sign of disease is said to have appeared any where last year, with the doubtful exception of Rangpur.

THE SWADESHI WEAVING Co., Ltd.—We have received a copy of the Prospectus and Balance Sheet of the above Company, which was started early in 1906, as a result of the swadeshi movement, for the purpose of manufacturing on a large scale, better class of woollen goods which had hitherto been turned out by some mills in Upper India, which are to all purposes pure European concerns. Starting with a capital of Rs. 50,000, the Company was able to establish its factory and commence manufacturing operations. They paid a dividend of 7½ per cent. from the beginning. The work had been gradually expanding and as a result, the capital of the Company has been raised to Rs. 250,000. The value of each share is Rs. 25 and payments have to be made by monthly instalments, so that all classes of men can buy them. Its manufactures have elicited the praise and admiration of even of competent and critical Judges; the Company has also been the recipient of medals at several exhibitions. An inspection of their goods, at their Calcutta Depot at 12, Lalbazar, show that there is nothing left to desire in their make and finish, while the prices are very moderate if not cheap.

RUBBER.

Our new province is to be congratulated upon having secured the services of Mr. R. L. Proudlock, Curator of Gardens and Parks on the Nilgiris, who has advised the Government of Bombay upon prospects of rubber cultivation on the West Coast of that Presidency. He passed through Madras last Wednesday, 30th ultimo, on his way here, our new Government having requisitioned his services for this Province, with a view, we presume, of his superintending its cultivation of rubber. Mr. Proudlock having rendered such good service in another Presidency, we are sure his advice be of great value in our New Province. "E. B. and A. Era."

RIVAL BUSINESS COMPANIES.

In the midst of the prevailing excitement caused by the establishment of the Trading and Banking Corporation as a sort of counterpoise to the Jessore Loan Company, yet another Company with a capital of Rs. 50,000 has been recently floated at Jessore under the name and style of the United Banking Corporation. The United Banking Corporation bears to the Trading and Banking Corporation the same relation as the latter to the Loan Company. The capital of this third Company is divided into 25,000 shares of Rs. 2 each, its accredited Bankers being the Jessore Loan Company, Ltd. The establishment of these new rival trading bodies has caused an amount of excitement which baffles all description. It has given rise to a brisk and healthy competition.

PONY-BREEDING.

Reviewing the report of Pony-breeding operations in Madras, the Board of Revenue remarks that it is highly desirable in the public interests to continue pony breeding operations for another period of three years at least before abandoning the experiment altogether. Poor as the results of pony-breeding have been in the past, it is nevertheless a fact that they have contributed appreciably to the maintenance and improvement of an important and useful class of animals—the jutka ponies in at least a few localities. The Board is accordingly loath to recommend the suspension of operations without further trial. The Madras Government remarks that if more care were taken in the selection of officers for the charge of the stations, better results might be obtained. The registration of such animals is also suggested.

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A WEEKLY REVIEW

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The spirit in Asia.

A spirit moves abroad in the world today upsetting kingdoms and raising up new principalities and powers the workings of which are marked by a swiftness and ubiquity new in history. In place of the slow developments and uncertain results of the past we have a quickness and thoroughness which destroy in an hour and remould in a decade. It is noteworthy that these rapid motions are mostly discernible in Asiatic peoples.

The Persian Revolution.

The Persian Revolution has settled with a swiftness and decisiveness second only to the movement of Turkey the constitutional struggle in Iran between a reactionary Shah and a rejuvenated, eager and ardent nation. The weak and unstable promise-breaker at Teheran has fallen, mourned by a sympathetic Anglo-India but by no one else in the world. Since the late Shah under the pressure of passive resistance yielded a constitution to his people, the young Nationalism of Persia has been attempting to force or persuade his son to keep the oaths with which he started his reign. Some deeds of blood on both sides, some sharp encounters have attended the process but the price paid has been comparatively

small. Like other Asiatic States in a similar process of transformation Persia has rejected the theoretic charms of a republic; she has set up a prince who is young enough to be trained to the habits of a constitutional monarch before he takes up the authority of kingship. In this we see the political wisdom, self-restraint and instinct for the right thing to be done which is natural to ancient nations who, though they have grown young again, are not raw and violent peoples new to political thought and experiment.

Persia's difficulties.

A great and difficult task lies before the newly-risen nation. No other people is so difficultly circumstanced as the Persians. Weak in herself, long a stranger to good government, military strength and discipline, financial soundness and internal efficiency, Persia has to evolve all these under the instant menace from north and south of two of the greatest European empires. The threat of Russia to act herself if the new government does not instantly guarantee security on its borders a threat made on the morrow of a violent *coup d'état* and before there has been time for the Regency to cope with any of the immediate difficulties surrounding it, is typical of the kind of peril which this proximity

is likely to produce. Self-restraint and patience towards these doubtful friends and unbounded energy and decision within are the only qualities by which the statesmen of Persia can surmount the difficulties in their path and satisfy the claims posterity makes upon them. The internal re-organisation of Persia and the swift development of military strength are the first needs. Till then Persia must bear and forbear.

The new men in Persia.

It is worthy of notice that Sipahidar and Sardar Assad, the Bakhtyari leader, who have effected this revolution, are men who in their youth have studied in Europe. They should know the springs of European politics and thoroughly understand the way in which European Powers have to be dealt with as well as the necessities and conditions of internal reorganisation. The problem for all Asiatic peoples is the preservation of their national individuality and existence while equipping themselves with the weapons of the modern struggle for survival. A deep study of European politics, a strong feeling for Asiatic institutions and ideals, a selfless patriotism and immense faith, courage and self-restraint are the qualities essential to their leaders in these critical times. It is reassuring to find Persians high

in praise of the self-denying and lofty character of the new Regent. In the absence of a patriotic King like the Mikado such a man alone can form the centre of national reconstruction.

Madanlal Dhingra.

Madanlal Dhingra pays the inevitable and foreseen penalty of his crime. We have no wish whatever to load the memory of this unfortunate young man with curses and denunciations. Rather we hope that in his last moments he will be able to look back in a calm spirit on his act and with a mind enlightened by the near approach of death prepare his soul for the great transit. No man but he can say what were the real motives for his deed. If personal resentment and exaggerated emotions were the cause of his crime, a realisation of the true nature of the offence may yet help the soul in its future career. If on the other hand a random patriotism was at its back, we have little hope that reflection will induce him to change his views. Minds imbued with these ideas are the despair of the statesman and the political thinker. They follow their bent with a remorseless firmness which defies alike the arrows of the reasoner and the terrors of a violent death. He must in that case go forth to reap the fruits in other bodies and new circumstances. Here his country remains behind to bear the consequences of his act.

Press Garbage in England.

It is at least gratifying to find that the theory of conspiracy is exploded except in the minds of Anglo-Indian papers and perhaps of a few Anglo-Indian statesmen and officials. Not a single circumstance has justified the wild suspicions and wild inventions which journals like the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* poured thick upon the world in the first few days that followed the occurrence. These strange fictions are still travelling to us by mail. The most extraordinary of them is perhaps that launched by a certain gentleman who is bold enough to give his name, upon the *World*. It seems that long ago the redoubtable Krishnavarma in a moment of benign and expansive frankness selected this gentleman and revealed to him the details of a gigantic plot he has been elaborating for the last eight years with a view to the murder wholesale and retail of Anglo-Indian officials. If the story

were true, Krishnavarma's confidant ought certainly to have been put in the dock as an accessory before the crime on the ground of criminal concealment. These romances sound ridiculous enough now that we read them three weeks afterwards when the excitement of the hour has passed, but the harm this kind of journalism can do was sufficiently proved at the time of the Chinese disturbances and the trouble which proceeded the Boer War. That these daily voidings of impudent falsehood and fabrication should be eagerly swallowed by thousands shows the rapid deterioration of British dignity and sobriety.

Shyamji Krishnavarma.

The exaggerated view of Mr Shyamji Krishnavarma as an arch conspirator of malign subtlety and power who has long been inculcating terrorist opinions among young men and building up a secret society, is one which none can accept who has any knowledge of this gentleman's past career. Mr. Shyamji Krishnavarma is an earnest, vehement and outspoken idealist passionately attached to his own views and intolerant of all who oppose them. He first went to England to breathe the atmosphere of a free country where he could speak as well as think as he chose. He was then a strong constitutionalist and his chief intellectual pre-occupations were Herbert Spencer, Home Rule and the position of the Native States. When the new movement flooded India it carried Mr Krishnavarma forward with it. He became an ardent Nationalist, a confirmed passive resister with an idealistic aversion to violent methods and a strong conviction that, whatever might be the case with other countries, India would neither need nor resort to them. His conversion to Terrorism is quite recent and has astonished most those who know him best. We know that S. J. Bepin Pal went to England with the confident expectation of finding full sympathy and co-operation from the editor of the *Indian Sociologist*. The quarrel between the two resulting from the change in Mr Krishnavarma's views is a matter of public knowledge. We refuse therefore to believe that Mr. Krishnavarma has been a plotter of assassination and secret disseminator of Terrorism or that the India House is a centre for the propa-

gation and fulfilment of the ideas he has himself ventilated in the *Times*.

Nervous Anglo-India.

Time was when Srijut Surendranath Banerjee was held by nervous Anglo-India to be the crowned King of an insurgent Bengal, a very pestilent fellow flooding the country with sedition and rebellion. The whirligig of Time brings round with it strange revenges and at this moment Srijut Surendranath is returning to India acclaimed by English Conservatives as a pillar of the British Empire, India's representative with a mighty organisation behind him pledged to loyalty, co-operation and the support of Morleyan reform. After Surendranath, Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal, reputed editor of *Bande Mataram* and author of the great Madras speeches, loomed as the arch-plotter of revolution and the chief danger to the Empire. The same Bepin Chandra is now a peaceful and unsuspected journalist and lecturer in London acquitted, we hope, of all wish to be the Ravana destined to shake the British Kaalas. But Anglo-India needs a bogeyman and by a few letters to the *Times* Mr. Krishnavarma has leaped into that eminent but unenviable position. Who knows? In another year or two even he may be considered a harmless if inconvenient idealist. What is it, one wonders, that has turned the firm, phlegmatic Briton into a nervous quaking old woman in love with imaginative terrors? Is it democracy? Is it the new sensationalist Press run by Harmsworth and Company? The phenomenon is inexplicable, but it is to be feared it is going to be permanent.

The Recoll of Karma.

There is a general law that Karma rebounds upon the doer. Associated in Hindu philosophy mainly with the individual and the theory of rebirth, this truth has also been recognised as equally applicable on other lines to the present life and to the destiny of nations. The karma of the British people in India has been of a mixed quality. So far as it has opened the gates of Western knowledge to the people of this country it has been good and in return the thought and knowledge of India has poured back upon Europe to return the gift with overmeasure.

Had they in addition consciously drew up and educated the whole people, all the fruits of that good Karma would have gone to England. But the education they have given is bad, meagre and restricted to the few, and their sympathy for the people has been formal and deficient. In consequence the main flood of the new thought and knowledge has been diverted to America, the giant of the future, which alone of the nations has shown an active and practical sympathy and understanding of our nation. British karma in India has been bad in so far as it has destroyed our industries and arrested our national development. This Karma is also beginning to recoil, patently in Boycott and unrest, much more subtly in the growing demoralisation of British politics. Already the jealous love of liberty is beginning to wane in the upper classes in England, political thinkers are emerging who announce the failure of democracy, the doctrine of the rule of the strong man is gaining ground and the temptation to strengthen the executive at the expense of the liberty of the citizen is proving too powerful even for a Radical Government. It seems impossible that even a veiled despotism or a virtual oligarchy should ever again rule in England, yet stranger things have happened in history. The change may come by the growth of Socialism and the seizure of the doctrine of State despotism by masterful and ambitious minds to cloak an usurpation the ancient and known forms of which would not be tolerated, just as the Caesars, while avoiding the detested name and form of kingship, yet ruled Rome under the harmless titles of Princeps and Imperator, first man of the state and general, far more despotically than Tarquin could have done. Under whatever disguises the change may steal upon the people, one thing is certain that if Lord Morley and the Anglo-Indian proconsuls succeed in perpetuating absolutism in India, it will recoil from India to reconquer England. The Nationalists of this country are fighting not only for the liberties of India but for the liberties of England.

Liberty or Empire.

It is an ancient and perpetually recurring choice which is now being offered to the

British people, the choice between liberty and empire. The two are incompatible except by the substitution of a free federation for a dominion. Rome was offered the choice. She won an empire and lost her liberty. External expansion has always been accompanied by a concentration of internal power in King or oligarchy. Athens, the only people who attempted to be imperial and despotic abroad and democratic at home, broke down in the attempt. In English history also we find that the great expansion in the eighteenth century led to the reactionary rule of the third George and it was not till England after the severe lesson in America adopted her present colonial system that expansion and democracy went hand in hand. That system was not an imperial system but a loose collection of free states only nominally united by the British Crown. The Indian problem is the test of British Liberalism. The colonial system as it stands cannot obtain between two States which are not mother and daughter. The one would not tolerate it; the other would not be content with it. But if England can bring herself to extend in a different form the principle of a collection of free States to India, she may keep her position in the world and her liberty together. Despotism and liberty she cannot keep; she must either yield up absolutism abroad or renounce liberty at home.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

The position of a public man who does his duty in India to-day, is too precarious to permit of his being sure of the morrow. I have recently come out of a year's seclusion from work for my country on a charge which there was not a scrap of reliable evidence to support, but my acquittal is no security either against the trumping up of a fresh accusation or the arbitrary law of deportation which dispenses with the inconvenient formality of a charge and the still more inconvenient necessity of producing evidence. Especially with the hounds of the Anglo-Indian Press barking at our heels and continually clamouring for Government to remove every man who dares to raise his

voice to speak of patriotism and its duties, the liberty of the person is held on a tenure which is worse than precarious. Rumour is strong that a case for my deportation has been submitted to the Government by the Calcutta Police and neither the tranquillity of the country nor the scrupulous legality of our procedure is a guarantee against the contingency of the all-powerful fiat of the Government watchdogs silencing scruples on the part of those who advise at Simla. Under such circumstances I have thought it well to address this letter to my countrymen, and especially to those who profess the principles of the Nationalist party, on the needs of the present and the policy of the future. In case of my deportation it may help to guide some who would be uncertain of their course of action, and, if I do not return from it, it may stand as my last political will and testament to my countrymen.

The situation of the Nationalist party is difficult but not impossible. The idea of some that the party is extinct because its leaders are sentenced or deported, is an error which comes of looking only at the surface. The party is there, not less powerful and pervading than before, but in want of a policy and a leader. The first it may find, the second only God can give it. All great movements wait for their Godsent leader, the willing channel of His force, and only when he comes, move forward triumphantly to their fulfilment. The men who have led hitherto have been strong men of high gifts and commanding genius, great enough to be the protagonists of any other movement, but even they were not sufficient to fulfil one which is the chief current of a worldwide revolution. Therefore the Nationalist party, custodian of the future, must wait for the man who is to come, calm in the midst of calamity, hopeful under defeat, sure of eventual emergence and triumph and always mindful of the responsibility which they owe not only to their Indian posterity but to the world.

Meanwhile the difficulties of our situation ask for bold yet wary walking. The strength of our position is moral, not material. The whole of the physical strength in the country belongs to the established

authority which our success would, so far as its present form is concerned, abolish by transforming it out of all possibility of recognition. It is natural that it should use all its physical strength to prevent, so long as it can, that transformation. The whole of the moral strength of the country is with us. Justice is with us, nature is with us, the law of God which is higher than any human justifies our action, youth is for us, the future is ours. On that moral strength we must rely for our survival and eventual success. We must not be tempted by any rash impatience into abandoning the ground on which we are strong and venturing on the ground on which we are weak. Our ideal is an ideal which no law can condemn, our chosen methods are such that no modern Government can expressly declare them illegal without forfeiting its claim to be considered a civilized administration. To that ideal and to those methods we must firmly adhere and rely on them alone for our eventual success. A respect for the law is a necessary quality for endurance as a nation and it has always been a marked characteristic of the Indian people. We must therefore scrupulously observe the law while taking every advantage both of the protection it gives and the latitude it still leaves for pushing forward our cause and our propaganda. With the stray assassinations which have troubled the country we have no concern, and, having once clearly and finally dissociated ourselves from them, we need notice them no farther. They are the rank and noxious fruit of a rank and noxious policy and until the authors of that policy turn from their errors, no human power can prevent the poison-tree from bearing according to its kind. We who have no voice either in determining the laws or their administration, are helpless in the matter. To deportation and proclamation, the favourite instruments of men incapable of a wise and strong rule, we can only oppose a steady and fearless adherence to the propagandism and practice of a lawful policy and a noble ideal.

Our ideal is that of Swaraj or absolute autonomy free from foreign control. We claim the right of every nation to live its own life by

its own energies according to its own nature and ideals. We reject the claim of aliens to force upon us a civilisation inferior to our own or to keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of a superior fitness. While admitting the stains and defects which long subjection has induced upon our native capacity and energy, we are conscious of that capacity and energy reviving in us. We point to the unexampled national vigour which has preserved the people of this country through centuries of calamity and defeat, to the great actions of our forefathers continued even to the other day, to the many men of intellect and character such as no other nation in a subject condition has been able to produce, and we say that a people capable of such unheard-of vitality is not one which can be put down as a nation of children and incapables. We are in no way inferior to our forefathers. We have brains, we have courage, we have an infinite and various national capacity. All we need is a field and an opportunity. That field and opportunity can only be provided by a national government, a free society and a great Indian culture. So long as these are not conceded to us, we can have no other use for our brains courage and capacity than to struggle unceasingly to achieve them.

Our ideal of Swaraj involves no hatred of any other nation nor of the administration which is now established by law in this country. We find a bureaucratic administration, we wish to make it democratic; we find an alien government, we wish to make it indigenous; we find a foreign control, we wish to render it Indian. They lie who say that this aspiration necessitates hatred and violence. Our ideal of patriotism proceeds on the basis of love and brotherhood and it looks beyond the unity of the nation and envisages the ultimate unity of mankind. But it is an unity of brothers, equals and freemen that we seek, not the unity of master and serf, of devourer and devoured. We demand the realisation of our corporate existence as a distinct race and nation because that is the only way in which the ultimate brotherhood of humanity can be achieved, not by blotting out individual peoples and effacing outward distinctions, but by removing the internal

obstacles to unity, the causes of hatred, malice and misunderstanding. A struggle for our rights does not involve hatred of those who mistakenly deny them. It only involves a determination to suffer and strive, to speak the truth boldly and without respect of persons, to use every lawful means of pressure and every source of moral strength in order to establish ourselves and disestablish that which denies the law of progress.

Our methods are those of self-help and passive resistance. To unite and organise ourselves in order to show our efficiency by the way in which we can develop our industries, settle our individual disputes, keep order and peace on public occasions, attend to questions of sanitation, help the sick and suffering, relieve the famine-stricken, work out our intellectual, technical and physical education, evolve a Government of our own for our own internal affairs so far as that could be done without disobeying the law or questioning the legal authority of the bureaucratic administration, this was the policy publicly and frankly adopted by the Nationalist party. In Bengal we had advanced so far as to afford distinct proof of our capacity in almost all these respects and the evolution of a strong united and well-organised Bengal had become a near and certain prospect. The internal troubles which came to a head at Surat and the repressive policy initiated immediately afterwards, culminating in the destruction of our organisations and the effective intimidation of Swadeshi workers and sympathizers by official underlings, have both been serious checks to our progress and seem for the moment to have postponed the realisation of our hopes to a distant future. The check is temporary. Courage and sane statesmanship in our leaders is all that is wanted to restore the courage and the confidence of the people and evolve new methods of organisation which will not come into conflict even with the repressive laws.

The policy of passive resistance was evolved partly as the necessary complement of self-help, partly as a means of putting pressure on the Government. The essence of this policy is the refusal of co-operation so long as we are not admitted to a substantial share and an effective

control in legislation, finance and administration. Just as "No representation, no taxation" was the watchword of American constitutional agitation in the eighteenth century, so "No control, no co-operation" should be the watchword of our lawful agitation—for constitution we have none,—in the twentieth. We sum up this refusal of co-operation in the convenient word "Boycott", refusal of co-operation in the industrial exploitation of our country, in education, in government, in judicial administration, in the details of official intercourse. Necessarily, we have not made that refusal of co-operation complete and uncompromising, but we hold it as a method to be enlarged and pushed farther according as the necessity for moral pressure becomes greater and more urgent. This is one aspect of the policy. Another is the necessity of boycott to help our own nascent energies in the field of self-help. Boycott of foreign goods is a necessary condition for the encouragement of Swadeshi industries, boycott of Government schools is a necessary condition for the growth of national education, boycott of British courts is a necessary condition for the spread of arbitration. The only question is the extent and conditions of the boycott and that must be determined by the circumstances of the particular problem in each case. The general spirit of passive resistance has first to be raised, afterwards it can be organised, regulated and, where necessary, limited.

The first obstacle to our evolution is the internal dispute which has for the moment wrecked the Congress and left in its place the hollow and mutilated simulacrum of a National Assembly which met last year at Madras and, deprived though it is of the support of the most eminent local leaders, purposes to meet again at Lahore. It is a grievous error to suppose that this dispute hung only on personal questions and differences of a trifling importance. As happens inevitably in such popular contests, personal questions and differences of minor importance intervened to perplex and embitter the strife, but the real questions in debate were those which involved the whole future development of the spirit and form of self-government in this country. Were that

spirit and form to be determined by oligarchy? Were they to be constitutional in procedure or governed by arbitrary and individual choice and discretion? Was the movement to be progressive and national or conservative and parochial in its aims, policy and spirit? These were the real issues. The Nationalist party stood for democracy, constitutionalism, and progress. The Moderate party, governed by an exaggerated respect for old and esteemed leaders, helped, without clearly understanding what they did, those who stood for oligarchy, arbitrary procedure and an almost reactionary conservatism. Personal idiosyncracies, preferences, aversions settled like a thick cloud over the contest, the combatants on both sides flung themselves on every point of difference material or immaterial as a pretext or a weapon, the tactics of party warfare were freely used and, finally, the deliberate obstinacy of a few Moderate leaders in avoiding discussion of the points of difference and the unruly ardour of the younger men on both sides led to the violent scenes at Surat and the break-up of the Congress. If the question is ever to be settled to the advantage of national progress, the personal and minor differences must be banished from the field and the real issues plainly and dispassionately considered.

The questions of particular importance which divide the parties, are the exact form of Swaraj to be held forward as an ideal, the policy of passive resistance and the form of certain resolutions. The last is a question to be decided by the Congress itself and all that the Nationalists demand is that discussion shall not be burked and that they shall not be debarred from their constitutional right of placing their views before the National Assembly. On the other points, they cannot sacrifice their ideal or their policy, but their contention is that these differences ought not in a free deliberative assembly to stand in the way of united progress. The Swaraj matter can easily be settled by the substitution of "full and complete self-government" for "self-government on Colonial lines" in the Swaraj resolution. The difference as to passive resistance hinges at present on the Boycott resolution which the Nationalist party—and

as this they are supported by a large body of Moderate opinion,—cannot consent to sacrifice. But here also they are willing to submit the question to the arbitrament of a freely-elected Congress, though they refuse to recognise a close and limited Subjects Committee as the final authority. It will be seen therefore that the real question throughout is constitutional. The body which at present calls itself the Congress, has adopted a constitution which is close, exclusive, undemocratic and so framed as to limit the free election of delegates by the people. It limits itself by proposing a number of articles of faith in a particular form of words to every intending delegate before he can take his seat; it aims at the election of delegates only by select bodies and associations instead of the direct election of the people; it excuses many from the chances of election and gives them an undue weight in the disposal of the affairs of the assembly. These and similar provisions no democratic party can accept. A Nationalist Conference or a Moderate Convention may so guard its integrity, but the Congress is and must be a National Assembly admitting freely all who are duly elected by the people. The proposed passing of this reactionary constitution by a body already limited under its provisions will not cure the constitutional defect. It is only a Congress elected on the old lines that can determine the future provisions for its constitution and procedure with any hope of universal acceptance.

It is not therefore by any manipulation of the Convention Congress that a solution of the problem can be brought about, but by the Provincial Conferences empowering the leaders of both parties to meet in Committee and provide for an arrangement which will heal differences and enable the Congress to work smoothly and freely in the future. If there is a minority who refuse to associate themselves with any such attempt, the majority will be justified by the mandate of the Provinces in disregarding them and meeting to carry out the popular wish. Once the lines are settled they can be submitted to the free choice of a freely-elected Congress for acceptance, rejection or modification. This will restore a Congress on sound constitutional lines in

which the bitter experience of the past may be relied on to prevent those mistakes of obstinacy and passion which prevented a solution of the problem at Surat.

Outside the Congress the chances of united working are more complete than within it. There are only two questions which are likely either to trouble harmony or hamper action. The first is the question of the acceptance or rejection of the present reforms introducing, as they do, no element of popular control nor any fresh constitutional principle except the unsound principle of privileged representation for a single community. This involves the wider question of co-operation. It is generally supposed that the Nationalist party is committed to the persistent and uncompromising refusal of co-operation until they get the full concession of Swaraj. Nationalist publicists have not cared to combat this error explicitly because they were more anxious to get their ideal accepted and the spirit of passive resistance and complete self-help popularized than to discuss a question which was not then a part of practical politics. But it is obvious that a party advancing such a proposition would be a party of doctrinaires and idealists, not of practical thinkers and workers. The Nationalist principle is the principle of "no control, no co-operation." Since all control has been refused and so long as all control is refused, the Nationalist party preaches the refusal of co-operation as complete as we can make it. But it is evident that if, for instance, the power of imposing protective duties were given to a popular and elective body, no serious political party would prefer persistence in commercial boycott to the use of the powers conceded. Or if education were similarly made free of official control and entrusted to a popular body, as Lord Reay once thought of entrusting it, no sensible politician would ask the nation to boycott that education. Or if the courts were manned by Indian judges and made responsible not to the Executive but to a Minister representing the people, arbitration would immediately take its place as a supplementary aid to the regular courts. So also the refusal to co-operate in an administration

which excludes the people from an effective voice does not involve a refusal to co-operate in an administration of which the people are an effective part. The refusal of autocratic gifts does not involve a refusal to take up popular rights inalienably secured to the people. It is on the contrary with the object of compelling the concession of the various elements of Swaraj by peaceful moral pressure and in the absence of such concessions developing our own institutions to the gradual extrusion and final supplanting of bureaucratic institutions that the policy of self-help and passive resistance was started. This acceptance of popular rights does not imply the abandonment of the ideal of complete autonomy or of the use of passive resistance in case of any future arbitrary interference with the rights of the people. It implies only the use of partial Swaraj as a step and means towards complete Swaraj. Where the Nationalists definitely and decisively part company with an influential section of the Moderates is in refusing to accept any petty or illusory concession which will draw away our aspirations from their unalterable ideal or delude the people into thinking they have secured real rights.

Another question is that of cleaving to and enforcing the Boycott. In Bengal, even if there are some who are timid or reactionary enough to shrink from the word or the thing, the general feeling in its favour is emphatic and practically unanimous. But it is time now to consider seriously the question of regulating the boycott. Nationalists have always demurred to the proviso "as far as possible" in the Swadeshi resolution on account of the large loophole its vagueness left to the hesitating and the lukewarm, and they have preferred the form "at a sacrifice." But it will now be well if we face the concrete problems of the boycott. While we must keep it absolute wherever Swadeshi articles are procurable as also in respect to pure luxuries with which we can dispense, we must recognize that there are necessities of life and business for which we have still to go to foreign countries. The public ought to be guided as to the choice of the countries which we shall favour in the purchase of these articles,

necessarily they must be countries sympathetic to Indian aspirations, and those which we shall exclude. The failure to deal with this question is largely responsible for the laxity of our political boycott and our consequent failure to get the Partition rescinded. There are also other questions, such as the attempt of shopkeepers and merchants to pass off foreign goods wholesale as Swadeshi, which must be taken up at once if the movement is not to suffer a serious setback.

A final difficulty remains,—by what organization are we to carry on the movement even when these questions are settled? The Nationalist programme was to build up a great deliberative and executive organisation on the basis of a reconstituted Congress, and this scheme still remains the only feasible means of organising the country. Even if an united Congress cannot be secured, the provinces ought to organise themselves separately, and perhaps this may prove to be the only possible way of restoring the Congress, by reconstituting it from the bottom. Even the District organisations, however, cannot work effectively without hands, and these we had provided for in the Sabhas and Samitis of young men which sprang up on all sides and were just succeeding in forming an efficient network of organisation all over Bengal. These are now being suppressed by administrative order. It becomes a question whether we cannot replace them by a loose and elusive organisation of young men in groups ordering each its own work by common agreement and working hand in hand, but without a rigid or definite organisation. I throw out the suggestion for consideration by the leaders of thought and action in the provinces where unity seems at all feasible.

This then is the situation as it presents itself to me. The policy I suggest to the Nationalist party may briefly be summed up as follows :—

1. Persistence with a strict regard to law in a peaceful policy of self-help and passive resistance.
2. The regulation of our attitude towards the Government by the principle of "No control, no co-operation."

3. A rapprochement with the Moderate party wherever possible and the reconstitution of an united Congress.

4. The regulation of the Boycott movement so as to make both the political and the economic boycott effective.

5. The organisation of the Provinces if not of the whole country according to our original programme.

6. A system of co-operation which will not contravene the law and will yet enable workers to proceed with the work of self-help and national efficiency, if not quite so effectively as before, yet with energy and success.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

KALIDASA'S SEASONS.

I.

—ooo—

ITS AUTHENTICITY.

The Seasons of Kalidasa is one of those early works of a great poet which are even more interesting to a student of his evolution than his later masterpieces. We see his characteristic gift even in the immature workmanship and uncertain touch and can distinguish the persistent personality in spite of the defective self-expression. Where external record is scanty, this interest is often disturbed by the question of authenticity, and where there is any excuse for the doubt, it has first to be removed. The impulse which leads us to deny authenticity to early and immature work, is natural and almost inevitable. When we turn from the great harmonies and victorious imaginations of the master to the raw and perhaps faltering workmanship of these uncertain beginnings, we are irresistibly impelled to cry out, "This is not by the same hand." But the impulse, however natural, is not always reasonable. The maxim that a poet is born and not made is only true in the sense that great poetical powers are there in the mind of the child, and in this sense the same remark might be applied with no less truth to every species of human genius; philosophers, sculptors, painters, critics, orators, statesmen are all born and not made. But because poetical genius is rarer or at any rate wider and more lasting in its appeal than any other, the

popular mind with its ready gift for seizing one aspect of truth out of many and crystallising error into the form of a proverb, has exalted the poet into a splendid freak of Nature exempt from the general law. A man without the inborn oratorical fire may be trained into a good speaker, another without the master's inspiration of form and colour work out for himself a blameless technique, but so may a meagre talent become by diligence a machine for producing correct verse. Poetical genius needs experience and self-discipline as much as any other and by its very complexity more than most. This is eminently true of great poets with a varied gift. A narrow though a high genius works best on a single line and may show perfection at an early stage; but powerful and complex minds like Shakespeare or Kalidasa seldom find themselves before a more advanced period. Their previous work is certain to be full of power, promise and genius, but it will also be flawed, unequal and often imitative. This imperfection arises naturally from the greater difficulty in imposing the law of harmony of their various gifts on the bodily case which is the instrument of the spirit's self-expression.

To arrive at this harmony requires time and effort, and meanwhile the work will often be halting and unequal, varying between inspiration expressed and the failure of vision or expression. There is no more many-sided, rich and flexible genius in literature than Kalidasa's, and in his case especially we must be on our guard against basing denial of authenticity on imperfection and minor differences. We have to judge, first, by the presence or absence of the essential and indefinable self of Kalidasa which we find apparent in all his indubitable work, however various the form or subject, and after that on those nameable characteristics which are the grain and fibre of his genius and least imitable by others. In the absence of external evidence, which is in itself of little value unless received from definite and contemporary or almost contemporary sources, the test of personality is all-important; accidents and details are only useful as corroborative evidence; for these are liable to variation and

imitation, but personality is a distinguishable and permanent presence as fugitive to imitation as to analysis. Even a slight fineness of literary palate can perceive the difference between the Nalodaya and Kalidasa's genuine work. Not only does it belong to an age or school in which poetical taste was debased and artificial, the poetical counterpart of those prose works for whose existence the display of scholarship seems to be the chief justification,—but it presents in this matter of personality and persistent characteristics no sufficient point of contact either with the Shacuntala or the Kumarasambhava or even with the House of Raghu. But in the Seasons Kalidasa's personality is distinctly perceived as well as his main characteristics, his force of vision, his architecture of style, his pervading sensuousness, the peculiar temperament of his similes, his characteristic strokes of thought and imagination, his individual and inimitable cast of description. Much of it is as yet in a half-developed state, crude consistency not yet fashioned with the masterly touch he soon manifested, but Kalidasa is there quite as evidently as Shakespeare in his earlier work, the Venus and Adonis or Lucrece. Defects which the riper Kalidasa avoids, are not uncommon in this poem,—repetition of ideas, use of more words than are absolutely required, haphazard recurrence of words and phrases not to produce a designed effect but from carelessness, haste or an insufficient vocabulary; there is moreover a constant sense of uncertainty in the touch and a frequent lack of finished design. The poet has been in too much haste to vent his sense of poetical power and not sufficiently careful that the expression should be the best he could compass. And yet, immature, greatly inferior in chastity and elegance to his best work, marred by serious faults of conception, bearing evidence of hurry and slovenliness in the execution, the Seasons is for all this not only suffused by a high though unchastened beauty, but marked with many of the most individual and essential features of Kalidasa's strong and exuberant genius. The defects are those natural to the early work of a rich sensuous temperament eagerly conscious of poetical power but not yet instructed and chastened.

To be continued.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

NEWS.

U. P. AGRICULTURE.

The United Provinces Government have decided to open an Agricultural College at Benaras.

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT.

The Government of India have now formally received the Indian Councils Act of 1909 and its text will be gazetted on Saturday next.

WAVES OF FEELING.

The Master of Elibank, speaking at Woodford, said that Lord Morley would do his duty, undeterred by criticism. He would deal drastically with those who were exciting disloyalty while themselves keeping in the background. It was necessary for the safety of the Empire that these rebellious agitations and waves of feeling should not be permitted to attain maturity.

DHINGRA'S SENTENCE.

The *Pioneer's* London correspondent writes that a suggestion was made here after Dhingra's sentence, that penal servitude for life would probably serve as a more effective deterrent than hanging. While presenting the murderer's defecation as a martyr, Mr. W. T. Stead writing to the press, advocating the commutation, endorses this view and also speaks of the exercise of mercy. He argues that although Dhingra is pathologically sane his distorted views are necessarily those of a deranged mind.

SEVENTH OF AUGUST MEETING.

"Justice" writes to the *Bengalee*. The anniversary of the birthday of the Swadeshi Movement is drawing near. It is time to discuss who should be the president of that important gathering. There are indeed many distinguished persons who may adorn the presidential chair, but my humble suggestion is that our most beloved Nationalist leader Babu Aurobinda Ghose should be offered the presidential chair. We all know how much he has suffered and that sacrifice he has made for us, but we in return have virtually done nothing for him. We have not had a single opportunity to honour him and to express our sincerest feelings. The opportunity has now come and we must not remain idle. I hope everyone will concur with me and combine his influence to make it a success and I have every reason to believe that this my appeal to my countrymen will not go in vain.

ANTI-PARTITION SWADESHI MEETING AT PANGGA.

A grand anti-partition Swadeshi meeting was held on the 15th July at Pangga, Faridpur. Over three thousand people, Hindus and Muslims, were present. People from many villages in the Goslundo sub-division and even from Kushtia, Kumarkhali, Jagati, Damukdia and Sara Ghat attended. Babu Aurobindo Ghosh, and Gispati Kavyatirtha arrived from Calcutta on the previous night. Babu Satish Chandra Mazumdar, Assistant Secretary to the District Association, and Babu Mathura Nath Dhar from Faridpur arrived in the morning. Mr. Giles with 15 police officers and some constables arrived Pangga in the same train. A huge gathering at the railway station, repeatedly shouted *Bande Mataram*. Mr. Giles enquired and was informed that it was for Mr. Mazumdar who was expected. Nothing unpleasant happened. Mr. Giles was uninterfering. The meeting commenced at 3-30 p. m. Mr. Mazumdar, being unavoidably absent owing to a severe domestic misfortune the veteran Doctor Navadwip Chandra Paul presided. Resolutions strongly urging the modification of the partition and supporting Swadeshi were unanimously adopted. Pandit Gispati spoke strongly on both subjects. Babu Aurobindo Ghose addressed in English. The gratuitous warnings, given by the Magistrate and Police officers, were humourously criticised. Babu Satish Chandra Mazumdar, Mathura Nath Dhar, Kedareswar Dutt, M. Rowshanali Choudhury and many others addressed the meeting effectively. Sympathy was expressed for Mr. Mazumdar. The meeting lasted till 8 p. m. The President's attitude was firm and admirable. The meeting was a grand success. Great enthusiasm prevailed. All credit is due to Mr. Rowshanali Choudhury for the organization and the arrangements with the assistance of Babu Bireswar Lahiry. Besides the police officers over 200 chowkidars and duffadars were present.

SERRATION AT ETAWAH.

Mr. G. W. Dillon, M. A. B. V. L. served the following notice on Mr. H. K. Gracey, I. C. S., Magistrate and Collector, Etawah, and Chairman of the District Board of Etawah:—I am instructed by Pandit Baleswar Prasad Miara, a son of Etawah, now residing in Etawah City, to inform you that he intends to bring a civil suit against you, claiming damages to the extent of Rs. 25,000 on the expiration of two months from the date on which this notice under section 80 of Act V. 1908 is received by you. It appears that Pandit Baleswar Prasad, the intending plaintiff, was invited to a meeting of the Etawah District Board, to be held on the 28th June last. On Pandit Baleswar Prasad taking his seat there, you, in consultation with Babu Ram Prasad, Deputy Collector and Secretary to the Board, moved a resolution, suspending the said Baleswar Prasad from attending the meetings of the Board for a certain reason, stated therein, and that you caused the said resolution to be carried. Pandit Baleswar Prasad at once brought to your notice the fact that the resolution was altogether *ultra vires* and that he regarded it as deliberate insult to him who had been invited to attend the particular meeting, and that notwithstanding that this fact was brought to your notice you did not drop the resolution but went on with it and enforced it then and there with the sole object of humiliating and openly insulting the said Pandit Baleswar Prasad. I am instructed to say that your action on that occasion was actuated by the personal malice which you bear towards my client and that you took advantage of your position as a public officer to move this resolution, which was beyond the powers of the District Board and which you knew to be so. I am further instructed to say that on Pandit Baleswar Prasad representing this matter by telegram to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces the matter was referred to the Commissioner of the Agra Division who has been pleased to inform you that the resolution above referred to was in excess of the Board conferred by law and acting under section 42 (1) of the District Board Act he suspended its execution. I am instructed further to call upon you to tender to my client an unqualified apology and to pay Rs. 25,000 to him (to be made over to some charitable or educational institution) within six weeks from this date failing which a suit for damages for recovery of Rs. 25,000 would be filed against you in a court competent to entertain the same.

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NEWS.

FATEJANGPUR MURDER CASE.—

Jitendra Nath Roy, alias Jitu Roy, who
was arrested by the Calcutta police at
Shambazar in connection with the Fate-
jangpur murder case, has been let off by
Mr. Higgins, the Sub-divisional Magis-
trate as there was no evidence connecting
him with the murder.

LORD CURZON AT SOUTHPORT.—

Lord Curzon, speaking at Southport
criticised the Government for lack of firm-
ness and strength in their policy in India.
There was now, he said, an open campaign
of assassination. Criminals, glorying in
crimes, wrote letters to newspapers, which
ought not to be published. The present
conspiracy might have been considerably
checked, if it had been realized earlier.

MADAN LAL'S CASE.—

Old Bailey was crowded on the 23rd
July when the trial of Madan Lal took
place. Lord Alverstone presided. The
prisoner appeared unconcerned. The
Attorney General described the crime
as long pre meditated with an obvious
motive. Previous evidence was then
repeated and the verdict of guilty was
returned. Lord Alverstone in sentencing
Manan Lal to death said that nothing
he could say would have the slightest
effect on the prisoner. After he had been
sentenced, Madan Lal saluted in mili-
tary fashion and said, "Thank you my
Lord. I am glad to have the honour
of dying for my country." Madan Lal
was not defended and refused counsel.
His sole defence consisted in reading
again his Police Court statement.

THE BOMBAY DOCKYARD THEFT CASE.—

The Government dockyard theft case,
in which three European officers—Burn,
Foreman, Inspector Henry, and Sub-Ins-
pector Wilks, of the Bombay Police, stand
charged with stealing Government prop-
erty worth Rs. 500, which have been
dragging on for two months, was concluded
on 23rd July, the Magistrate reserving
his judgment. Mr. Branson, in course
of his address for the defence, amongst
other things, regarding the conduct of
the police said that the police made a
deliberately false statement when they
induced the Court to discharge Fernando
and Shays. It there ever was any case
which called for Government interven-
tion and for searching inquiry into the
manner in which it had been conducted
and managed or rather mismanaged by
the police, surely this was one. In Ben-
gal apparently they were successful in
inducing the Government to interfere
and direct inquiries into the manner and
customs of police there. At all events in
this case they had got this circumstance
established beyond all reasonable doubt
in that over forty persons who were in a
position to give evidence for or against
the prosecution had been kept
in what they might call custody
or Nazad Kiad. These forty persons were
assembled by the sounds of horn which
was sounded every evening by the police
men who went round to their respective
dwelling houses and like obedient flock
they came to the had police office and
thence in congenial society of police they
came together to this court and remained
in it in the same congenial society, until
the day was played out. That was in direct
defiance of the provision of section 76 of
the Bombay City Police Act which laid
down that no complainant or witness
should be required to accompany police on
his way to court. He should like to know
what would have been done to them if
they had not accompanied the police to
court.

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THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST.

Mr. Horley printer of the "Indian Sociologist" has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment in the First Division.

Tilak's Birthday.

A public meeting convened under the auspices of the Bombay National Union was held on Friday the 23rd July at the Rangh, Curzon, Bombay for the purpose of congratulating Sriji Bal Gangadhar Tilak on his fifty-fourth birthday. Mr. Joseph Pappas presided. The hall was crowded. Late Ganb Das a Panchayat orator, delivered a long speech in Hindustani eulogising Tilak. He said it was no shame or dishonour for a patriot to be jailed. He referred to Tilak's trial in a denunciatory tone, saying that their beloved patriot was snatched away from them by the verdict of a jury which did not understand the Marathi language in which the articles were written, and which was carried away by false translations. Lord Curzon had split the Bengalee nation into two pieces by the partition of Bengal, and to show that they loved their own dear land they must adopt the boycott. Tilak, actuated by pure love for the mother land, wrote in support of Swadeshi and boycott. Tilak was their life and soul. Their hearts were bleeding on account of their enforced separation from him who was a great *mahatma*. Then the following resolution was carried. This public meeting congratulated Sriji Bal Gangadhar Tilak on his fifty-fourth birthday, and wishes him long life and prosperity, and hopes for the speedy release of the great Indian patriot and leader who is respected and loved all over the country. The Chairman in closing the proceedings, said that Tilak had taught the great lesson of suffering with pleasure. They must rejoice that he suffered for his country. A man who discouraged the highest ideals could never be a patriot. Tilak placed before them the high ideal of ultimate independence. He led them not to anarchy but to glory. He preached true patriotism and they should be proud to call Tilak their friend. He was adored by the whole country because of his love for his country. The meeting then dispersed late in evening with cries of "Bande Mataram" and "Tilak Maharaajki Jai."

THE KATHA UPANISHAD.

FIRST PART. SECOND CHAPTER.

1. Yama said. One thing is the good and quite another thing is the pleasant, yet both to different goals bind men to action. Of these he that taketh the good it is well for him, who chooseth the pleasant falleth from felicity.

2. Both the good and the pleasant come to a man and the steadfast soul looketh carefully at them and distinguisheth them; in his strength and wisdom he chooseth what is good rather than what is pleasant; but the fool chooseth the pleasant for his getting and for his having.

3. And then, Nachicatus, hast looked close at the objects of desire, at pleasant things and beautiful, and thou hast cast them from thee; thou hast not taken the path of riches which leads many men to perdition.

4. For apart are these, opposite, divergent, one called the Ignorance and the other the Knowledge. But Nachicatus, I deem truly desirous of the knowledge, whom so many delightful things could not make to lust after them.

5. They who dwell in the ignorance, wise in their own eyes and learned, fools are they that wander round in a circle like blind men led by the blind.

6. The childish wit bewildered and drunken with the illusion of riches cannot open its eyes to see the path to heaven; for he that thinks that this world is and there is no other, falleth again and again into death's thralldom.

7. God is not easy even to be heard of by many, and of those that hear of God not many can really know Him. A miracle is he that can speak of God wisely or attain him, and when one is found, a miracle is the listener who can know God even if taught of Him by the wisest Master.

8. An ordinary man cannot tell you of God; for thus told thou cannot truly know Him when He is thought of in many aspects. Unless told of Him by a supreme mind there is no way into His mystery; for He is subtler than subtlety and logic cannot reach Him.

9. This wisdom is not to be had by reasoning, O beloved Nachicatus, only when told thee by another it bringeth real knowledge,—the wisdom which thou hast gotten. Truly art thou faithful and steadfast, even such a questioner as thou art may I meet with always.

10. Nachicatus said, I know of great treasure that it is not for ever; for not by things fleeting shall one attain the one certain that endureth. Therefore I heaped the spiritual fire, the fire Nachicatus, and with perishable things I purchased the Imperishable.

11. Yama said. When thou hast seen in thy grasp, O Nachicatus, the possession of desire and foundation in the universe, yea, endlessness of power and the far shore of security and great riches and wide scope and firm foundation, strong in self-mastery thou didst cast them from thee.

12. Realising by attainment through spiritual yoga the secret ancient and inaccessible deity who in the recess of life is lodged, in the heart of things, in the cavern of being, the wise man banisheth from him joy and sorrow.

13. When a mortal man hath heard, when he hath understood, when he hath separated the Righteous One from his body and won that subtle Spirit, then he hath real joy, for then he hath got something to glory in. Wide open, I think, is the house of God to Nachicatus.

14. Nachicatus said. Tell me of that which thou hast seen other-where than in virtue and other-where than in unrighteousness.

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otherwhere than in this chain of effects and causes, otherwhere than in the past and otherwhere than in the future."

15. *Yama said.* The goal whom all the Vedas glorify, whom all forms of austerity utter, for the desirableness of whom men practise holy living, of Him will I tell thee in briefest compass. Ours is that goal, O Nachikatus.

16. For this syllable is God, this syllable is the Most High. If one know this syllable, whatsoever he shall desire, it is his.

17. This anchor is the best this support is the highest; knowing this support one groweth great in in the heaven of the Spirit.

18. The Wise One within is not born, neither doth he die; He came not from anywhere, neither is He anyone, He is unborn and everlasting He is ancient and sempiternal, He is not slain with the slaying of the body.

19. If the slayer think that he slayeth and the slain think that he is slain, both of them know not; God within a man neither slayeth nor is slain.

20. Smaller than an atom, huger than hugeness the Spirit abideth hidden in the secret heart of this creature: when a man is stripped of wishes and weaned from sorrow, then he beholdeth the Spirit; purified from temperament he seeth God in His glory.

21. Seated He travelleth far and lying down He traverseth all the quarters. Who but I should know that Divine One who is joy and joylessness?

22. Having envisaged the Bodiless in bodies; the Stable in things unstable, having comprehended the great Lord the Omnipresent Self, the strong heart no more grieveth.

23. The Spirit is not to be won by teaching of the Scriptures, nor by brain power, nor by much learning, but He whom the Spirit chooseth, he getteth the Spirit and to him God discovereth His body.

24. None can win God who hath not ceased from doing evil, or who is passion-tossed, or divided in mind, or whose heart is not at rest; for it is by wisdom that one attaineth to Him.

25. God to whom the sages are as meat and princes as excellent eating and Death is the spice of His banquet, how shall such a one know of Him where He abideth.

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SWADESHI IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY: AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT:—II.

PENCIL, BUTTON, BRUSH AND HAT MANUFACTURES.

A Pencil Factory has quite recently been started at Dharwar by Mr. Kamalapurkar. The construction of buildings and the fitting up machinery do not seem to have been completed as yet.

The Poona Button Factory makes excellent buttons of horn, ivory and black wood for coats, jackets and shirts. These are well-made and will stand comparison with imported articles of the same description. Their prices too are moderate. A large quantity of buttons is consumed in the country and there is no reason why this enterprise should not be able to capture a portion of the market. Another buttons factory which is conducted on efficient and honest lines is the Western Manufacturing Company of Bombay.

The increasing number of mills, factories, planting presses, etc., in India has tempted a native firm at Bombay to establish a manufacturing plant to supply them with brushes. Messrs. Shah Bros. & Co. of Bombay, started a joint stock concern in 1906 which is at present carrying on business under the name of the Bombay Brush Manufacturing Company, Limited, at Apollo Street. It was proposed to conduct the work by hand at the outset, until the machinery arrived. The machinery, which was ordered through Messrs. Schroder, Schmidt & Co. of Bombay, was fitted up by the end of October last. The plant consists of an oil engine driving the various machines, which do away with a greater part of the manual labour. Brushes of all kinds and for all purposes manufactured here are said to compare favourably in price with imported articles.

The India Felt Topper Manufacturing Company, Bombay. An extensive Felt Cap Factory was opened only a few months ago by Messrs. Thanawala and Company, at Parel, Government Gate Road, Bombay. Hats manufactured there from raw wool are in no way inferior in quality to those imported from Turkey or Hungary. Messrs. Janardan and Sivasdas Saraf, Seth

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Thanawala and his two brothers are employed on fixed salaries in the Factory. Mr. Janardan, the Gujarathi expert learned the manufacturing processes in Europe. This Swadeshi Company, perhaps the first of its kind, have already found a good market for their manufactures. It is hoped the Mahomedan brethren will lend forth the Fez caps of this purely Indian Company in place of those imported from Austria and Hungary. This Company seems to have been started in response to the agitation originally started in European Turkey to boycott Austrian Fez caps, which travelled into India and was caught up by the Indian Mahomedans of the Western Presidency in particular.

SODA AND COTTON-SEED OIL MANUFACTURES.

The Pioneer Alkali Works.—This Factory was recently opened at Mahim in the Bombay Presidency to manufacture Soda used for washing purposes. It is under the able managership of Mr. G. N. Potdar, I. A., a passed Chemical Engineer from the Imperial University of Tokio, in Japan. The soda manufactured is largely consumed in the Presidency, being used in cotton-presses. Clothes are said to be thoroughly cleansed in half an hour in a mixture of 3 to 4 per cent soda and hot water. The soda manufactured by the Pioneer Alkali Works is said to be in no way inferior to imported articles.

We hope the promoters of the Alkali Works of the Bombay Presidency will keep an eye on the other parts of India where foreign made soda has invaded many village homes, driving out the

indigenous *saji* or other local washing materials.

The Navaneeta Oil Manufacturing Company.—This Company has been lately started at Surat under the supervision of Prof. Gajjar, the distinguished scientist of Bombay and of Messrs. Manekji Jethabhai Wardhamana & Co. of the same place with the main object of manufacturing oil from cotton-seeds, ground-nuts, etc., by purifying them by chemical processes, the oil purified being usable for culinary purposes.

Another cotton-seed oil-manufacturing company was started in September, 1900 at Broach under the title of the Nerbudda Cotton Seed Crushing Co., with a capital of a lakh of rupees. The mill agents, Messrs. Girdharlal Roychand & Co., have themselves taken up a third of the invested capital and propose to work the mill on a commercial basis, reserving for themselves a certain percentage as commission on profits alone. The agents are hopeful of a return of eight to twelve per cent to the shareholders. The mill plant will be capable of yielding six tons of oil daily, and in addition to the oil the cotton seed cakes will be about 12 tons in weight. We are not in a position to state how far this Company has proceeded with the actual operations.

In America there are at least 400 cotton seed oil mills, while in India there are but a few and these conducted on a meagre scale. The necessity of starting cotton oil-mills, however, is now being recognised in other parts of India; and the above two mills started by our Bombay brethren will no doubt serve as object-lessons to

those whose eyes have not yet been opened to the great loss India is sustaining by exporting oil-seeds to foreign countries on a huge scale.—*The Denon.*

(To be continued.)

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THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION.

Speech by S. J. Aurobindo Ghose
at Howrah.

(Annual meeting of Howrah People's Association.)

Well, we have been losing these things which were part of our associated life. But on the other hand we looked at the civilised nations of the West who are rushing upon us and breaking our society to pieces, and we saw that in those nations there were other centres of association, other means of uniting together. However imperfectly we began to seize upon them and try to use them, our life in the nineteenth century was a weak and feeble life. It had no ideals, no mighty impulses behind to drive or uplift it. It was bewildered and broken by the forces that came upon it; it did not know how to move and in what direction to move. It tried to take whatever it could from the life of the rulers. It strove to take their political associations and develop that principle of association. But our political associations had a feeble life bound together only by a few common interests which by ineffective means they tried to establish or protect. Political association among us led to very little action, for it was an association which looked mainly to others for help and did not look to the sources of strength within. These and other kinds of associations which we then tried to form tended mainly in one direction. They were institutions for the exchange of thought, associations for the spread of knowledge, by which we instinctively but imperfectly tried to encourage and express the growing idea that was within us. This was the one real value of most of our political associations. Then there came the flood of national life, the mighty awakening which appeared first in Bengal. The principle of association began to take a new form, it began to assume a new life. It no longer remained a feeble instrument for the expression of the growing idea within us, it began to become an instrument indeed.

It began to become a power. How did this new kind of association grow and to what objects did it address itself? The movement was not planned by any human brain, it was not foreseen by any human foresight. It came of itself, it came as a flood comes, as a storm comes. There had been slow preparations which we did not institute or understand. These preparations were mainly among the young men, the rising generation, the hope of India. There the spirit first awoke. At first it was not what we would call an association; it was only a temporary union of young men for a temporary cause. They called themselves by a name which has since become terrible to many of our friends of the Anglo-Indian Press. They called themselves volunteers. For what did they volunteer? They volunteered for service to the representatives of the nation who came together to deliberate for the good of the people. This is how it first came, as an idea of service, the idea of service to those who worked for the motherland. Out of that grew the idea of service to the Mother. That was the first stage and the root from which it grew into our political life. Then there was another stream which rose elsewhere and joined the first. Our Anglo-Indian brothers to whom we owe so much and in so many ways, did us this service also that they always scoffed at us as weaklings, men who were doomed to perpetual slavery and had always been a race of slaves because the people of Bengal had no martial gift, because they are not physically strong, because whoever chooses to strike them can strike and expect no blow in return. Therefore they were unfit for self-government, therefore they must remain slaves for ever.

Our Anglo-Indian friends do not proclaim that theory now. They have changed their tone. For the spirit of the nation could bear the perpetual reproach no longer, the awakening Brahman within our young men could bear it no longer. Associations grew up for physical exercise and the art of self-defence and grew into those Sanities which you have seen flourishing and recently sup

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pressed. We were determined to wash the blemish away. If this was the blemish, to be weak, if this was the source of our degradation we determined to remove it. We said, "In spite of our physical weakness we have a strength within us which will remove our defects. We will be a race of brave and strong men. And that we may be so, we will establish everywhere these associations for physical exercise." That, one would think, was an innocent object and had nothing in it which anyone could look upon with suspicion. In fact we never thought that we should be looked upon with suspicion. It is the Europeans who have trumpeted physical culture as a most valuable national asset, the thing in which the English speaking nations have preeminently excelled and which was the cause of their success and energy. That was the second seed of association.

There was a third seed and it was the thing for which our hearts yearned, the impulse towards brotherhood. A new kind of association came into being. That was the association which stood by labour and service and self-sacrifice, whose object of existence was to help the poor and nurse the sick. That was the flowering out of the Hindu religion. That was what Swami Vivekananda preached. That was what Aswini Kumar Dutta strove to bring into organised existence. That was what the Ramakrishna Mission, the Little Brothers of the Poor at Barisal tried to effect. This was the third way in which the new association established itself, the third seed of union, the third stream of tendency seeking fulfilment. All these streams of tendency came together, they united themselves and have been in their broad unifying current the glory of our national life for the last three years. The communities of young men by labour, by toil for the country, worship of the motherland held themselves together and spread the habit of association and the growth of brotherhood over the land. That is their great ideal and that the way in which these associations have been established.

These are the associations which have now been crushed out of existence under a charge which cannot be and has not been maintained, a charge which has been disproved over and over again. It is a monstrous charge. The charge is that these associations are associations of hatred and violence, associations for rebellion and defiance. That is the charge under which these associations have been suppressed. I have come recently back from Barisal. While I was

there I heard and read something of the work of the young men's association in Barisal, the association called the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti which with its network covered the whole district of Backergunge. This association grew out of a much smaller association started by Aswini Kumar Dutta called the Little Brothers of the Poor. What was the work commenced by these Little Brothers of the Poor? When epidemic broke out, when cholera appeared in all its virulence, the young men of the Barisal Brajamohan College went out in bands. They nursed the sick, they took charge of those who had been abandoned, they took up in their arms those whom they found lying on the roadside. They were not deterred in those moments by the prejudice of caste or by the difference of creed. The orthodox Brahmin took up in his bosom and nursed the Mahomedan and the Namasandra. They did not mind the epidemic or fear to catch the contagion. They took up and nursed them as brother nurses brother and thus they rescued many from the grasp of death. Aswini Kumar Dutta is in exile. How did he establish that influence which caused him to be thought dangerous? By philanthropy, by service. While ordinary colleges under the control of the Government were mere soulless machines where they cram a few packets of useless knowledge into the brain of the student, Aswini Kumar breathed his own lofty and noble soul into the Brajamohan College and made it an engine indeed out of which men were turned, in which hearts and souls were formed. He breathed his noble qualities into the young men who grew up in the cherishing warmth and sunlight of his influence. He made his college an institution which in the essentials of education was a model for any educational institution in the world. This is how he built up his influence among the educated class. They followed him because he had shaped their souls between his hands. It is therefore that they loved him, it is therefore that they saw no fault in him. His influence among the common people was built up by love, service and philanthropy. It was out of the seed he planted that this Swadesh Bandhab Samiti grew.

What was the work of this Samiti, the existence of which could no longer be tolerated in the interests of the peace and safety of the Empire. First of all it continued with that blessed work which the Little Brothers of the Poor had begun, nursing, serving, saving the poor, the sick and the suffering. They made it their ideal to see that there was no sick man or sick woman of however low a class or depressed a caste, of whom it could be said that they went unhelpt in their sickness in the Backergunge district. That was the first crime the association committed.

The second crime was this. These young men went from house to house seeking out the suffering and the hungry

when famine broke out in the country. To those who were patiently famishing they brought succour, but they did more. There were many people who belonged to the respectable classes on whom the hand of famine was laid. They would not go for help to the relief works; they would not complain and show their misery to the world. The young men of Barisal sought out these cases and secretly, without injuring the feelings of the suffering, they gave help and saved men and women from starvation. This was the second crime of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti.

Then there was another. The social life of Bengal is full of discord and quarrels. Brother quarrels with brother and quarrels with bitter hatred. They carry their feud to the lawcourts; they sin against the Mother in themselves and in others; they sow the seed of lasting enmity and hatred between their families. And beyond this there is the ruin, the impoverishment of persistent litigation. The young men of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti said, "This should not be tolerated any more. We will settle their differences, we will make peace between brother and brother. We will say to our people, 'If there is any dispute let us try to settle it first. If you are dissatisfied with our decision you can always go to the lawcourts; but let us try first.'" They tried, and hundreds of cases were settled out of court and hundreds of these seeds of enmity and hatred were destroyed. Peace and love and brotherhood began to increase in the land. This was their third crime.

Their fourth offence is a great crime nowadays. These young men had the hardihood to organise and help the progress of Swadeshi in the land. There was no violence. By love, by persuasion, by moral pressure, by appeals to the Samaj and the interests of the country, they did this work. They helped the growth of our industries; they helped it by organising the condition for their growth, the only condition in which those infant, these feeble and languishing industries can grow, the general determination to take our own goods and not the goods of their others, to give preference to our Mother and not to any stranger. In no other district of Bengal, in no other part of India was Swadeshi so well organised, so perfectly organised, so peacefully and quietly organised as in Barisal. That was the last and worst crime they committed. For these crimes they have been proclaimed, they have been forbidden to exist. This Swadesh Bandhab Samiti carried organisation to a perfection which was not realised in other districts because it is not every district which can have an Aswini Kumar Dutta or a Satia Chander Chatterji. But the same impulse was there, the same tendencies were there. I do not know any single society of the kind in Bengal which has not made some attempt to help the people in times of famine or to bring succour to the sick and suffering or to remove quarrels and discord as well as to help the growth of Swadeshi by organising that exclusive preference to which we have given the name of Boycott. These were general offences, common crimes.

(To be continued.)

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Philosophy, &c.,

Vol. I.

22nd SHRABAN 1316.

No. 7.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Police Bill.

The Police Bill has passed the Committee and next week, it is rumoured, will be made law. It is a provision for giving absolute power to the Police Commissioner and his underlings. It is true that the power is limited in time in certain respects, but so long as it lasts it is arbitrary, absolute, without checks and, practically, without appeal. We hear that the present Police Commissioner resents any proposal to put a check on his absolute power as a personal insult. If so, he is in good company, for he only follows the example of that great philosopher and democratic statesman, Lord Morley, who resents democratic criticism of his measures and actions as a crime and sacrilege and a petty amendment of the present provisions for the deportation of inconvenient persons as a vote of censure. The spirit of absolutism fostered by arbitrary Government in India is not only swallowing up the old British virtues in India itself but encroaching on the free spirit of England. The powers of prohibition, regulation and arrest provided for in the Bill will exalt Mr. Halliday into the Czar of Calcutta. It is noticeable that any man may be arrested for the breach of any law by any policeman without a warrant and be sentenced to a fine of a

hundred rupees or, for certain political offences among others, to a month's hard labour. Any meeting can be stopped for a week at the sweet will and discretion of an individual. The provisions for search and entry of the police into houses and so called public places are so ample as to give a power of inquisition and domiciliary visit second only to the Russian. Even boardings, messes and private lodging-houses are liable to entry at any hour and on any pretext. And by an inspired improvement on the stringent Bombay Act no action of the police, however vexatious, unwarranted and malicious, can be punished unless the aggrieved party can prove bad faith, a condition which in nine cases out of ten of malicious harassment is impossible of satisfaction. It is a sound principle that where a citizen has been causelessly harassed, the burden of proving good faith rests on the harasser. An opposite proviso means the destruction of the liberty of the person. No man's personal freedom and dignity will henceforth be safe for a moment from the whims of the lowest policeman in the street. The authorities may say that this is not the purposed object of the Bill. We have nothing to do with the intention of the framers, we have to do only with the provisions

of the law itself, and it is enough if all these things are rendered possible under the provisions. To make bad laws and plead good intentions is an old evasion of weak and violent rulers.

The Political Motive.

That there is a political motive behind the Bill, any child can see and to conceal it only the most flimsy precautions have been taken. The prohibition of public meetings can have no reference to any but Swadeshi meetings, the reference to objectionable cries is obviously aimed at the national cry of *Bande Mataram* and the power of harassing under the pretext of regulation public processions and meetings can have no objective but the revived meetings and processions which have shown that the national movement was not dead but only suspended. Other provisions of the Bill may be dictated by the sole object of strengthening the hands, already overstrong, of the Calcutta Police in keeping order, but the nature and wording of these provisions coupled with the amazingly comprehensive definition of "public place" leave us no option but to see the obvious political motive behind. It is possible for the Police Commissioner under these provisions to paralyze every legitimate form of public activity in the city of Calcutta. It is no use sheltering un-

the provisions of the Bombay Act. The Bombay Act has been used to paralyze public activity of a kind inconvenient to the Government in that city. What, moreover, was the necessity of suddenly resorting to the stringency of the Bombay Act at this particular juncture. It is not alleged that any of the meetings or processions recently organized were disorderly or led to disturbance or public inconvenience. The only fresh emergency was the political.

A Hint from Dinajpur.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* notices a case from Dinajpur which may give a few hints to Sir Edward Baker if he really wants or is wanted to establish police autocracy in Calcutta. Mr. Gurlek there justified the caning of witnesses and accused by the police as a necessary "method of examination" without which the administration of justice in this country cannot be carried on. He says "I daresay the police frequently quicken the witness' answers with a cut from their riding canes. Such methods of examination are no doubt to be deprecated but without them I do not suppose the police would get any information at all". The case will come up before the High Court and we await with interest the view that authority will take of this novel legal dictum. Meanwhile why should not Sir Edward Baker take time by the forelock and, after a now familiar method, validate such methods" beforehand by a clause in his Police Bill empowering any policeman to cut with a cane any citizen whom he may fancy guilty of breaking any law so as to persuade him to desist? Of course the said policeman will not be liable to punishment unless it can be proved that he cut in bad faith.

The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company.

We publish elsewhere an appeal from the promoters of the enterprise which first encouraged Indian energy and capital into the new path many are now preparing to follow. This Company, as the pioneer, had to face all the difficulties of a novel enterprise of considerable magnitude and it has suffered more than others from competition supported by official sympathy. To Nationalists it will be sufficient to recall the name of Chakrabaram Palai, condemned to a long term of imprisonment on

the strength of police reports, and the plucky struggle made by the Company against overwhelming odds. The Company represents an output of patriotic effort and self-sacrifice such as no other has behind it and it would be a public disgrace if its appeal went unheard.

A Swadeshi Enterprise.

One of the great weaknesses of the Swadeshi movement at present is the ease with which, under the stress of necessity, we admit articles as Swadeshi which are to all intents and purposes foreign. It is always therefore an encouraging sign when a real Swadeshi enterprise is started which liberates us from the necessity of such humiliating compromises, especially when they affect articles of daily necessity. We take for an instance what we choose to call Swadeshi umbrellas although these are Swadeshi only so far as the labour of fitting the parts together is concerned. Sardar Rajmachikar of Poona and his brother have done a service to Swadeshi by starting a factory in which all the parts except the iron ribs and stretchers are either made in the factory or, in the matter of the cloth, procured from Poona and Bombay mills. The only drawback is the high prices of these articles compared with the cheapness of the fractionally Swadeshi umbrellas. This we believe, is largely due to the high prices of the cloth produced from the Bombay mills, but the people of Bombay and Poona are taking these umbrellas by the thousand in spite of the difference. We hope Bengal will be as patriotic in this small but important matter. The prices will come down as soon as a sufficient market is created. Meanwhile we must take the Swadeshi article at a sacrifice as we have pledged ourselves to do by any number of vows and resolutions. To replace foreign by indigenous in the objects of daily use is the very lifebreath of Swadeshi.

YOUTH AND THE BUREAUCRACY.

Sir Edward Baker is usually a polite and careful man and a diplomatic official. It is not his fault if the policy he is called upon to carry through is one void of statesmanship and contradictory of all the experience of history. Neither is

it his fault if he lacks the necessary weight in the counsels of the Government to make his own ideas prevail. He carries out an odious task with as much courtesy and discretion as the nature of the task will permit and, if we have had to criticise severely the amazing indiscretion foreign to his usual habits which he was guilty of on a recent occasion, it was with a recognition of the fact that he must have forgotten himself and spoken on the spur of the moment. But as the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy is now constituted, Sir Edward's personal superiority to his two predecessors is of no earthly use to us. We acknowledge the politeness and self-restraint of the wording in his recent advertisement to the educational authorities and the public at large of the inadvisability of allowing students to mix in the approaching Boycott celebration. But his reserve of language cannot succeed in blinding the public, still less the parties addressed, to the real nature of this pronouncement. To parties circumstanced like the authorities of the Bengal Colleges official or private it is one of those hints which do not differ from orders. The whole Calcutta University has been placed under the heel of the Executive authority and no amount of writhing or wry faces will save Principals and Professors from the humiliating necessities proper to this servile and degraded position. They have sold themselves for lucre and they must eat the bitter bread of their self-chosen servitude. If they are asked to do the spy's office or to be the instruments for imposing on young men of education and respectability restrictions unexampled outside Russia, it is not theirs to reject the demand instantly as freemen would indignantly reject such degrading proposals. They must remember that the affiliation of their colleges and the grants which alone can enable them to satisfy the arduous conditions of affiliation depend on the fiat of those who make the demand. These things are in the bond. For the rest, the unwisdom of the wise men and the imprudence of the prudent who stopped the students' strike is becoming more and more apparent. Prudence and wisdom for the proprietors of private schools, for the country it was the worst imprudence and

unwisdom. It has turned the training ground of our youth into a means of restraining the progress of our people and denying them that liberty which the other nations of the world enjoy. An university in which the representatives of academic culture are only allowed to keep their position on condition of forfeiting their self-respect and the pen of the pedagogue supplements the baton of the policeman, is no longer worth keeping.

But there are other considerations affecting a wider circle than the educational world, which arise immediately out of this notice. Ever since the beginning of this movement the opponents of progress have with an admirable instinct hit upon the misleading and intimidation of the youth of this country as the best means of thwarting the movement. Their direct attempts having failed, they are now trying to keep down the rising spirit of young India by objurgations addressed to the guardians and by playing on their selfishness and fears. Once the National Education movement was thwarted of its natural course and triumphant success by the leaders, it was easy for the burghers to enforce this policy by gathering up all the authority of the Universities into their hands and using it as a political lever. The loss of education and a career, —this was the menace which they held over the guardians and young men of the country and by the continual flourishing of this weapon they have succeeded in putting back for a while the hour of our national fulfilment. The unwholesome and dangerous effects of denying the aspirations of youth a peaceful outlet, as dangerous to the government as they are unwholesome to the country, the arbiters of official policy in spite of their experience are too blind to realize. Bad leadership, bad because marred by selfishness and timidity, has aided the political experience and insight of the English rulers in inflicting upon the cause a check which still works to hamper us in our progress. We do not propose to waste space by answering the sophistries which our opponents advance to cover their interested suggestions. It is enough to say in answer that in all civilised countries young men are freely permitted to take part in

politics and their want of interest in the chief national activity would be considered a mark of degeneration. It is not the arguments of adversaries but their own personal and class interests which actuate those among us who at the bidding of Anglo-Indians official or unofficial deter our young men from attending public meetings or mixing in the national movement. To these also we can say nothing. Men who can prefer the selfish gratification of their transitory individual needs and interests to the good of the nation are not needed in the new age that is coming. They are there only to exhaust a degraded and backward type which the world and the nation are intended soon to outgrow. If some of them still pose as men of weight and leading, it is only for a moment. They will vanish and the whole earth heave a sigh of relief that that type at least is gone for ever.

But to the young men of Bengal we have a word to say. The future belongs to the young. It is a young and new world which is now under-process of development and it is the young who must create it. But it is also a world of truth, courage, justice, lofty aspiration and straightforward fulfilment which we seek to create. For the coward, for the self-seeker, for the talker who goes forward at the beginning and afterwards leaves his fellows in the lurch there is no place in the future of this movement. A brave, frank, clean-hearted, courageous and aspiring youth is the only foundation on which the future nation can be built. This seventh of August in this year 1909 is not an ordinary occasion. It is a test, a winnowing-fan, a separator of the wheat and the chaff. Because it is so, Sir Edward Baker has been inspired by an overruling Providence to publish his notification and the authorities of colleges to act according to their kind. The question is put not to these but to the young men who are asked under pain of academical penalties to abstain from an activity which is both their right and their duty. Let them remember that they disobey no law of the land and no provision of morality if they attend the celebration of the new nation's birthday. They will only disobey what professes to be an exercise of school discipline, but is

nothing of the kind. It does not fall within the province of a school-master to dictate what shall be the political opinions or activities of his pupils, nor are College professors concerned with what their students may do outside the precincts of College and hostel in the hours of their lawful liberty, so long as there is no infringement of law or morality. The attempt is an usurpation of the rightful authority of guardians or, in the case of those who have come of age, of their right to govern their own personal action. There only remains the question of self-interest. That is a point we leave to their hearts and consciences, whether they shall prefer their own interests or their country's. But if once they decide for the nobler part, let them stand by the choice they have made. God does not want falterers and flinchers for his work, nor does he want unstable enthusiasts who cannot maintain the energy of their first movements. Secondly, let them not only stand by their choice but stand by their comrades. Unless they develop the corporate spirit and the sense of honour which refuses to save oneself by the sacrifice of one's comrades in action when that sacrifice can be averted by standing together, they will not be fit for the work they will have to do when they are a little older. Whatever they do let them do as a body, whatever they suffer let them suffer as a body, leaving out the coward and the falterer but, once they are compact, never losing or allowing anything to break that compactness. If they can act in this spirit, heeding no unpatriotic counsels from whatever source they come, then let them follow their duty and their conscience, but let them do nothing in a light even if fervent enthusiasm, moving forward without due consideration and then showing a weakness unworthy of the nation to which they belong and the work to which they have been called.

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THE SUBSTANCE OF THE POEM

Kalidasa's Seasons is the first poem in any literature written with the express object of describing Nature. It is precisely similar to

its aim to a well-known eighteenth-century failure in the same direction, Thomson's *Seasons*. The names tally, the forms correspond, both poems adopting the plan of devoting a canto to each season, and the method so far agrees that the poets have attempted to depict each season in its principal peculiarities, scenes and characteristic incidents. But here all parallel ends. Wide as the gulf between the genius of one of the greatest world-poets and the talent of the eighteenth-century versifier is the difference between the gathered strength and compact force, the masterly harmonies and the living truth of the ancient Indian poem and the diffuse artificiality and rhetoric of the modern counterpart. And the difference of spirit is not less. The poet of a prosaic and artificial age when the Anglo-Saxon emerged in England and got himself Gallicised, Thomson was unable to grasp the first psychological laws of such descriptive poetry. He fixed his eye on the object but he could only see the outside of it. Instead of creating he tried to photograph. And he did not remember or did not know that Nature is nothing to poetry except in so far as it either a frame, setting or ornament to life or else a living presence to the spirit. Nature interpreted by Wordsworth is a part of his own and the universal consciousness, by Shakespeare is an accompaniment or note in the orchestral music of life, by more modern poets as an element of decoration in the living world-picture is possible in poetry; as an independent but dead existence it has no place either in the world itself or in the poet's creation. In his relations to the external, life and mind are the man, the senses being only instruments, and what he seeks outside himself is a response in kind to his own deeper reality. What the eye gathers is only important in so far as it is related to this real man or helps this expectation to satisfy itself. Kalidasa with his fine artistic feeling, his vitality and warm humanism and his profound sense of what true poetry must be, appears to have divined from the beginning the true place of Nature in the poet's outlook. He is always more emotional and intellectual than spiritual, like Shakespeare to

whom he has so many striking resemblances. We must not expect from him the magical insight of Valmiki, still less the spiritual discernment of Wordsworth. He looks inside but not too far inside. But he realises always the supreme importance of life as the only abiding foundation of a poem's immortality.

The first canto is surcharged with the life of men and animals and the life of trees and plants in summer. It sets ringing a note of royal power and passion and promises a poem of unexampled vigour and interest. But to ring variations on this note through six cantos seems to have been beyond the young poet's as yet limited experience and narrow imaginative mastery. He fell back on the life of sensuous passion with images of which, no doubt, his ungoverned youth was most familiar. But instead of working them into the main thought he turned to them for a prop and, when his imaginative memory failed him, multiplied them to make up the deficiency. This lapse from artistic uprightness brought its own retribution, as all such lapses will. From one error indeed Kalidasa's vigorous and aspiring temperament saved him. He never relaxed into the cloying and effeminate languor of sensuous description which offends us in Keats' earlier work. The Malavas with all their sensuousness, luxury and worship of outward beauty were a masculine and strenuous race, and their male and vigorous spirit is as prominent in Kalidasa as his laxer tendencies. His sensuousness is not coupled with weak self-indulgence but is rather a bold and royal spirit seizing the beauty and delight of earth to itself and compelling all the senses to minister to the enjoyment of the spirit rather than enslaving the spirit to do the will of the senses. The difference perhaps amounts to no more than a lesser or greater force of vitality, but it is for the purposes of poetry a real and important difference. The spirit of delightful weakness swooning with excessive beauty gives a peculiar charm of soft laxness to poems like the *Endymion*, but it is a weakening charm to which no virile temperament will trust itself. The poetry of Kalidasa satisfies the sensuous imagination without enervating the virile chords of

character: for virile energy is an unfailing characteristic of the best Sanscrit poetry, and Kalidasa is inferior to none in this respect. His artistic error has nevertheless had disastrous effects on the substance of his poem.

It is written in six cantos answering to the six Indian seasons, Summer, Rain, Autumn, Winter, Dew and Spring. Nothing can exceed the splendour and power of the opening. We see the poet revelling in the yet virgin boldness, newness and strength of his genius and confident of winning the kingdom of poetry by violence. For a time the brilliance of his work seems to justify his ardour. In the poem on Summer we are at once seized by the marvellous force of imagination, by the unsurpassed closeness and clear strenuousness of his gaze on the object; in the expression there is a grand and concentrated precision which is our first example of the great Kalidasian manner and an imperial power, stateliness and brevity of speech which is our first instance of the high classical diction. But this canto stands on a higher level than the rest of the poem. It is as if the poet had spent the best part of his force in his first enthusiasm and kept back an insufficient reserve for the sustained power proper to a long poem. The decline in energy does not disappoint at first. The poem on Rain gives us a number of fine pictures with a less vigorous touch but a more dignified restraint and a graver and nobler harmony, and even in the Autumn, where the falling off of vigour becomes very noticeable, there is compensation in a more harmonious finish of style, management and imagery. We are led to believe that the poet is finding himself and will rise to a finale of flawless beauty. Then comes disappointment. In the next two cantos Kalidasa seems to lose hold of the subject; the touches of natural description cease or are, with a few exceptions, perfunctory and even conventional, and the full force of his genius is thrown into a series of extraordinary pictures, as vivid as if actually executed in line and colour, of feminine beauty and sensuous passion. The two elements, never properly fused, cease even to stand side by side. For all description of the winter we have a few stanzas describing the cold and the appearance of fields, plants,

waters in the wintry days, by no means devoid of beauty but wanting in vigour, closeness of vision and eagerness. In the poem on Dew the original purpose is even fainter. Perhaps the quietness of these seasons, the absence in them of the most brilliant pictorial effects and grandest distinctive features, made them a subject uninspiring to the unripeness and love of violence natural to a richly-endowed temperament in its unschooled youth. But the Spring is the royal season of the Indian year and should have lent itself peculiarly to Kalidasa's unborn passion for colour, sweetness and harmony. The closing canto should have been the crown of the poem. But the poet's sin pursues him and, though we see a distinct effort to recover the old pure fervour, it is an effort that fails to sustain itself. There is no falling off in harmonious splendours of sound and language, but the soul of inspired poetic observation ceases to inform this beautiful mould and the close fails and languishes. It is noticeable that there is a double close to the Spring, the two versions having been left, after the manner of the old editions, side by side. Kalidasa's strong artistic perception must have suffered acutely from the sense of failure in inspiration and he has accordingly attempted to replace the weak close by an improved and fuller cadence. What is we may presume, the rejected version, is undoubtedly the weaker of the two but neither of them satisfies. The poem on Spring which should have been the finest, is the most disappointing in the whole series.

THE KATHA UPANISHAD.

FIRST PART. THIRD CHAPTER.

1. *Yama said.* "There are two that drink deep of the truth of works well done in this world: they are lodged in the heart of the creature and in the highest half of the most high is their dwelling. As of light and shade God-knowers speak of them and those who heap the five fires of the householder and those who kindle thrice the fire Nachicatus.

2. We have power to kindle the fire Nachicatus who is a bridge to the offerers of the sacrifice and is that which is the most high and Brahman imperishable and the far

shore of security to voyagers over this Ocean.

3. Know the body for a chariot and the soul for the master of the driving, the lower mind for the reins and the higher mind for the charioteer who driveth.

4. The senses are the steeds of the soul and the objects of their action are the paths in which they gallop: for there is one who is yoked with soul and mind and senses, and he is that which enjoyeth, say the thinkers.

5. Now he that is without knowledge and his mind is ever out of yoga, his senses are to him as wild horses that will not hearken to the calling of the driver.

6. But he that hath knowledge and his mind is ever in Yoga, his senses are to him as noble steeds that hearken to the driver.

7. He that is without knowledge and has no mastery of his mind and is ever unclean, reacheth not his goal but goeth astray into the world of phenomena.

8. But he that hath knowledge and is master of his mind and keepeth himself pure always, reacheth that goal of all whence a man is not born again.

9. That man who useth the lower mind for the reins and the higher mind for the driver, reacheth the end of his long road, even that highest home of Vishnu.

10. Than the senses their objects are higher; and beyond the objects of sense is the lower mind; and beyond the lower mind is the higher mind; and beyond the higher mind is the Mighty Spirit.

11. And higher than the Mighty One is the Unmanifest and higher than the Unmanifest is the Purusha. Than the Purusha there is none higher. He is the most high, He is the summit of our going.

12. This is a secret Spirit in all creatures and maketh not Him self obvious; yet is He seen by the seers of the subtle through a subtle and perfect higher mind.

13. Let the wise man imprison speech in his mind, and mind in his self that is knowledge, and knowledge in his world-self and that again in the peaceful and utter Spirit.

14. Arise ye, awake, learn quickly, finding out the great ones who have the knowledge; for sharp as a razor's edge, difficult of going, hard to traverse is that path say the seers.

15. That which is beyond sound and beyond touch, beyond shape and beyond abatement, beyond taste and beyond smell, eternal and It has no beginning and It is without end, immutable, higher than the Mighty That having seen from the jaws of death thou art delivered.

16. The man of long power who speaketh or heareth the story of Nachicatus wherein Death was the speaker, the sempiternal story, shall grow great in the heaven of the spirit.

17. He who being pure reciteth this high and secret thing at the time of the *savdha* in the assembly of the Brahmins, prepareth himself for infinity, for infinity he prepareth.

AUROBINDO GHOSE

Anandamath.

BY

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

Translation by

SJ. AUROBINDO GHOSE

PROLOGUE.

—ooo—

A wide interminable forest. Most of the trees are *sals*, but other kinds are not wanting. Treetop mingling with treetop, foliage melting into foliage, the interminable lines progress; without crevice, without gap, without even a way for the light to enter, league after league and again league after league the boundless ocean of leaves advances, tossing wave upon wave in the wind. Underneath, thick darkness; even at midday the light is dim and uncertain; a seat of terrific gloom. There the foot of man never treads, there except the illimitable rustle of the leaves and the cry of wild beasts and birds, no sound is heard.

In this interminable, impenetrable wilderness of blind gloom, it is night. The hour is midnight and a very dark midnight, even outside the woodland it is dark and nothing can be seen. Within the forest the piles of gloom are like the darkness in the womb of the earth itself.

Bird and beast are utterly and motionlessly still. What hundreds of thousands, what millions of birds, beasts, insects, flying things have their dwelling within that forest, but not one is giving forth a sound. Rather the darkness is within and

gination, but inconceivable is that noiseless stillness of the ever-murmurous, ever noise-filled earth. In that limitless empty forest, in the solid darkness of that midnight, in that unimagable silence there was a sound "Shall the desire of my heart ever be fulfilled?"

After that sound the forest reaches sank again into stillness. Who would have said then that a human sound had been heard in those wilds? A little while after the sound came again, again the voice of man rang forth troubling the hush, "Shall the desire of my heart ever be fulfilled?"

Three times the wide sea of darkness was thus shaken. Then the answer came, "What is the stake put down?"

The first voice replied, "I have staked my life and all its riches."

The echo answered, "Life! it is a small thing which all can sacrifice."

"What else is there? What more can I give?"

This was the answer, "Thy soul's worship."

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AN APPEAL

—000—

The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company Limited hardly needs any introduction to the public. Its creation and struggle for existence are part of Indian history. It was the first attempt on any large industrial scale to challenge the monopoly by foreign capital of the waterways of India. Taken up at a time when there was no previous experience to guide the projectors, it has fought a losing fight against great odds handicapped by the mistakes inseparable from a novel attempt, assisted only by the newly awakened patriotism of the country; and in spite of all it has survived and with some fresh help from that patriotism, will be able to resume its activity free of obstacles, instructed by experience and confident of success.

Our difficulties have been manifold. The British Indian Steam Navigation Company was in sole possession of the field and attempted by a great reduction of rates a temporary loss which their established position enabled them to afford to crush their infant rival. Our worth was burdened with the heavy handicap of having to pay up in periodical instalments the purchase money of our vessels, so that, the collection of shares being also behind hand, we had to keep the business going without the necessary working capital. Finally, one of our vessels, the S. S. Gallia had long to be idle while fresh boilers were fitted.

These difficulties have now been removed or can be faced. The purchase money has been paid up and the company starts again clear of this in cumberance. The boilers of S. S. Gallia are ready and will soon be fitted. As for the rival company, its efforts to strangle the infant company have only revealed where our strength lies. Experience has shown that our merchants decidedly preferred the Swadeshi line even when our cargo rates were two or three times as high as the abnormally reduced rates of our rivals. It has also shown that, though the passenger traffic under the present disadvantageous circumstances has possibilities of loss as well as gain, the coasting traffic brings in sure and large profits. Even the passenger service can be made profitable in the face of the difficulties, if we can start with sufficient advantage in the matter of capital and an assured profit in other directions, so as to afford the necessary facilities to the passengers who are otherwise attracted to the rival line.

To take advantage of these favourable circumstances and get rid of those which are still unfavourable, it is necessary to have

- (1) A regular coasting service from Colombo to Calcutta.
- (2) A daily service between Colombo and Tuticorin.
- (3) Fresh outlay so as to increase our fleet to meet these demands.
- (4) A substantial working capital.

The Company started in the 16th October 1906 with a proposed capital of 10 lacs divided into 40,000 shares of 25 rupees each. Of these nearly 34,000 shares have been applied for and allotted. The Company has at present 2 steam ships and a steam launch. It is necessary to add at present to this small nucleus a vessel of our own and chartered steamer. The Company has resolved to raise a debenture loan of 3 lacs of rupees and issued for the purpose. 300 debentures of Rs. 1000 each and it has in addition increased its capital from 10 to 20 lacs divided into 80,000 shares of Rs. 25 each. If a hundred of the wealthy men of India were to take up one debenture each and four thousands of the middle class were to take each one share, we should be able to start of our business with an absolute certainty of success.

In addition to the good the Company is doing by its work to national development and its pioneer work in the past, it offers training to young men from various parts of India in Navigation and ship-building on condition of serving for some years in the company's fleet. Is it too much to expect that the Pioneer Steam Navigation Company financed, managed and run by Indians will easily command the small amount of additional support required from our countrymen? The hope of our rival is that the company will fail to command the funds necessary for its undertakings and that, after its extinction, they will be able to recover their monopoly and recoup the losses the competition has inflicted on them. Repeated prophecies have been made of our collapse. The Company has survived them all and it only needs this assistance from our countrymen to end the competition in our favour, and disappoint for ever the hopes of those who exploit our industry and commerce and seek to preserve their monopoly.

We appeal to the country at large not nearly as a profitable financial concern, but as a national undertaking whose success will be the symbol of a great patriotic victory. By our past and our future we belong not merely to Madras but to all India and from all India we look for the support for which we make this appeal.

The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company Ltd. of Tuticorin

S. D. KRISHNAYANGAR.

3rd August, 1909, } Secretary.
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(SPECIAL.)
THE LONDON MURDERS.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE
MAGISTRATE.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, JULY 16.

MADAN LAL DHINGRA was charged with the wilful murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalceca at the Westminster Police Court, and was committed to take his trial. Sitting by Mr. Horace Smith, the Magistrate, were Sir Edward Bradford and Sir Charles Mathews, Director of Public Prosecutions.

Mr. A. H. Bodkin, who prosecuted for the Director of Public Prosecutions, said that on January 26th of the present year, the prisoner went to Hatton Garden Post Office, and obtained a licence to carry a revolver. Then he purchased at Gamage's very powerful Colt revolver, and this was the one used on July 1st, the date of the tragedy. The prisoner had regular practice with this weapon at an establishment at Tottenham, and obtained a considerable degree of proficiency. On the evening of July 1st, he was at this place, and had the weapon cleaned and returned to him. In addition to this revolver, the prisoner had another of Belgian make and a dagger. Documents and photographs found on the prisoner and at his lodgings made it clear that Dhingra for some time before July 1st premeditated some terrible crime with a revolver, and with regard to his action on July 1st, he gave some opinions which he had formed as to the position of India, which clearly threw a light upon the reasons which actuated him.

Sir Lesley Probyn said as he was about to leave the Imperial Institute on the evening of the 1st, he heard several shots fired, and saw prisoner holding a revolver. Again it was fired, and instantly the prisoner turned it round and put it to his temple. The witness rushed at him and caught his two hands and managed to get hold of the revolver, and he retained possession of it until he fell. Other gentlemen came to his assistance. He remembered Mr. Sinha, an Indian gentleman, did so. Sir Lesley Probyn added that he injured his nose and ribs through falling.

Asked if he desired to question the witness, the prisoner replied "I object to the use of the word murder. It was a thing that any Englishman would have done and was quite justified."

Mr. Madan Sinha, an Indian law student repeated the evidence he gave at the inquest. "This man is a traitor to my country," said the prisoner as Mr. Sinha's evidence was read over.

Mr. D. W. Thorburn, journalist, gave similar testimony.

Captain Charles Rolleston said he took some papers from Dhingra. One document was a foolscap sheet folded in four.

Mr. Morley, of "Fun-Land," Tottenham Court Road, said he had a rifle and pistol range. He recognised the

prisoner as a young man who had been practising at the range for two or three months. He always used his own pistol and ammunition. On the evening of July 1st, the prisoner was at the range and fired twelve shots at one of the ordinary targets. Before he left he asked that his pistol might be cleaned. The target the prisoner used on the occasion of his last visit was produced. There were 11 hits, and seven or eight of these could be covered by a man's hand.

Dr. Thomas Neville, Police Surgeon, said he saw the prisoner at the Walton Street Police Station on the night of July 1st. His condition was normal. He was not hurt in any way, and did not want the services of a doctor.

Mrs. Harris, the landlady of 108, Ledbury Road, said that on July 1st the prisoner left the house about 2 in the afternoon, and returned at 6. Between seven and eight he went out again wearing his turban.

Detective Sergeant Eveliegh said that the pistol taken from the prisoner by Sir Lesley Probyn contained an unspent cartridge. The magazine held eight cartridges and another could be put in the chamber. The second pistol which was found in the prisoner's pocket contained six cartridges in the magazine. In the prisoner's pocket were five cartridges. The Detective Inspector said he searched the prisoner's room and found a number of cartridges and a spare pistol magazine containing seven cartridges. In a locked box was a statement on foolscap paper, and it was almost identical in language to the one previously referred to, which was found on the prisoner.

Detective Inspector MacBrain deposed to finding a cabinet photograph in the prisoner's room. This was produced but was kept face downwards. It was a portrait of Sir Curzon Wyllie.

Mr. Horace Smith, in committing the accused, gave the customary caution. The prisoner made the following statement:—

"I do not want to say anything in defence of myself but simply to prove the justice of my deed. As for myself no English law court has got any authority to arrest and detain me in prison or pass sentence of death on me. That is the reason I did not have any counsel to defend me. And I maintain that as it is patriotic in an Englishman to fight against the Germans if they were to occupy this country, it is much more justifiable and patriotic in my case to fight against the British. I hold the English people responsible for the murder of 80 millions of Indian people in the last 50 years and they are also responsible for taking away lb. 100, 000 000 every year from India to this country. I also hold them responsible for the hanging and deportation of my patriotic countrymen who did just the same as the English people here are advising their countrymen to do. And the Englishman who goes out to India and gets say lb. 1000 a month, that simply means that he passes a sentence of death on a

thousand of my poor countrymen because three thousand people could easily live on this £1000, which the Englishman spends mostly on his frivolities and pleasures. Just as the Germans have no right to occupy this country so the English people have no right to occupy India, and it is perfectly justifiable on our part to kill the Englishman, who is polluting our sacred land. I am surprised at the terrible hypocrisy, the farce, and the mockery of the English people. They pose as the champions of oppressed humanity, the peoples of the Congo and the peoples of Russia when there is terrible oppression and horrible atrocities committed in India. For example, the killing of two millions of people every year and the outraging of our women. In case this country is occupied by Germans, and an Englishman, not bearing to see the Germans walking with the insolence of conquerors in the streets of London, goes and kills one or two Germans, that Englishman is held as a patriot by the people of this country. Certainly I am prepared to work for the emancipation of my Motherland. Whatever I have to say is in the paper before the Court. I make this statement not because I wish to plead for mercy or any thing of that kind. I wish that English people should sentence me to death, for in that case the vengeance of my countrymen will be all the more keen. I put forward this statement to show the justice of my cause to the outside world, and especially to our sympathisers in America and Germany."

The prisoner was then removed. Throughout the lengthy pleading he had maintained an exceedingly calm demeanour.

The Statesman.

NEWS.

THE "JUSTICE" AGAIN.—

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 19 of the Sea Customs Act 1878 (VII of 1878) the Governor-General in Council is pleased to prohibit the bringing by sea or by land into British India of any copy whether heretofore or hereafter issued of the publication "Justice." A previous order of a similar nature had to be revoked.

NOTICE.

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NEWS.

REMOVED DEPORTATIONS.

The persistent rumours about some more deportations have died out. We hear the proposal to deport Srijut Aurobindo Ghose has fallen through.

AN INDIAN STUDENT EXPELLED.

The Benchers of Middle Temple have resolved on the expulsion of Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya owing to the opinions expressed by him in the letters to the Times, on July 9th and 12th.

SAVARKAR'S WORK PROHIBITED IN INDIA.

A Customs notification prohibits the bringing by sea or land into British India of any copy of the book or pamphlet in Marathi on the subject of the Indian Mutiny by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, or any English translation or version of the same.

JUDICIARY VS. EXECUTIVE.

A tension of feeling between the High Court and the Executive in Travancore has occurred. The High Court, it will be remembered acquitted all the accused in the recent riot case and ordered the arrest and prosecution of the Assistant Superintendent of Police. A charge was also brought against eight policemen for giving false evidence and for suppression of evidence. Though the offence was non-bailable yet these men were admitted to bail by the local first class Magistrate. The High Court quashed the bail and ordered the immediate re-arrest of the policemen who were released on bail, and while rejecting petitions to elucidate the charge, strongly animadverted on the indifference on the part of the Executive since it was two and a-half months since the prosecution was ordered by the High Court.

MR. KEIR HARDIE AND INDIA.

A writ for alleged slander has been served on Mr. Cresswell, Unionist Candidate for Mid-Derby, at the instance of Mr. Keir Hardie. Mr. Keir Hardie, in the course of a speech at Wolverhampton this week, replying to an interruption respecting India, said "I have received, while sitting here, a report of a meeting addressed by Mr. Cresswell in which he said that I have said the Labour Party wanted to help the people of India to get rid of a system which is wringing the life blood out of them, just as the industrial system is wringing the blood out of the white people at Home. He makes the statement that by speeches in India I have fed the sedition movement which has culminated in the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie. I have stood this kind of thing until I can stand it no longer, and I give this intimation that when I return to London I shall give Mr. Cresswell the opportunity of proving his statement in the Law Courts of the land. Every ear in England barked at my heels twenty years ago when the man and his message were unknown, but they cannot do it today with impunity."

NEWS.

PANDIT SAMADHAI'S CASE.

The case in which Pandit Mokshada Chaitan Samadhai was charged with having harboured dacoits, and in which the inevitable approver was secured has ended in the Pandit's acquittal. The Jury returned an unanimous verdict of not guilty, and the Judge acquitted the accused. Now what about the approver and the organisers of the trial.

THE LONDON MURDERS.

The case which appeared in the press on "The Extremist Attitude" has drawn a long reply from Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, who says: "If to condemn the official repression which has been the psychological cause and origin of the various acts of violence in Bengal be a crime, I plead guilty to it and challenge to be brought to trial for it. If to found and edit the *Rande Mataram* be a crime, I cannot help pleading guilty to it also. But it is significant that no prosecution was started against this paper so long as I was in charge of it, though it openly declared absolute autonomy as the Nationalist ideal. In India, as elsewhere, I have nothing to alter and amend in anything that I have written and said during the last five or six years. If these opinions are criminal why was I not prosecuted for them? I have never been hauled up for sedition even in India, where almost anything can be construed as such. My photo has, I hear, recently been proscribed by an Indian judge as seditious, but the original yet stands uncondemned."

SEDITION IN SVARAJ.

Ganesh Balwant Modak, Agent Vartman Agency, was arrested on the 29th July by Mr. Vincent, Deputy Commissioner of Police, on a charge of publishing seditious articles which appeared in the *Svaraj* of Babu Bipin Chunder Pal. The accused was placed before the Chief Magistrate the next day. Mr. Tuljaparker, pleader, applied for bail, but the Public Prosecutor objected. Mr. Tuljaparker contended that the issue of the *Svaraj* in question was received by the accused on the 20th instant and the accused was not aware of its contents. They were examined by the Customs authorities before they were delivered to the accused. His Worship ordered the accused to be released on bail of Rs. 1,000 and one surety for like amount of bail. Rs. 500 were ordered to be deposited in Court in cash. Two cart loads of papers, documents, magazines were secured by the police in virtue of the warrant. Mr. Vincent, Deputy Commissioner of Police, asked the Court's permission to examine them. The accused applied that he should be allowed to be present at the examination. The Magistrate granted permission to Mr. Vincent as also to the accused. The case is adjourned.

ALLKORD SEDITION IN BOMBAY.

The case in which Ganesh Balwant Modak of the Vartman News Agency stands charged with the publication of seditious matter, came on for hearing on the 4th August before the Chief Magistrate. The charge is in connection

with the circulation of the *Svaraj* edited by Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in London. The Public Prosecutor in opening the case drew the Court's attention to the double summer number of the *Svaraj* and reading the fly leaf which explained the object of the pamphlet, laid special emphasis on the portion referring to honest nationalist journal. He admitted that Hindu Nationalist Agency, as gathered from the prospectus, included intention of emitting literature in England which would not be allowed in India. After referring to the accused's connection with *Svaraj*, the Public Prosecutor added, it was the article "Etiology of bomb in Bengal" that the prosecution objected to. It was an apology for the use of bomb and contained many suggestions inimical to British Government. The writer of the article suggested that Government had raised Mahomedans against the Hindus. Comparison was drawn between Russian and Indian conditions and the use of bombs was practically justified. The article began softly by saying that there was no justification for bombthrowing in Bengal any more than there was for it in Russia, but later on, the writer went on to say that bomb was a necessary fruit of Russian autocracy. Bomb was mad out to be the weapon of the utterly helpless Europeans and Indians were compared in the article much to the detriment of the former. The general tenor of the article was against British Government and calculated to excite race hatred between some classes of His Majesty's subjects in India. The case was adjourned.

BOYCOTT AGITATION.

The following notification appeared in this week's "Calcutta Gazette":—

In view of the announcement of political meetings to be held in connection with the forthcoming celebration of the anniversary of the boycott, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor considers it opportune to invite the special attention of the Heads of Colleges and Schools, and of all parents and guardians, to the inexpediency of permitting students and schoolboys to take part in such gatherings. In Sir Edward Baker's opinion it is most undesirable that immature minds could be subjected to the excitement and disturbance which are inseparable from political agitation, and he believes that this view is shared by all right thinking men. His Honour trusts, therefore, that all who are responsible for the education and behaviour of students and schoolboys will use their influence to induce them to abstain from taking part in, or from being present at, any form of political demonstration.

(Sd.) C. G. H. ALLEN.

Offg. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.
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SRÉEJUT ARAVINDA GHOSE.

(From *Svaraj*)

The youngest in age among those who stand in the forefront of the Nationalist propaganda in India but in endowment, education, and character, perhaps, superior to them all—Aravinda seems distinctly marked out by Providence to play in the future of this movement a part not given to any of his colleagues and contemporaries. The other leaders of the movement have left their life behind them: Aravinda has his before him. Nationalism is their last love: it is Aravinda's first passion. They are burdened with the cares and responsibilities of large families or complex relations. Aravinda has a small family and practically no cumulative obligations. His only care is for his country—the Mother, as he always calls her. His only recognised obligations are to her. Nationalism, at the best, a concern of the intellect with some, at the lowest a political cry and aspiration with others, is with Aravinda the supreme passion of his soul. Few, indeed, have grasped the full force and meaning of the Nationalist ideal as Aravinda has done. But even of these very few—though their vision may be clear, their action is weak. Man cannot, by a fiat of his will, at once re-create his life. Our Karma follows us with relentless insistence from day to day and from death to death. To see the vision of truth and yet not to be possessed by that supreme passion for it which burns up all other desires and snaps asunder, like ashen bands, all other ties and obligations—this is the divine tragedy of most finer natures. They have to cry out with St. Paul at every turn of life's tortuous path—"The Spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." But blessed are they for whom this tragic antithesis between the ideal and the real has been cancelled: for whom to know the truth is to love it, to love the truth is to strive after it, and to strive after the truth is to attain it: in whom there is no disparity, either in time or degree, between the idea and its realisation—in whom the vision of the ideal, by its own intrinsic strength at once attunes every craving of the flesh, every movement of the mind, every emotion of the heart, and every impulse of the will—to itself: who have to strive for its realisation, not within, but without: who have to struggle not with their own Self but with the Not-Self, who have to fight and conquer not themselves but others, in order to establish the Kingdom of God realised by them in the relations of their own inner life, in the outer actualities and appointments of the life of their own people or of humanity at large. These are, so to say, the chosen of God. They are born leaders of men. Commissioned to serve special ends affecting the life and happiness of large masses of men, they bear a charmed life. They may be hit, but cannot be hurt. They may be struck, but are never stricken. Their towering optimism, and the

Grace of God, turn every evil into good, every opposition into a help, every loss into a gain. By the general verdict of his countrymen, Aravinda stands today among these favoured sons of God.

Birth is not an accident. Accident of birth—is the language of infidel empiricism. Nature has no room for accidents in her schemes. It is only man's inability to trace her secrets that has coined this word to cover his ignorance. Man's birth is no more an accident than the rise and fall of tides. There can really be no accidents in evolution, the law of natural selection has killed their chance altogether. But does the operation of natural selection start only after the birth of the organism or does it precede it? Is it only a biological, or also a psychological law? Like the problems of biology, those of psychology also are inexplicable, except on this theory. The inference is irresistible that there is such a thing as natural selection even in the psychic plane. The spirit, by the impulse of its own needs, must choose and order the conditions of its own life even as the physical organism does. This is the psychic significance of heredity. Life from this point of view is not a lottery, but a matter really of determined choice. The needs of the organism supply the organs in the lower kingdom: the desires of the heart collect and create their necessary equipment and environment for the human being. On no other hypothesis can the riddle of the human life be explained more satisfactorily. It may not explain everything, but it explains many things absolutely un-understandable and inexplicable on any other hypothesis. This at least has been the Hindu view from time immemorial. A crude intuition at first, it became a settled conviction with the people subsequently, with a fundamental philosophy of causation behind it. And this theory stands curiously verified in Aravinda Ghose.

Two strong currents of thoughts, ideals, and aspirations met together, and strove for supremacy in Bengal, among the generation to which Aravinda's parents belonged. One was the current of Hindu Nationalism—of the revived life, culture and ideals of the nation that had lain dormant for centuries and had been discarded as lower and primitive by the first batch of English-educated Hindus, especially in Bengal. The other was the current of Indo-Anglicism—the onrushing life, culture and ideals of the foreign rulers of the land, which, expressing themselves through British law and administration on the one side, and the new schools and universities on the other, threatened to swamp and drown the original culture and character of the people. The two stocks from which Aravinda sprang represented these two conflicting forces in the country. His maternal grandfather, Raj Narayan Bose was one of the makers of modern Bengal. A student of David Hare, a pupil of De Rozario, an alumnus of the Hindu College, the first

English college that had the support of both the Hindu community and the British rulers of the Province, Raj Narayan Bose started life as a social and religious reformer. But while he caught as fully as any one else among his contemporaries, the impulse of the new illumination, he did not lose so completely as many of them did, his hold on the fundamental spirit of the culture and civilisation of his race. He joined the Brāhmo-Samāj, under Maharshi Debendra Nāth Tagore, but felt repelled by the denational spirit of the later developments in that movement under Keshub Chunder Sen. In fact, it is difficult to say, to which of its two leaders—Debendra Nath or Rāj Nārāyan, the Adi or the older Brahmo Samaj, as it came to be called after Keshub Chunder Sen seceded from it and established the Brahmo-Samaj of India—was more indebted for its intense and conservative nationalism. But it may be safely asserted that while Debendra Nath's nationalism had a dominating theological note, Raj Narayan's had both a theological and social, as well as a political emphasis. In him, it was not merely the spirit of Hinduism that rose up in arms against the onslaught of European Christianity but, the whole spirit of Indian culture and manhood stood up to defend and assert itself against every form of undue foreign influence and alien domination. While Keshub Chunder Sen pleaded for the recognition of the truths in the Hindu scriptures side by side with those in the Bible, Raj Narayan Bose proclaimed the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity. While Keshub Chunder has been seeking to reconstruct Indian, and specially Hindu, social life, more or less after the British model, Raj Narayan's sturdy patriotism and national self-respect rebelled against the enormity, and came forward to establish the superiority of of Hindu social economy to the Christian social institutions and ideals. He saw the on-rush of European goods into Indian markets, and tried to stem the tide by quickening what we would now call the Svadeshi spirit, long before any one else had thought of it. It was under his inspiration that a Hindu Mela, or National Exhibition, was started a full quarter of a century before the Indian National Congress thought of an India Industrial Exhibition. The founder of this Hindu Mela was also the first Bengallee who organised gymnasia for the physical training of the youths of the nation. Stick and sword plays, and others ancient but decadent sports and pastimes of the people that have come into vogue recently, were originally revived at the Hindu Mela, under Raj Narayan Bose's inspiration and instruction. Raj Narayan Bose did not openly take any part in politics, but his writings and speeches did a good deal to create that spirit of self-respect and self-assertion in the educated classes that have since found such strong expression in our recent political activities.

A strong conservatism, based upon a reasoned appreciation of the lofty spirituality of the ancient culture and civilisation of the country; a sensitive patriotism, born of a healthy and dignified pride of race; and a deep piety expressing itself through all the varied practical relations of life—these were the characteristics of the life and thought of Raj Narayan Bose. He represented the high-water-mark of the composite culture of his country—Vedantic, Islamic, and European. When he discoursed on Brahma-Jnan or Knowledge of the God, brought to mind the ancient Hindu gnosis of the Upanishads. When he cited verses from the Persian poets, filling the ear with their rich cadence—with his eyes melting in love and his mobile features aglow with a supreme spiritual passion—he reminded one of the old Moslem devotees. And when he spoke on the corruptions of current religion, or the soulless selfishness of modern politics, he appeared as a nineteenth century rationalist and iconoclast of Europe. In his mind and life he was at once a Hindu Maharishi, a Moslem Sufi, and a Christian theist of the Unitarian type; and like Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo-Samaj, of which Raj Narayan Bose was for many years the honoured president, he also seems to have worked out a synthesis in his own spiritual life between the three dominant world-cultures that have come face to face in modern India. Like Ram Mohan, Raj Narayan also seems to have realised in himself, intellectually and spiritually, that ideal of composite nationhood in India, which the present generation has been called upon to actualise in the social, economic, and political relations of their country. Raj Narayan Bose was also an acknowledged leader in Bengalee literature. A writer in the "Modern Review" (Calcutta) calls Raj Narayan Bose the "Grandfather of Indian Nationalism." He was Aravinda's maternal grandfather; and Aravinda owes not only his rich spiritual nature, but even his very superior literary capacity to his inherited endowments from his mother's line.

If his maternal grandfather represented the ancient spiritual forces of his nation, Aravinda's father, Dr. Krishnadhan Ghose, represented to a very large extent the spirit of the new illumination in his country. Dr. Ghose was essentially a product of English education and European culture. A man of exceptional parts, he finished his education in England, and taking his degree in medicine, entered the medical service of the Indian Government. He was one of the most successful Civil Surgeons of his day, and, had his life been spared, he would have assuredly risen to the highest position in his service open to any native of India. Like the general body of Indian young men who came to finish their education in England in his time, Kristadhan Ghose was steeped in the prevailing spirit of Anglicism. Like

all of them, he was a thoroughly Anglicised Bengalee, in his ways of life. But unlike many of them, underneath his foreign clothing and ways he had a genuine Hindu heart and soul. Anglicism distorts Hindu character, cripples, where it cannot kill, the inherited altruism of the man, and makes him more or less neglectful of the numerous family and social obligations under which every Hindu is born. Like the original Anglo-Saxon, his Indian imitation also lives first and foremost for himself, his wife and children; and though he may recognise the claims of his relations to his charity, he scarcely places his purse at their service as an obligation. But Kristadhan Ghose was an exception. Though he affected the European's way of living, he never neglected the social obligations of the Hindu. His purse was always open for his needy relations. The poor of the town, where he served and lived, had in him a true friend and a ready help. In fact, his regard for the poor frequently led him to sacrifice to their present needs the future prospects of his own family and children. He had his sons educated in England; and so great was his admiration for English life and English culture that he sent them out here even before they had received any schooling in their own country. But his charities made such constant and heavy inroad into his tolerably large income, that he could not always keep his own children living in England, provided with sufficient funds for their board and schooling. Sons of comparatively rich parents they were brought up almost in adject poverty in a friendless country where wealth counts so much, not only physically, but also intellectually and morally. Keen of intellect, tender of heart, impulsive and generous almost to recklessness, regardless of his own wants, but sensitive to the suffering of others—this was the inventory of the character of Dr. Kristadhan Ghosh. The rich blamed him for his recklessness, the man of the world condemned him for his absolute lack of prudence, the highest virtue in his estimation. But the poor, the widow and the orphan loved him for his selfless pity, and his soulful benevolence.

To be continued.

THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION.

—OOO—
(SPEECH BY SJ. AUROBINDO GHOSH
AT HOWRAH.)

But there was another thing that led to the suppression. This was an association that had that very dangerous and lethal weapon called the lathi. The use of the lathi as a means of self-defence was openly taught and acquired, and if that was not enough there was the imagination of a very highly imaginative police which saw hidden behind the lathi the bomb. Now nobody ever saw the bombs. But the police were quite equal to the occasion; they thought there might be bombs. And what if there were not? Their imagination was quite equal to realising any bomb that could not be materialised,

—in baitakkhanas and elsewhere. The police suspected that the lathi was the father of the bomb. Their procedure was simple with the simplicity of the highest detective genius. When they hold of a respectable-sized dacoity, they immediately began to reason it out. They said "Now why are there so many dacoities in the land? Obviously the lathi fathered the bomb and the bomb fathers the dacoities. Who have lathies? The samitis. Therefore it is proved. The Samitis are the dacoits." Our efficient police have always shown a wonderful ability. Generally when a dacoity is committed, the police are nowhere near. They have not altered that; that golden rule still obtains. They are not to be found when the dacoity takes place. They only came up when the dacoity is long over and say "Well, this is the work of the National volunteers." They look round to see what is the nearest Samiti and, if they find any which has been especially active in furthering Swadeshi, they say, "Here is the Samiti." And if there is anyone who was somewhat active in connection with the work of the Samiti, they say at once "Well, here is the man." And if he is a boy of any age from twelve upwards, so much the better. The man or boy is instantly arrested and put into hajat. After rotting there some days or weeks, the police can get no evidence and the man has to be released. That does not frighten the courageous police; they immediately arrest the next likely person belonging to the samiti. So they go on persevering until they lose all hope of finding or creating evidence. Sometimes they persist, and members of the Samitis, sometimes mere boys, have to rot in hajat until the case goes up to a court of justice and the judge looks at the case and after he has patiently heard it out, has to ask, "Well but where is the evidence."

Formerly, you may remember, those of you who have lived in the villages, that wherever there was any man in a village who was physically strong the police wrote down his name in the black book of budmashes. He was at once put down as an undesirable. That was the theory, that a man who is physically strong must be a hood-igan. Physical development was thus stamped out of our villages and the physique of our villagers began to deteriorate until this movement of akharas and samitis came into existence to rescue the nation from absolute physical deterioration and decay. But this was an immortal idea in the mind of our police and it successfully effected transmigration. It took this form, that these Samitis encourage physical education, they encourage lathiplay, therefore they must be the nurseries of violence and dacoity and factories of bombs. Our rulers seem to have accepted this idea of the police. So perhaps this is the crime these Samitis have committed. Nothing has been proved of all this easy theorizing. It is yet to be known when and where the

bomb has been associated with the work of the Samitis in Eastern Bengal. There was indeed a great dacoity in Eastern Bengal and the theory was started that it was done by one of the Samitis, but even our able detective police were unable to prove any association in that case. They did catch hold of some young men apparently on principle. There is a confidential rule,—it is confidential but the public have come to know of it,—that "somebody must be punished for the day's work." That was the circular of a Lieutenant-Governor of this province and the police no doubt thought it ought to be observed faithfully. So they caught hold of some likely men and the people so charged were about to be "punished for the day's work;" but fortunately for them a judge sat upon the High Court Bench who remembered that there was such a thing as law and another thing called evidence, things whose existence was in danger of being forgotten in this country. He applied the law, he insisted on having the evidence, and you all know the result.

These associations, then, which were the expression of our growing national life and the growing feeling of brotherhood among us, did such work as I have described, and these were the ways, guiltless of any offence in the eyes of the law, in which they did their work. Still they have been suppressed not because they were criminal, but because their existence was inconvenient. It has always been the case that when established institutions of government were unwilling to move with the times, they have looked with suspicion upon the right of association and the right of free speech, they have discouraged

the right of a free press and the right of public meeting. By destroying these instruments they have thought to arrest the progress which they did not love. This policy has never permanently succeeded, yet it is faithfully repeated with that singular stupidity which seems natural to the human race. The sword of Damocles hangs over our press. It is nominally free, but we never know when even that simulacrum of freedom may not be taken from it. There is a law of sedition so beautifully vague and comprehensive that no one knows when he is committing sedition and when he is not. There is a law against the preaching of violence which enables a Magistrate whenever he chooses to imagine that your article advocates violence, to seize your machine. The Press is taken away and of course the case goes up to the High Court, but by that time the paper suffers so much that it becomes difficult or impossible for it to rear its head again. There is a notification by which as I pointed out in Beadon Square the other day, a meeting becomes peaceful or criminal not according to the objects or to the behaviour of the people assembled but according as the sun is up or the sun is down. There is a law of proclamation by which our right of association can be taken from us whenever they please by a stroke of the pen. The British people have certain traditions, they have certain ways of thinking and fixed ideas of which they can not entirely get rid. It is for that reason they have not yet passed a law entirely and expressly suppressing the freedom of the Press or the right of public meeting. But even that may come. What should we do under these circumstances? We see the sword of Damocles

hanging lower and lower over our heads. Our association may be declared criminal and illegal at any moment. The executive can any moment it pleases confiscate our Press. We ourselves are liable to be arrested and harassed at any moment without evidence, "on suspicion", by an irresponsible and apparently unpunishable police. Under whatever difficulties and whatever restrictions may be put upon us, we must of course go on. But the restrictions may be greater in future. The sword is hanging lower and lower over our heads. Still we cannot stop in our work. The force within us cannot be balked, the call cannot be denied. Whatever penalty be inflicted on us for the crime of patriotism, whatever peril we may have to face in the fulfilment of our duty to our nation, we must go on, we must carry on, the country's work.

After all what is an association? An association is not a thing which cannot exist unless we have a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary. An association is not a thing which cannot meet unless it has its fixed meeting place. Association is a thing which depends upon the feeling and the force within us. Association means unity, association means brotherhood association means binding together in one common work. Where there is life, where there is self-sacrifice where there is disinterested and unselfish toil, where there are these things within us, the work cannot stop. It cannot stop even if there be one man who is at all risks prepared to carry it on. It is only after all the question of working, it is not a question of the means for work. It is simply a question of working together in common in one way or in

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another. It is a matter of asking each other from time to time what work there is to be performed to day and what is the best way of performing it, what are the best means of helping our countrymen, what work we shall have to do tomorrow or the day after and having settled that to do it at the appointed time and in the appointed way. That is what I mean when I say that it is a question of working and not of means. It is not that these things cannot be done except by the forms which our European education has taught us to value. Whatever may be the difficulties we can go on with the work. The association that we shall have will be the association of brothers who are united heart to heart, of fellow-workers joined hand-in-hand in a common labour, the association of those who have a common motherland. It is the association of the whole country, to which every son of India and every son of Bengal ought by the duty of his birth to belong, an association which no force can break up, the association of an unity which grows closer day by day, of an impulse that comes from on high and has drawn us together in order that we might realise brotherhood, in order that the Indian nation may be united and united not merely in the European way, not merely by the common self-interest, but united by love for the common country, united by the ideal of brotherhood, united by the feeling that we are all sons of one common Mother who is also the manifestation of God in an united humanity. That is the association which has been coming into being, and has not been destroyed, since the movement came into existence. This is the mighty association, which unites the people of West Bengal with the people of East and North Bengal and defies partition, because it embraces every son of the land,—*bhai bhai ek desh*, or brother and brother massed inseparably together. This is the ideal that is abroad and is waking more and more consciously within us. It is not merely a common self-interest. It awakens God within us and says, "you are all one, you are all brothers. There is one place in which you all meet and that is your common Mother. That is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the Mother in whom you

move and have your being. Realise God in the nation, realise God in your brother, realise God in a wide human association." This is the ideal by which humanity is moved all over the world, the ideal which is the *dharma* of the Kaliyuga, and it is the ideal of love and service which the young men of Bengal so thoroughly realised, love and service to your brothers, love and service to your Mother and this is the association we are forming, the great association of the people of Bengal and of the whole people of India. It increases and will grow for ever in spite of all the obstacles that rise in its way. When the spirit of Aeswini Kumar Dutt comes into every leader of the people and the nation becomes one great Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti, then it will be accomplished. This is for ever our national ideal and in its strength our nation will rise whatever law they make; our nation will rise and live by the force of the law of its own being. For the fiat of God has gone out to the Indian nation, "Unite, be free, be one, be great."

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MESSAGE OF THE EAST.

II.

What then is the message of the East? In its remote universal form it is still that message which the West has for nineteen centuries ignored: The kingdom of God is within you: Look within—Thou art the Buddha: Thou art that. As the message of the West has been one of diversity, analysis, and the separate self, so the message of the unity of all life, of synthesis, and the Universal self.

Art, philosophy, and morality are greater than empirical knowledge in as much as they transcend the physical order of the world in space, time and causality. "The investigation of the scientific," says a modern German writer* "are always in definite relation to the knowledge of their day. On the other hand, we can ascribe to the work of the great philosopher, as to that of the great artist, an imperishable, unchangeable presentation of the world, not 'disappearing with time.....Which of the merely scientific has felt in himself an unconditioned comprehension of all men and all things, or even the capacity to verify any single thing in his mind and by his mind? On the contrary, has not the whole history of the science of the last thousand years been directed against this?"

* It is the *dharma* of the artist to present to us this timeless vision of the universe, conceived not as an external phenomenon, but as a picture within himself.

Genius may be metaphorically described as a permeability of the diaphragm, or a thinning of the veil, which, as it were, separates the conscious from the super-conscious self.* It is a remarkable characteristic of genius that ideas ('inspiration') seem to come altogether from without the consciousness. They originate in part in a region external to the mere intellect, being apprehended by the reason (buddhi) acting as a sixth

* Weninger—The writings of Goethe, Kant, Schopenhauer, Deussen, and Weininger are, for Germany, landmarks of the message of the East.

sense organ (intuition). It is characteristic of the ideas thus apprehended, that they are apprehended as a whole. A great poem, or picture or musical composition is thus first more or less clearly 'seen' or 'heard' as a unity. By concentration, the details of this presentation may be developed, like the image on a photographic plate. The greatest genius is one to whom this process of development is most perfectly accomplished, or who sees or hears, and is able to retain, the presentation most completely.

Talent, *per contra*, is a matter of physical attitude, combined with that infinite capacity for taking pains which is so inaccurate a description of genius. This talent is necessary to the adequate expression of genius: it is essential to the process of giving visible or audible form to the ideas thus apprehended in a manner independent of succession in time. The talented genius is a prophet; the genius without talent is like a *paccekya Buddha*, of service only to himself for the time being. The man of talent without genius has, again his due place and work, which are only when, as is now too often the case, he rejects the help of traditions and attempts the work of creation, of which genius alone is capable.

Of course, this rigid distinction between genius and talent is artificial. No human being can be wholly devoid of either, and the various proportions in which the two exist very infinitely. Both may equally be strengthened by those who are prepared for the necessary practice, subjective and objective respectively.

It has never been supposed by oriental artists that the object of art is the reproduction of the external forms of nature. Such a conception, as we have seen, is only the natural product of a life divorced from beauty, for which a substitute has to be supplied. The exact imitation of nature, indeed, seen by all true artists and philosophers to be both impossible and unnecessary. "For why," says Deussen, "should the artist wish to imitate laboriously and adequately what nature offers everywhere in unattainable perfection," viz. individual, and, in so far, limited, manifestation of ideas?

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In the realm of nature, we see the thousand fold repeated reflections of ideas in these individual manifestations. It is the business of the artist by *yoga* that is by self-identification with the soul of these reflections, to fully understand them and reveal their inner significance. "Guided by an insight into the nature of things which fathoms deeper than all abstract knowledge, he is able to understand the 'half uttered words of nature', to infer from what she forms that which she intends to form, to anticipate from the direction she takes the end she is herself unable to reach. "It is further possible by Imagination—the first and indispensable quality of genius, to apprehend ideas which, though subsisting in the race-consciousness, have not yet assumed, and may never assume, (save thus in art) a form visible to the physical eye. The forms of Gods or nature spirits, flowers or animals of 'other worlds' are illustrations of this possibility. So also with personifications of abstract qualities and natural forces. Lastly, and far from lest, we have the presentation of the imagined forms of legendary heroes, in which the race-idea finds its most complete expression. *Our individual belief in the 'real existence', past or present, of all or any of these is more or less irrelevant, for all of these alike possess an ideal being subsisting in the race-consciousness.

With this race-consciousness, the ideas may seem to die, more strictly to pass into a subconscious region: or passing beyond the bounds of race, they may attain a deathless life in the imagination of the whole world. It is not otherwise with the forms of God—for these are not his forms, but the forms through which we apprehend Him. He 'takes the forms imagined by His worshippers.' It is these forms which subsist in the race-consciousness and are imitated by the artist. Ideal art thus partakes of two natures, inextricably combined, just as in human personality there are both sub-consciousness, super-consciousness related respectively to past experience and potential experience. The first part of ideal art is the presentation of concepts, which are unities re-established by memory out of the multiplicity of individual experiences. Memory, racial and individual, eliminates the unessential and impermanent and so idealises. The second part of ideal art is the presentation of ideal forms, apprehended

*The 'historical painter' of to-day is usually little more than the illustration of an archaeological treatise. The true work of the artist, painter or poet, is not however to relate what happened, but to represent all that might have happened. An individual historical character concerning whom much is known is to much 'characterised' to be presented as a type. It is otherwise with the legendary heroes whose being has for ages swayed the hearts of men. These alone live in the world of the imagination, exerting an influence more powerful and more enduring than that of any individual

by intuition, or imagination, that is, literally, the visualisation of Ideas. The artist, by Imagination approaches near to the mind of God (*Ishvara*), and apprehends the forms of a higher plane in his own consciousness, undarkened by adaptation to external circumstances and by individual characteristics (imperfections). Ideal art is thus related, on the one hand, to empirical experience, and, on the other, to the transcendental reality that lies outside of space and time.—Dr. Coomaraswamy in the *Modern Review*.

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No. 8.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Englishman on Boycott.

The speech of Sj. Bhupendranath Bose at the boycott celebration and the Open Letter of Sj. Anurobindo Ghose have put the Englishman in a difficulty. It has been the habit of this paper to lay stress on any facts or suggestions real or imaginary which it could interpret as pointing to violence and so persistently damn the movement as one not only revolutionary in the magnitude of the changes at which it aims but violently revolutionary in its purposed methods. The speech and the open letter have cut this imaginary ground away from under its feet. As a matter of fact there is nothing new in the attitude of either the Moderate or the Nationalist leader. What they say now they have said always. The Moderate party have always been in favour of constitutional methods which, whatever be the precise meaning of that phrase in a country where no constitution exists, must certainly exclude illegality and violence. The Nationalists on their side have always, while repudiating the principle that men are under all circumstances bound to obey unjust or injurious laws imposed without national consent, advocated observance of the law in the circumstances of India both on grounds

of policy and in the interests of sound national development. Passive resistance to arbitrary edicts and proclamations in order to assert civic rights, test illegal ukases or compel their recall is not breach of the law but a recognized weapon in the defence of civic liberty. Yet the *Englishman* chooses to save its face by imagining a change of front in the Boycott policy. There is no change. The Boycott has always been a movement within the law and such it remains. If there have been some individual excesses, that no more detracts from the legality of the movement than the excesses of individual strikers would affect the legality of a strike. The *Englishman* is full of anxiety as to the best way to meet the imagined change of front. With great sapience it suggests to the Government the free use of deportation, for which it has been for some time clamouring in vain, and threatens the boycotters with an anti-boycott. One does not quite see how this mighty movement could be engineered. If a boycott of Indians by Englishmen is suggested, we would remind our contemporary that in life in this country Indians might conceivably do without Englishmen but Englishmen cannot do without Indians. That is precisely the strength of our position. The misfortune is that we ourselves still fail to realise it.

Social Boycott.

It seems to be especially the Boycott President's able defence of social boycott as opposed to violent constraint that has alarmed the *Englishman*. Here also there is nothing new. The social boycott is a weapon absolutely necessary for the enforcement of the popular will in this matter, the power of using fiscal law for the same purpose being in the hands of authorities who have been publicly declared by Lord Curzon to be active parties in British exploitation of the resources of India. It means the coercion of a very small minority by a huge majority in the interests of the whole nation; it consists merely in a passive abstinence from all countenance to the offender,—sending him to Coventry, in the English phrase; it is effective and, if properly applied, instantaneously effective; it involves, as the *Englishman* has been obliged to see, no violence, no disregard of public order, no breach of the peace. The only weapon the *Englishman* can find against it is deportation, and after all you cannot deport a whole town, village or community. The Nationalist Party have always struggled for and often obtained the recognition of the social boycott at various District Conferences and it has been freely and effectively applied in all parts, though mostly in East Bengal. It is gratifying

to find the most moderate of Bengal Moderate leaders supporting and justifying it in a carefully prepared and responsible utterance on an occasion of the utmost public importance.

National or Anti-national.

We have long noticed with the deepest disapprobation and indignation the equivocal conduct of the National Council authorities with regard to matters of great national importance, but we have held our peace from unwillingness to hurt an institution established with such high hopes and apparently destined to play an important part in the development of the nation. We can hold our peace no longer. The action of the authorities in forbidding their students to attend a national festival commemorating the inception of the movement by which the College and Council were created,—a prohibition extended by them to the mofussil schools,—is only the crowning act of a policy by which they are betraying the trust reposed in them by the nation, contradicting the very object of the institution and utterly ruining a great and salutary movement. They imagine that by being more servile than the most servile of the ordinary institutions and flaunting their high academical purpose they will save themselves from official repression and yet keep the support of the people. They are wrong. Already there is such deep dissatisfaction with the Council that the mofussil schools are dying of inanition and people are turning away from the new education as differing in no essential from the old. If the authorities persist in their evil course, the public mind will write Anti-national instead of National over their sign-board in Bow Bazaar and their schools, be left empty of students. We shall return to this subject in a future issue.

THE BOYCOTT CELEBRATION.

A national festival is the symbol of the national vitality. All outward action depends eventually on the accepted ideas and imaginations of the doer. As these are, so is his aspiration; and although it is not true that as is his aspiration, so is his action, yet it is true that as is his aspiration, so will his action more and more tend to

be. If it is the idea that finally expresses itself in all material forms, actions, institutions and consummations, it is the imagination that draws the idea out, suggests the shape and gives the creative impulse. Hence the importance of celebrations like the Seventh of August, especially in the first movements of a great national resurgence. A time may come when the living meaning may pass out of a solemnity or anniversary and leave it a dead form which only the persistence of habit preserves, but that cannot happen until the underlying idea is realised and the imaginative impulse towards creation has victoriously justified itself and exhausted its sources of satisfaction. The ideas which the boycott celebration holds as its roots and the imaginations to which it appeals are not yet even partially satisfied and, until they have confirmed themselves in victorious action and are perpetuated in lasting forms and institutions, it is of the first importance that this great festival should be celebrated in some form or other and, as far as possible, in the form it originally took. There is a meaning in the imaginative conservatism which refuses to part with the cherished pomps and even the little details of show and brightness which have always been associated with this day, the procession, the places, the meeting, the flags, music, songs, the vow, the resolution. Any laxness in these minutiae would show a fainting of the imagination which clings to the festival and its underlying ideas and a carelessness in the heart about those emotions without which the idea by itself is always inoperative. This appeal to the imagination and nourishing of the emotions is especially necessary when the outward circumstances are widely different from the cherished hopes and imaginations and the speedy advent of the longed-for future seems to the reason distant or improbable. That is why importance is attached in all countries to ceremonies and festivals. There are many of us who are inclined to speak with contempt of speeches and shows, and there was a time when we too in our impatience of the mere babblers were inclined to echo the cry for silent work. A juster knowledge of human psycho-

logy has led us to modify our view on that head. Man is not by nature a silent animal nor in the mass is he capable of work without frequent interchange of speech. Talk is necessary to him, emotion is necessary to him, imagination is necessary to him; without these he cannot be induced to action. This constitutes the supreme importance of the right of free speech and free meeting; this also constitutes the justification of symbolical holidays and festivals. Speech and writing are necessary to the acceptance and spread of the idea without which there can be no incentive to action. Ceremonies help the imagination and encourage it to see in the concrete that which cannot be immediately realised. It was out of the gurge and welter of an infinite oratory, thousand-throated journalism, endless ceremonies, processions, national festivals that the appallingly strenuous action of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic age in France arose to reconstitute society and transform Europe. Let us not therefore despise these mighty instruments. God has created them and the natural human love for them for very great and abiding purposes. Even in these few years the Ganpati and Sivaji festivals, instituted by the far-seeing human sympathy and democratic instinct of Mr. Tilak, have done much to reawaken and solidify the national feeling of Maharashtra, and we can all feel what a stimulus to the growth and permanence of the movement we have found in the celebrations of the 7th August and the 16th October. They are to us what sacred days are to the ordinary religions. The individual religious man can do without them, collective religion cannot. These are the sacred days in the religion of Nationalism, the worship of God the Mother.

The 16th October is the idea of unity, the worship of the Mother one and indivisible. The 7th of August is the idea of separateness, the worship of the Mother free, strong and glorious. Both these ideas are as yet ideas merely, realized in our faith and aspiration by the shaping imagination, not yet materialized in the world of concrete fact. This, according to our Vedantic ideas, is how the world and things whether

in general or particular come into being. They exist first in seed form in the silent and unexpressed idea, in a world of deep sleep where there is as yet no action of thought or deed, only the inert, inoperative idea. Shiva the white and pure, the ascetic, the still, contemplative Yogin holds them in himself as Prajna, the Wise One, God ideal. But Shiva is *tamasic* and *rajas* is necessary to induce motion before things can exist. The thing has next to sprout out of the seed and take a volatile and unfixed shape in the psychic world where it waits for a material birth. Here Brahma, the flaming, shapeless and many-shaped, holds them in his brilliant vibrating medium of active imagination and thought and by his daughter Vach, the Goddess speech eldestborn of the world, puts them into shape and body as Hiranyagarbha, God imaginative and therefore creative. Last they take permanent shape and abide in some material body, form, organism. Vishnu there holds them in his fixed and visible cosmos as *Virat*, God practical, until the divine imagination wearies of them and Shiva as destroyer draws them back again, their outward form disintegrated and their supporting imaginations dead, into the seed-state from which they emerged. For a long time the idea of unity, the idea of a strong national self-expression were merely sleeping and inoperative ideas held as sounding words rather than possibilities. Still the repetition of the words like the repetition even mechanical of a powerful mantra, began to awaken the divine force latent in the idea and, however feebly, it began to stir. But it was not till the 16th of October and the 7th of August that these ideas seized on the faith and imagination of the people and took shape, volatile and unfixed but still shape, as a living aspiration. The day of material realization is yet distant. Moving to unity we are still divided by external and internal agencies. Moving towards strength and freedom we are still subject to external force and internal weakness. But this we have gained that the purpose and imagination of unity and strength is rooted in the hearts and minds of a great and the most vigorous portion of the young generation, inheritors of the future, beyond the power of

force or sophistry to remove. Having secured so much we can go on in the confidence that, whatever now happens to the pioneers, Hiranyagarbha has taken the new ideas into his protection and when that has once happened *Virat* must inevitably fulfil them.

It is a shortsighted and superficial outlook which sees in the 16th October only the day of mourning for the partition of Bengal or in the 7th August only a commemoration of the Boycott. The Boycott is a symbol, the mourning a symbol. When the weapon of Boycott has done its work, we shall lay it aside, but the 7th August we shall not lay aside, for it is our sacred Day of Awakening. When the Partition is rescinded, we shall cease to go into annual mourning, but the 16th October will not fall into oblivion or desuetude, for it is our sacred Day of the Worship of the Indivisible Mother. These are the imaginations, these the mighty and creative thoughts and aspirations which we seek to foster by these celebrations. Therefore we regard the holding of the Boycott Day as a national duty. Let those who scoff at it and talk of the necessity of silent *sadhana*, for we have heard of such, be warned how they desecrate sacred words by using them as a convenient cant and try, out of selfish and infidel fears, to thwart in the minds of the young the work which by these celebrations God has been doing.

KALIDASA'S SEASONS.

111

ITS POETIC VALUE.

Nevertheless the Seasons is not only an interesting document in the evolution of a poetic genius of the first rank, but in itself a work of extraordinary force and immense promise. Many of the most characteristic Kalidasian gifts and tendencies are here, some of them in crude and unformed vigour but characteristic and unmistakeable, giving the poem a striking resemblance of spirit and to some extent of form to the House of Raghou with a far-off prophecy of the mature manner of Kalidasa in the four great masterpieces. There is his power of felicitous and vivid simile, there is the individual turn of his conceits and the single-minded force with which he drives them home, there is his mastering accuracy and lifelikeness in description

conspicuous especially in the choice and building of the circumstantial epithets. That characteristic of the poet, not the most fundamental and important, which most struck the ancient critics, *upamasa* Kalidasa for similes, is everywhere present even in such early and immature work, and already they have the sharp clear Kalidasian ring, true coin of his mint though not yet possessed of the later high values. The deep blue midsummer sky is a rich purple mass of ground collyrium; girls with their smiling faces and lovely eyes are "evenings beautifully jewelled with the moon"; the fires burning in the forest look far off like clear drops of vermilion; the new blades of grass are pieces of split emerald; rivers embracing and tearing down the trees on their banks are evil women distracted with passion slaying their lovers. In all these instances we have the Kalidasian simile, a little superficial as yet and self-conscious, but for all that Kalidasian. When again he speaks of the moon towards dawn growing pale with shame at the lovelier brightness of a woman's face, of the rains coming like the pomp of some great king all blazing with lights, huge clouds moving along like elephants, the lightning like a streaming banner and the thunder like a peal of drums, of the clouds like archers shooting their rains at the lover from the rainbow stringed with lightning, one recognises, in spite of the occasional extravagance of phrase and violent fancifulness, the Kalidasian form of conceit, not only in the substance which can be borrowed, but in the wording and most of all in the economy of phrase expressing a lavish and ingenious fancy. Still more is this apparent in the sensuous and elaborate comparison of things in Nature to women in ornamental attire,—rivers, autumn, the night, the pale priyungou creeper.

Most decisive of all are the strokes of vivid description that give the poem its main greatness and fulfil its purpose. The seasons live before our eyes as we read. Summer is here with its sweltering heats, the sunbeams burning like fires of sacrifice and the earth swept with whirling gyres of dust driven by intolerable gusts. Yonder lies the lion forgetting his impulse and his mighty leap; his tongue lolls and wearily from time to time he shakes

his mane ; the snake with lowered head panting and dragging his coils labours over the blazing dust of the road : the wild boars are digging in the dried mud with their long snouts as if they would burrow their way into the cool earth : the bisons wander everywhere dumbly desiring water. The forests are grim and parched, brown and sere ; and before long they are in the clutch of fire... But the rains come, and what may be yonder writhing line we see on the slopes ? It is the young water of the rains, a new-born rivulet, grey and full of insects and dust and weeds, coiling like a snake down the hillside. We watch the beauty of the mountains streaked everywhere with waterfalls, their high rocks kissed by the stooping clouds and their sides a gorgeous chaos of peacocks : on the horizon the great clouds blue as lotus-petals climb hugely into the sky and move across it in slow procession before a sluggish breeze. Or look at yonder coidara tree, its branches troubled softly with wind, swarming with honey-drunken bees and its leaves tender with little opening buds. The moon at night gazes down at us like an unveiled face in the skies, the racing stream dashes its ripples in the wild-duck's face, the wind comes trembling through the burdened rice-stalks, dancing with the crowding courbouses, making one flowery ripple of the lotus-wooded lake. Here there can be no longer any hesitation. These descriptions which remain perpetually with the eye, visible and concrete as an actual painting, belong, in the force with which they are visualised and the magnificent architecture of phrase with which they are presented, to Kalidasa alone among Sanscrit poets. Other poets, his successors or imitators, such as Bana or even Bhavabhuti, overload their description with words and details ; they have often lavish colouring but never an equal power of form, their figures do not appear to stand out of the canvas and live.

And though we do not find here quite the marvellous harmonies of verse and diction we find in the *Raghov*, yet we do come across plenty of preparation for them. Here for instance is a verse whose rapidity and lightness restrained by a certain half-hidden gravity is distinctly Kalidasa's.

ज्वलति पवनहवः पञ्चतानां दरीषु
स्तुति पदमिनादेः सुन्दर्यस्यलीलु ।

प्रसरति दृष्टमधो लब्धहविः जवेन

ज्वपयति मृगवर्गं पामलस्यो द्वाग्निः ॥

"Seizing the woodland edges the forest fire increases with the wind and burns in the glens of the mountains ; it crackles with shrill shoutings in the bamboo reaches ; it spreads wide in the grasses gathering hugeness in a moment and harrasses the beasts of the wilderness."

And again for honeyed sweetness and buoyancy what can be more Kalidasian than this ?

पुंस्त्र्योक्तिस्तत्प्रसासेन

मत्तः प्रियां चुम्बति रागहृष्टः ।

गुञ्जन्दिरेजोयम्वुजस्यः

प्रियं प्रियायाः प्रकरोति चादु ॥

"The male cuckoo, drunken with the wine of the mango juice, kisses his beloved, glad of the sweet attraction, and yonder bee in the lotus-blossom murmuring hums flattery's sweetness to his sweet."

There are other stanzas which anticipate something of the ripest Kalidasian movements by their gravity, suavity and strength.

आकम्पयन् कुसुमिताः सहकारशाखाः

विस्तारयन् परभृताम् वचांसि दिशु ।

वागुर्विभावि हृदयानि हरनराणां

नीहारपातविगमात् सुभगो वसन्ते ॥

"Setting the flowering branches of the mango-tree quivering, [spread:] ing abroad the cry of the cuckoo to the regions the wind fares forth like a lover ravishing the hearts of mortals, by the passing of the dewfalls gracious in the springtide."

If we take Kalidasa anywhere in his lighter metres we shall at once perceive their essential kinship with the verse of the Seasons.

रदमसुलभवलुप्रार्थनादुर्निवारं

प्रथमपि मनो मे पञ्चवानः क्षिणेति ।

किमुतमलयवातोन्मीलित पाण्डुवर्णं

उपवनसहकारैर्दक्षितेण करेण ॥

It is the same suave and skilful management, the same exquisite and unobtrusive weaving of labial, dental and liquid assonances with a recurring sibilant note, the same soft and perfect footing of the syllables. Only the language is richer and more developed. We do not find this peculiar kind of perfection in any other master of classical verse. Bhavabhuti's manner is bold, strenuous, external ; Jayadeva's

music is based palpably upon assonance and alliteration which he uses with extraordinary brilliance and builds into the most enchanting melodies, but without delicacy, restraint or disguise. If there were any real cause for doubt of the authorship, the verse would clearly vindicate the Seasons for Kalidasa.

Such is this remarkable poem which some, led away by its undoubted splendours, have put in the first rank of Kalidasa's work. Its artistic defects and its comparative crudity forbid us to follow them. It is uncertain in plan, ill-fused, sometimes raw in its imagery, unequal in its execution. But for all that it must have come upon its contemporaries like the dawning of a new sun in the skies. Its splendid diction and versification, its vigour, fire and force, its sweetness of spirit and its general promise and to some extent actual presentation of a first-rate poetical genius must have made it a literary event of the first importance. Especially is it significant in its daring gift of sensuousness. The prophet of a hedonistic civilisation here seizes with no uncertain hand on the materials of his work. A vivid and virile interpretation of sense-life in Nature, a similar interpretation of all elements of human life capable of greatness or beauty, seen under the light of the senses and expressed in the terms of an aesthetic appreciation,—this is the spirit of Kalidasa's first work as it is of his last. At present he is concerned only with the outward body of Nature, the physical aspects of things, the vital pleasures and emotions, the joy and beauty of the human body ; but it is the first necessary step on the long road of sensuous and poetic experience and expression he has to travel before he reaches his goal in his crowning work, the Birth of the wargod, where the Supreme Himself and the mystery of spiritual fulfilment are approached through the portal of the senses.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

THE KENA UPANISHAD.

SECOND PART. FIRST CHAPTER.

1. Yama said. "The Self-born hath set the doors of the body to face outward, therefore the soul of a man gazeth outward and not at the Self within ; hardly a wise man here and there desiring immortality turneth his eyes inward and seeth the Self within him."

2. The most childishly follow after desire and pleasure and walk into the snare of Death who gapeth wide for them. But calm souls having learned of immortality seek not for permanence in the things of this world that pass and are not.

3. By the Self one knoweth taste and form and smell, by the Self one knoweth sound and touch and the joy of man with woman; what is there left in this world of which the Self not knoweth? This is the thing thou seekest.

4. The calm soul having comprehended the great Lord, the omnipresent Self by whom one beholdeth both to the end of dream and to the end of waking, ceaseth from grieving.

He that hath known from very close this Eater of sweetness, the *Jiva*, the Self within that is lord of what is and what shall be, shrinketh not hereafter from aught nor abhorreth any. This is the thing thou seekest.

6. He is the seer that seeth Him who came into being before austerity and was before the water; deep in the heart of the creature he seeth Him, for there He standeth by the mingling of the elements. This is the thing thou seekest.

7. This is Aditi, the mother of the Gods, who was born through the *Prana* and by the mingling of the elements had her being; deep in the heart of things she has entered, there she is seated. This is the thing thou seekest.

8. As a woman carrieth with care the unborn child in her womb, so is the Master of knowledge lodged in the tinders, and day by day should men worship him who live their waking life and stand before him with sacrifice; for he is that Agni. This is the thing thou seekest.

9. He from whom the sun riseth and to whom the sun returneth, and in Him are all the Gods established, —none passeth beyond Him. This is the thing thou seekest.

10. What is in his world is also in the other, and what is in the other, that again is in this; who thinketh he sees difference here, from death to death he goeth.

11. Through the mind must we understand that there is nothing in this world that is really various, who thinketh he sees difference here, from death to death he goeth.

12. The Purusha who is seated in the midst of ourself is no larger than the finger of a man. He is the lord of what was and what shall be; Him having seen one shrinketh not from aught nor abhorreth any. This is the thing thou seekest.

13. The Purusha that is within is no larger than the finger of a man; He is like a blazing fire that is without smoke. He is lord of His past and His future. He alone is today and He alone shall be tomorrow. This is the thing thou seekest.

14. As water that raineth in the rough and difficult places, runneth to many sides on the mountain-tops, so he that seeth separate law and action of the one Spirit, followeth in the track of what he seeth.

15. But as pure water that is poured into pure water, even as it was such it remaineth, so it is with the soul of the thinker who knoweth God, a seed of Gotam."

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

ANANDAMATH.

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CHAPTER I.

It was a summer day of the Bengali year 1176. The glare and heat of the sun lay very heavy on the village of Padchinha. The village was crowded with houses, yet there was not a man to be seen. Line upon line of shops in the bazaar, row upon row of booths in the mart, hundreds of earthen houses interspersed with stone mansions high and low in every quarter. But to-day all was silent. In the bazaar the shops are closed, and where the shopkeeper has fled no man can tell. It is market day to-day, but in the mart there is no buying and selling. It is the beggars' day but the beggars are not out. The weaver has shut up his loom and lies weeping in his house; the trader has forgotten his traffic and weeps with his infant in his lap; the givers have left giving and the teachers closed their schools; the very infant, it would seem, has no longer heart to cry aloud. No wayfarers are to be seen in the highways, no bathers in the lake, no human forms at door and threshold, no birds in the trees, no cattle in the pastures, only in the burning-ground dog and jackal crowd. In that crowded desolation of houses

one huge building whose great fluted pillars could be seen from afar, rose glorious as the peak of a hill. And yet where was the glory? the doors were shut, the house empty of the concourse of men, hushed and voiceless, difficult even to the entry of the wind. In a room within this dwelling where even noon was a darkness, in that darkness, like a pair of lilies flowering in the midnight, a wedded couple sat in thought. Straight in front of them stood Famine.

The harvest of the year 1174 had been poor, consequently in the year 1175 rice was a little dear, the people suffered, but the Government exacted its revenues to the last fraction of a farthing. As a result of this careful reckoning the poor began to eat only once a day. The rains in 1175 were copious and people thought Heaven had taken pity on the land. Joyously once more the herdsman sang his ditty in the fields, the tiller's wife again began to tease her husband for a silver bracelet. Suddenly in the month of Aswin Heaven turned away its face. In Aswin and Kartik not a drop of rain fell; the grain in the fields withered and turned to straw as it stood. Wherever a ear or two flourished, the officials bought it for the troops. The people no longer had anything to eat. First they stinted themselves of one meal in the day, then even from their single meal they rose with half-filled stomachs, next the two meal-times became two fasts. The little harvest reaped in Chaitra was not enough to fill the hungry mouths. But Mahomed Reza Khan, who was in charge of the revenues, thought fit to show himself off as a loyal servant and immediately enhanced the taxes by ten per cent. Throughout Bengal arose a clamour of great weeping.

First, people began to live by begging, but afterwards who could give alms? They began to fast. Next they fell into the clutch of disease. The cow was sold, plough and yoke were sold, the seed-rice was eaten, hearth and home were sold, land and goods were sold. Next they began to sell their girls. After that they began to sell their boys. After that they began to sell their wives. Next girl, boy or wife,—who would buy? Purchasers there were none, only sellers. For want of food men

began to eat the leaves of trees, they began to eat grass, they began to eat weeds. The lower castes and the forest men began devouring dogs, mice and cats. Many fled, but those who fled only reached some foreign land to dip of starvation. Those who remained ate uneatables or subsisted without food till disease took hold of them and they died.

Disease had its day,—fever, cholera, consumption, smallpox. The virulence of smallpox was especially great. In every house men began to perish of the disease. There was none to give water to his fellow, none who would touch him, none to treat the sick. Men would not turn to care for each other's sufferings, nor was there any to take up the corpse from where it lay. Beautiful bodies lay rotting in wealthy mansions. For where once the smallpox made its entry, the dwellers fled from the house and abandoned the sick man in their fear.

Mohendra Singha was a man of great wealth in the village of Padshinha, but to-day rich and poor were on one level. In this time of crowding afflictions his relatives, friends, servants, maidservants had all been seized by disease and gone from him. Some had died, some had fled. In that once peopled household there was only himself, his wife and one infant girl. This was the couple of whom I spoke. *To be continued.*

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

SUPRABHAT.

A REVIEW.

The paper *Suprabhat*, a Bengali monthly edited by Kumari Kumudini Mitra, daughter of S. J. Krishna Kumar Mitra, enters this month on its third year. The first issue of the new year is before us. We notice a great advance in the interest and variety of the articles, the calibre of the writers and the quality of the writing. From the literary point of view the chief ornament of the number is the brief poem *Dukkhahisor*, by S. J. Rabindranath Tagore. It is one of those poems in which the peculiar inimitable quality of our greatest lyric poet comes out with supreme force, beauty and sweetness. Rabindra Babu has a legion of imitators

and many have been very successful in catching up his less valuable mannerisms of style and verse, as is the manner of imitators all the world over. But the poignant sweetness, passion and spiritual depth and mystery of a poem like this, the haunting cadences subtle with a subtlety which is not of technique but of the soul, and the honeyladen felicity of the expression, these are the essential Rabindranath and cannot be imitated, because they are things of the spirit and one must have the same sweetness and depth of soul before one can hope to catch any of these desirable qualities. We emphasize this inimitableness because the legion of imitators we mention are doing harm to the progress of our poetry as well as to the reputation of their model and we would suggest to them to study this poem and realise the folly of their persistent attempt. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of Rabindra Babu's genius is the happiness and originality with which he has absorbed the whole spirit of Vaishnav poetry and turned it into something essentially the same and yet new and modern. He has given the old sweet spirit of emotional and passionate religion an expression of more delicate and complex richness voiceful of subtler and more penetratingly spiritual shades of feeling than the deep-hearted but simple early age of Bengal could know. The old Vaishnav *bhava*—there is no English word for it,—was easily seizable, broad and strong. The *bhava* of these poems is not translatable in any other language than that the poet has used,—a striking proof is the unsatisfactory attempt of the poet himself, recorded in another article in this issue, to explain in prose his own poem, *Sonar Tari*. But while the intellect tries in vain to find other intellectual symbols for the poet's meaning, the poetry seizes on the heart and convinces the imagination. These poems are of the essence of poetry and refuse to be rendered in any prose equivalent. Poetry is created not from the intellect or the outer imagination but comes from a deeper source within to which men have no means of access except when the divine part within seizes on the brain and

makes it a passive instrument for utterance the full meaning of which the brain is unable at the moment to grasp. This is the divine mania and enthusiasm which the subtle spiritual discernment of Plato discovered to be the real meaning of what we call inspiration. And of this unattainable force the best lyrics of Rabindranath are full to overflowing.

The article *Shantiniketan* Rabindranath by S. J. Jitendranath Banerji is another feature of great interest. The writer has a good descriptive gift and the passages which describe the *Shantiniketan* are admirable; but the chief interest naturally centres in the conversation with the poet which is recorded with great fulness. The private talk of a rich and gifted nature with a power of conversational expression is always suggestive and we await with interest the future issue of this article. We hope Jitendra Babu will give us a fuller view of the remarkable educational experiment which this original mind is developing in the quiet shades of Bolpur. The brief hints given of the moral training and the method of education followed point to a system far in advance of the National Council of Education which is still tyrannised over by a tradition and method not only European but unprogressively European. A brief instalment of S. J. Aurobindo Ghose's *Karakahini* is also given which describes the identification parades of the Bomb Case, gives some glimpses of the approver Noren Gossain and deals with the personal character of some of the jail officials. *Nanak Charit* by S. J. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the first instalment of which is given in this issue, commands interest both by its subject and the name of its writer. The two chapters given are full of interesting details of Nanak's birth and childhood and promise an attractive biography of one of the greatest names in religious history. An article of minor importance is the continuation of S. J. Jadunath Chakrabarti's *Ekanmabarti Paribar o Strisiksha*, which is of considerable merit. The author has seized on two of the great advantages of the joint family system, its ideal of a wider brotherhood and unity and its simple train-

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

ing in morale and capacity. *Duinit* *Bal* and the poem *Bodhin* seem to us to be failures, but there is no other feature of this number which is without merit or interest.

We have left to the last Dr. P. C. Ray's long article on "the Bengali Brain and its Misuse". It is a long indictment of past and present Bengal, covering sixteen pages of the magazine. Dr. P. C. Ray is a name which is already a pride to the nation to which he belongs and his deep scientific knowledge, original research and creativeness are one of the most conspicuous instances of that strong, acute and capable Bengali intellect which he admits to be inferior to none. Any article from his pen must be of great interest and cannot be without value. But it is one of the unfortunate results of the denationalising influence of our past education that a mind like Dr Ray's should be without intellectual sympathy for the old national culture whose inherited tendencies his own character, life and achievements illustrate in so distinguished a manner. If it had not been for the past which Dr P. C Ray condemns, such noble types as the last fifty years of Bengal teems with, would not have been possible. As to the necessity of far-reaching changes in the future we do not greatly differ with the writer. The immediate past has been a period of contraction and the reservation of strength, the future will be a period of expansion and the liberation and expenditure of strength. The structure of the new age must necessarily differ from that of the old. But the spirit of the article is narrow and intolerant. It is couched in that general spirit of self-depreciation and indiscriminate fault-finding which was a characteristic of our people when national hope and energy were at their nadir. There are all the stock denunciations with which we were familiar

before the recent resurgence. Such writings void of the note of hope, encouragement and energy, will not help a nation to rise but rather depress it and push it back into the past. Moreover, Dr. Ray makes the same mistake which European writers made when they condemned the Middle Ages wholesale because they were a period of contraction and not of expansion. That mistake has now been recognised in Europe and justice has been done to that which was praiseworthy as well as to that which was bad in the "Dark Ages". We in India are recovering from a similar error and if there are those who go to the opposite extreme and see nothing good outside the mediaeval Hindu culture and forms, the same thing happened in Europe and for the same reason, as a reaction from that very intolerance and sweeping denunciation which are the spirit of Dr Ray's article. It cannot last any more than it lasted in Europe. Some of the strictures we hold to be too much at secondhand; especially in his criticisms of religion the writer seems to us to be wandering outside the province in which he can speak with authority. After all one must enter into the spirit of an age and civilisation before one can profitably criticise it, otherwise we miss the meaning of history and falsify its values. Nevertheless the article is ably written and should be studied as a complete expression of the Europeanised standpoint in looking at Indian problems. As to the present, Dr Ray lays too much stress on the survivals of the end of the nineteenth century when the national consciousness touched bottom and ignores the youthful strength and energy which is preparing the twentieth.

NEWS.

ANOTHER ASSAULT BY AN EUROPEAN.

BOMBAY, August 7.

Lieutenant Dockwell of the 116th Maharatta, against whom the charge of assault was withdrawn on Thursday before last by a Parsee, was on the 6th charged before Mr. Duttar, Second Magistrate, with assaulting another Parsee youth at Chowpatty. The complainant said that he was taking a walk on the footpath when the accused, who was taking a running exercise with his soldiers on the road, rushed up the footpath, caught the complainant by the neck and threw him down which caused a bruise on his left arm. The complainant was corroborated by a purdest. The accused said that as he passed running by the complainant, the latter laughed and made some remarks in Gujarati. He went back to the complainant to enquire what remarks he made when the complainant stepped backwards and fell. He said that he was justified in catching the the complainant to find out what reason he had to laugh and make a fool of him before his soldiers. The accused called two of his soldiers as witnesses, one of whom said that while running the Shahib's elbow struck the Parsee. Another said that the Shahib's shoulders struck the Parsee who fell. The Magistrate held the evidence for the prosecution trust-worthy. His Worship thought that the accused asked the complainant why the latter laughed at him. This perhaps provoked the accused but the accused was not justified to take the law in his own hands. His Worship warned and discharged the the accused but ordered him to pay the complainant rupee one and annas four for expense.

DISTRICT CONFERENCE OF PABNA.—

The District Conference of Pabna will be held on Aug. 15 next Bibu Durga Sunder Roy, B.L. has been elected President of the Conference. Balin Hem Chander Bhowmick, L. M. a. Chairman of the Municipality, has been elected President of the Reception Committee. All villagers in the district are requested to send delegates. Inhabitants of the residing outside the district are requested to attend.

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NEWS.

CASE AGAINST ATHAVLE.—

Mr. Guider, Special Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, applied to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, on the 5th instant to be allowed under section 191 to withdraw the proceedings against Bal Krishnan Hari Athavle who was arrested at Kalyan on the 15th June with a trunk containing chemicals. Mr. Guider said he declined to offer evidence as the evidence they had against Athavle was not sufficient to justify a conviction. Mr. Guider also asked his Worship to bind over Athavle on his own recognisance to appear on the 11th inst. to give evidence in the case of K. D. Bhaskar who is charged with being in possession of explosive substances. His Worship discharged the accused and ordered him to enter into a bond to appear in Court on the 11th instant to give evidence.

BOYCOTT DEMONSTRATION IN BOMBAY.—

The following notification was issued to-day by the Police Commissioner:—Where-as I am informed that an assembly will be held at Mahajani Wadi or Hira Baug or some other place within the limits of the town and the island of Bombay on or about the 7th day of August, 1909, for the purpose of supporting the boycott movement in India by celebrating the anniversary of the so-called boycott-day or otherwise, I Stephen Meredith Edwards, Esqr., I. C. S. Acting Commissioner of Police for the City of Bombay being of opinion that it is necessary for the preservation of public peace and public safety to prohibit any assembly for such purpose as aforesaid do hereby by virtue of power vested in me by section 25 of the City of Bombay Police Act 1902, prohibit any assembly in the City of Bombay for the purpose of supporting the boycott movement in India for a period of seven days commencing from 6 A. M. on the 7th August, 1909.

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NEWS.

ALIPUR BOMB-CASE-APPEAL.—

The hearing of the appeal of the above case has commenced before the Chief Justice and Justice Carnduff from 9th instant.

INDIAN PRISONERS AT KABUL.—

A correspondent says the latest advices from Kabul state that the five Indians alleged to have been implicated in the recent conspiracy have at last been brought to trial. They have been twice remanded to custody, but feel confident of a speedy release.

BUDDHA'S RELICS.—The recent find of Buddha's relics near Peshawar has been received at Simla and inspected by His Excellency the Viceroy. The question of distribution will now come up for consideration, and it is practically settled that the ashes and four charred bones will be distributed among the great Buddhist communities of Ceylon, Burma, China and Japan. It may be that deputations from these countries will come to take relics, or special envoys will be sent out with gifts.

SIMLA FINE ARTS EXHIBITION.—The awards of Simla Fine Arts Exhibition were announced on the evening of the 9th instant. The Indian artists figure badly. Messrs. Pestonji Bomanji and Handalkar have been given three prizes mainly reserved for Indian artists and not a picture of any intrinsic value has been received from Bengal and the Upper Provinces. The Viceroy's prize has not been awarded, and Major Molyneux who painted the famous picture "Senemarg in Spring" carries off Lord Kitchener's prize with his painting "A Himalayan Solitude." This is the best picture in the show. Mrs. Ambler gets Sir Louis Dane's prize for "A portrait of Mrs. C. T. Ambler." The exhibition will be formally opened on Wednesday.

ARREST OF A EUROPEAN.—

On Wednesday, Inspector Perry of the C. I. D., on receipt of a telegram from the Simla Police arrested in Calcutta a European, named Hinteroggo, who, it is alleged, is concerned in a case of criminal breach of trust under Section 406 I. P. C. The accused it is said will be sent to Simla to-day under Police escort.

শ্রীমতী

বাকালী সাপ্তাহিক পত্র।
সম্পাদক ও বহাধিকারী
শ্রীমতী অরবিন্দ ঘোষ।
সমস্ত প্রকাশিত হইবে।
অগ্রিম বার্ষিক মূল্য—সাধারণ সংস্করণ
সহর ও মহকুমা সরকার ডাকঘাটস সম্বন্ধে
উত্তম সংস্করণ ৫ টারি টাকা মাত্র।
বিজ্ঞাপনের হার পত্রের আত্মসাৎ।
চিঠি-পত্র ও টাকা-কড়ি ১৪নং ভান্ডারকার
ষ্ট্রট "বর্ডার" দ্বারা প্রেরিত হইবে।
একদিন নামে পাঠাইতে হইবে।

NEWS.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF BOMBAY HIGH COURT.—

Mr. Justice Fletcher will shortly be appointed Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court.

RAINFALL.—

Fifty inches of rain have fallen in Calcutta to date this year, and only nine and-a-half inches more are needed to make up the year's average.

HIGH COURT SESSIONS.—

The next Criminal Sessions of the High Court, which will commence on Monday next will be presided over by Mr. Justice Casperia.

THE EDITOR OF KAL.—

Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe, Editor *Kal*, Poona, who was convicted of an offence under section 124 A and who is undergoing his term of rigorous imprisonment, is very much reduced in health. His weight is now 20 lbs. less than what it was before.

ARRIVAL OF MR. POLAK.

Henry S. L. Polak, Honorary Assistant Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Association, arrived in Bombay the other day, when his luggage was carefully examined by the Customs officers. Mr. Polak has come to India to put the case of the Indians in the Transvaal before the Indian public. Mr. Polak is the right-hand-man of Mr. Gandhi and has helped Mr. Gandhi since 1904.

STRANGE INCIDENT.—

The *Deshsevak* office was searched at Nagpur in connection with the prosecution for sedition of Mr. Achut Balwant Kolhatkar, in 1908. It is now eight months since the Sessions Judge delivered judgment in the case. And the register of subscribers of the paper, which was seized by the police during the search, has not yet been returned. The register was not submitted in the case as an Exhibit, and both the District and Sessions Judges were applied to for the register, and yet the register is still not returned though other papers of less importance were returned long ago. Some subscribers of the paper are however writing to the effect that they are being pressed by the police to stop subscribing to the paper.

The *Prabodh* press in which the *Deshsevak* (Nagpur) newspaper is printed and the premises of Mr. Sambhuras Gadgil B. A. LL. B. and Mr. Gopa Anant Ogale, ex-editors of that paper, was searched by the police for nearly three hours. Nothing incriminating was found. A warrant of arrest was shown to Mr. Gadgil who surrendered to the police. Mr. Gadgil was taken to the District Court in a tonga and presented before the District Magistrate. The charge is under Section 124 A for criticism of the Birthday Honours List. Bail was granted and Mr. Gadgil was released.

SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH

(From Suray)

When death overtook him, in the very prime of life, there was desolation in many a poor home in his district. It not only left his own children in absolute poverty, but destroyed the source of ready relief to many helpless families among his relations and neighbours. His quick intellectual perceptions, his large sympathies, his selflessness, characterised by an almost absolute lack of what the man of the world, always working with an eye to the main chance, calls prudence, as a matter of personal calculation—these are Aravinda's inheritance in his father's line.

As a boy, Aravinda received his early education in a public school in England. The old headmaster of this school is reported to have said, when Aravinda's name came prominently before the British public in connection with the State trial of which he was made the principal accused, this time last year—that of all the boys who passed through his hands during the last twenty-five or thirty years, Aravinda was by far and above the most richly endowed in intellectual capacity. From this school he went to Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a student of European classics, and passed the Indian Civil Service examination with great credit. Failing, however, to stand the required test in horsemanship he was not allowed to enter the Covenanted Services of the Indian Government. But returning to India he found employment in the Native State of Baroda, where his endowments and scholarship soon attracted the notice of the authorities, leading to his appointment to the post of Vice-Principal of the State College. Had Aravinda cared for earthly honours or wealth, he had a very splendid opening for both in Baroda. He was held in great respect by the Maharaja. He was loved by the educated classes in the State. He was exceedingly popular with the general public. All these opened very large possibilities of preferment before him in the service of this premier Native State in India.

But there was a new awakening in the country. A new school of thought had arisen, demanding a thorough reconsideration of the old and popular political, economic, and educational ideas and ideals of the people. It abjured the old mendicant methods of prayer, protest and petition. It proclaimed a new gospel of self-help and self-reliance. It called out to the spirit of India to come to its own, to stand upon its own inner strength, and put forth its own native might for the realisation of its true national life. It called aloud for leaders and workers—for the poet, the prophet, the philosopher, the statesman, the orator and the action man, to help the people. It called for all who were not content with the narrow self-interest

yet demanded of any public man in modern India. It wanted men who would not only, as it were, give to their country their leisure moments and their idle pennies, but who would consecrate all their working hours and their hard earnings to the service of the Motherland. The call went home to the heart of Aravinda. His own native Province called for him. It laid on him the yoke of poverty. It offered him the yoke of the saviours of their people and the uplifters of humanity—the yoke of calumny, persecution, imprisonment and exile. Aravinda obeyed the Mother's call, accepted her stern conditions, and cheerfully took up her chastening yoke. He gave up his place in Baroda, worth £500 a year, to take up the duties of Principal in the College started at Calcutta under the new National Council of Education on a bare subsistence allowance of £10 a month.

This movement of National Education owed its origin to the latest education-policy of the Indian Government, who sought to turn the institutions of public instruction in the country to distinctly political ends. The old education had given birth to wide-spread disaffection. It had called into being "the discontented B. A.'s." The new educational policy initiated by Lord Curzon was directed towards curing this evil. Its aim was to manufacture loyal citizens—men who would be eternally content to remain loyal to the autocratic government in their country, without any desire for free citizenship. The movement of National Education was the people's reply to this official policy. It took definite shape and form as a result of the persecution of schoolboys, by the Executive in Bengal, for their participation in the new political movements in the country. But it had a more fundamental need. The officially-controlled education had been condemned by both friends and foes alike. It was shallow and rootless. It imparted the shadow, but not the substance, of modern culture to the youths of the nation. It was artificial, because foreign in both its spirit and form. It led to a fearful waste of youthful time and energy by imposing the necessity of learning a foreign language, to receive instructions through its medium in all the higher branches of study. It was controlled by an alien Bureaucracy, in the interests, mainly, of their own political position, and only secondarily in those of the real intellectual life of the pupils. It was exclusively literary, and detrimental to the industrial and economic life of the country. The movement of National Education was started to counteract these evils of the officially-controlled system of public instruction. It proposed to promote—"Education, scientific, literary, and technical, on National lines, and under National control." But though owing its initiation to the threats of the Government to close the doors of the official schools and colleges and universities against those who would take any part—even to the extent of simply attending—in any political

meeting or demonstration—the National Education Movement in Bengal sought to avoid all open causes of friction with the authorities, and professed to work independent of but not in opposition to the Government. Political in its origin it tried to avoid all conflicts with the authorities by assuming an absolutely non-political attitude.

The school of thought to which Aravinda belonged did not support this declaration of the National Council of Education, and could not appreciate this needless dread, as they thought, of offending official susceptibilities. But they had to accept the verdict of the majority. One of the most unfortunate things in modern public life is the dependence of all large public movement on the help and support of the wealthy classes in the community. Large and organised movements in our times cannot be carried on without large and substantial financial support; and the rich are not willing, as they were in the more primitive times, to lend their support to any institution without seeking to control it. This unfortunate condition lowers the intellectual and moral tone of many a public institution, which, though financed with the monies of the richer classes, would have been able, without their personal intervention or control, to keep up a very superior intellectual or moral standard. This is particularly injurious in comparatively primitive communities, where realised wealth has not yet had time to ally itself with high culture, and where, owing to the absence of a vigorous and free national life, it has but little incentive and lesser opportunities for cultivating such an alliance.

The Nationalists are a poor party in India, and the National Council of Education, though it owed its initiation to their efforts, passed almost from the very beginning; beyond their sphere of influence, and Aravinda's position as the nominal head of the National College, practically controlled by men of different views and opinions, became almost from the very beginning more or less anomalous.

This was, from some point of view, very unfortunate. Aravinda had received the best modern education that any man of his country and generation could expect to have. He had for some years been a teacher of youth in Baroda, and had acquired considerable practical experience in his art. He had clearly realised the spirit and act of the life of his nation, and knew how the most advanced principles of modern pedagogy could be successfully worked into a thoroughly national system of education in India. He went to Calcutta as an educationist. He knew that the foundations of national independence and national greatness must be laid in a strong and advanced system of national education. He had a political ideal, no doubt; but politics meant to him much more than is ordinary understood by the term. It was not a game of expediency but a school of human character, and in

to turn, reacting upon it, should develop and strengthen the mind and womanhood of the nation. Education could no more be divorced from religion or morals. Any system of education that helps such isolation and division between the various organic relations of life, is medieval, and not modern. It is the education of the cloister—abstract and unreal; not the education of the modern man, eager to realise his fullest manhood in and through every relation of life. Aravinda is an apostle of modern education. Indeed, his ideal of modern education is even higher than what is understood by modern education ordinarily in Europe. It is a supremely spiritual ideal. Its aim is to actualise the highest and deepest God-consciousness of the human soul, in the outer life and appointments of human society. It was the temptation of having an open field for the realisation of this lofty educational ideal which brought Aravinda to Calcutta. Had he been given a free hand in the new National College there, that institution would have opened an altogether new chapter not only in the history of modern education in India, but perhaps in the whole world. To work the realism of the spirit of modern culture into the mould of the idealism of ancient theosophy, would not only secure for India her lost position as teacher of humanity, but would, perchance, even save modern civilisation from total collapse and destruction under the pressure of a gross and greedy industrialism.

But, unfortunately, neither individuals nor communities can easily break away from their own past. Most of the members of the new National Council of Education in Bengal were products of the old university. Some of the leading men in the new organisation had been closely associated, for many years, with the actual working out of the old vicious system. Steeped in the traditions of this old education, they could hardly be expected to thoroughly enter into the spirit of modern pedagogy. They were willing to give fair room to the new principles, as an experiment; but could hardly give them their absolute and whole-hearted support, as truths. It seemed to them like jumping into the unknown. While accepting the principle of National Education as education "on national lines" and "under national control," and, consequently, pledged not to accept any official aid, they were not free from the fear of possible official opposition, which, if once aroused, would make their work, they thought, absolutely impossible. They had a real dread of the Bureaucracy, and no strong confidence, really, in their own people. The dominating and declared ideal of the new Council, consequently, came to be not in any way to experiment, but only to supplement the existing Government and University system of education in the country. A timid, temporising spirit, altogether at variance with the new world, new visions and large ideas,

generally guided the work of the National Council, and it made it almost impossible for Aravinda to throw himself heart and soul into his educational work in Calcutta. His place in the National College, though he was its nominal Principal, was not really that of organizer and initiator, but simply of a teacher of language and history, even as it had been in the Maharajah's College at Baroda. He had left Baroda in the hope of finding a wider scope of beneficent and patriotic activity in the new college in Calcutta. That hope was not realised. Almost from the very beginning he saw the hopelessness of working out a truly modern and thoroughly national system of education, through the organisation at whose service he had so enthusiastically placed himself.

But the man possessed by pure passion creates, where he cannot find them ready-made for him, his own instruments for the realisation of his supreme end in life. And wider fields of public usefulness were soon opened before Aravinda. The Nationalist School in Bengal was without a daily English organ. A new paper was started. Aravinda was invited to join its staff. A joint stock company was shortly floated to run it, and Aravinda became one of the directors. This paper—"Bande Mataram"—at once secured for itself a recognised position in Indian journalism. The hand of the master was in it from the very beginning. Its bold attitude, its vigorous thinking, its clear ideas, its chaste and powerful diction, its scorching sarcasm and refined witicism were unsurpassed by any journal in the country, either Indian or Anglo-Indian. It at once raised the tone of every Bengali paper, and compelled the admiration of even hostile Anglo-Indian editors. Morning after morning not only Calcutta, but the educated community almost in every part of the country, eagerly awaited its vigorous pronouncements on the stirring questions of the day. It even forced itself upon the notice of the callous and self-centred British press. Long extracts from it commenced to be reproduced week after week, even in the exclusive columns of the "Times" in London. It was a force in the country which none dared to ignore, however much they might fear or hate it, and Aravinda was the leading spirit, the central figure, in the new journal. The opportunities that were denied him in the National College he found in the pages of the "Bande Mataram," and from a tutor of a few youths he thus became the teacher of a whole nation.

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S. AUROBINDO GHOSHE'S
SPEECH.

KRMAYOGIN.

Baba Aurobindo Ghose rose amidst
loud cheers and said that when he con-
sented to attend the meeting, he never
thought that he would make any speech.
In fact, he was asked by the organisers
of the meeting simply to be present there.
He was told that it would be sufficient if
he came and took his seat there. Now he
found his name among the speakers. The
Chairman of the meeting, whose invita-
tion was always on order, had called upon
him to speak.

TWO REASONS FOR SILENCE.

He had two reasons as to why he ought
not to speak. The first was that since he
was again at liberty to address his
countrymen he had made a good many
speeches and he had exhausted every-
thing that he had to say and he did not
like to be always repeating the same
thing from the platform. He was not an
orator and what he spoke was only in the
hope that some of the things he might say
might go to the hearts of his countrymen
and that he might see some effect of his

speeches in their action. Merely to come
again and again to the platform and the
table was not a thing he liked.
Therefore he preferred to see what his
countrymen did.

Another reason was that unfortunately
he was unable to address them in their
mother language and therefore he always
felt averse to inflict an English speech
on a Bengalee audience.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

That evening he wished to speak only
a few words because he owed an explana-
tion to his friends. The form that his
activities had taken after he had come
from jail had disappointed a great many.

THE HARE STREET FRIEND.

There was first a great friend of his
own and India's who lived in Hare
Street—(laughter)—and he was very
much disappointed by the form of his
(the speaker's) activities. So great was
this friend's anxiety for the Indians that
that anxiety had cost him Rs. 15,000 (A
voice: Another Rs. 7,500 as costs.) In
his anxiety to help the Indians he follow-
ed the ancient maxim that truth meant
only whatever was for the good of others.
Unfortunately the Judge would not take
that large view of the matter. And so
our friend was silently suffering. (A
voice: "Passive resistance.") (Laught-
er.) His friend said that he had heard
that S. Aurobindo Ghose had promised
to devote himself to literature and reli-
gion, and it was strange that Mr. Ghose
should go to Jhalakati and make speeches
on Swadeshi and boycott.

নারী-ধর্ম।

প্রিয়তম! নারীর চরিত্রকে পণ্ডিত।

প্রত্যেক নারীর অবস্থার উপায়ের
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বাকুল বসু। ১৪ নং শ্রাম বাজার স্ট্রীট, কল-
কতা এজেন্সিতে প্রাপ্য।

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কার বিশেষ কৃতিত্ব দেখাইয়াছেন। হিন্দু-
গৃহে নারীর কি ভাবে জীবন যাপন করা
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ক্ষুট চিত্র দেওয়া হইয়াছে।

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He (speaker) was devoting himself to literature and religion. He was writing as he wrote before on Swaraj and Swadeshi, and that was a form of literature. He was speaking on Swaraj and Swadeshi and that was part of his religion. (Cheers.)

THE POLICE.

Another quarters he had disappointed with the police. (Laughter.) He had received a message from them saying that he was opening his mouth too much. He gave an interview to a press representative and told him something mainly about the food and accommodation in the government Hotel at Alipore. (Laughter.) He was immediately informed that that was a great indiscretion on his part and that it would bring trouble on him. When he went to Jhalakati the attentions of the police pursued him. They told the Barisal people and the local merchants that if he (speaker) was taken there the District Conference would be stopped.

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They got the answer that that was not in the peoples hands, but the coming of Aurobindo Ghose was in their hands and Aurobindo Babu would come whatever the consequences of the Conference. And the Conference did take place. After his return he was again informed that he was qualifying for deportation—his fault was that he was appearing too much in public meetings. Some of the best loved workers in the country had already been deported and the first reason alleged was that they had been financing a revolution and troubling the peace of the country. When the Government in Parliament were heckled out of that position, it escaped as if by accident from one of the members that one very important reason for the deportation was that the deportees had taken part in the Swadeshi agitation. This was borne out by the suggestion he had received, and it seemed that it was by supporting the Swadeshi that they laid themselves open to

deportation. Now, it was not like to be intimidated. It was only made him persist in doing his duty more obstinately, and if he spoke to-day, it was partly because of that friendly suggestion.

THE MADRAS FRIEND.

There were other friends who were nearer to us than those he had mentioned, but they also were dissatisfied with his activities. There was, for instance, a friend in Madras (“The Indian Patriot”) who invited him to give up politics and become a “Banyasi.” This anxiety for his spiritual welfare somewhat surprised him at the time, but he was yet more surprised by the persistence of his friend's anxiety. One reason for suggesting inactivity to him was that he was imperilling his safety. That was a very singular reason to put before a public man for shirking his duty.

THE REFORMS.

Another reason for his Madras friend's advice was that he (speaker) was speaking against the reforms. It appeared that his (speaker) was guilty

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of a great error in throwing a doubt on the reality of the reforms. Whatever any offer was made to the country by the officials, it was a habit of his to look at it a little closely. It was a part of English politeness, and also a principle of their commerce that when a present was given or an article sold it was put in a very beautiful case and its appearance made very attractive. But his long residence in England had led him to know that there were a kind of goods, called Brummagem goods, and that was synonym for shoddy. He looked into the reforms and they seemed to him to belong to that class. Then there was another point. He was a little jealous of gifts from that quarter because the interest of the people and the officials were not the same. The position was such that if reforms give any increase and enlargement of the people's rights or rather a beginning in that direction—for at present the people had no real right or share in the government—any beginning of the kind meant a shrinking of bureaucratic powers. It was not likely that the officials would readily give up any power to which they cling. Therefore when reform was offered he always asked himself how far that was a real beginning of self-government or how far it was something given to them to draw their attention from their real path to salvation. It seemed to him that the reforms give them not the slightest real share in the government of the country, but instead they would merely throw an apple of fresh discord among them. They would only be a cause of the fresh strike and want of unity. Those who are led away by the reforms would not only diminish the powers of this country but led others into the wrong path.

THE POONA SPEECH.

Only 2 or 3 days ago, his fears were confirmed. Certain utterances had come from one from whom they were least expected—one who had served and made sacrifices for the country. He said that those who spread the gospel of Swaraj were mad men outside the limited asylum and those who preached passive resistance as a means of gaining Swaraj were liars who

did not speak out their real thoughts to save their skin; he invited the country to denounce them as enemies of the country and of its progress and justified all that the Government had done by saying that the only attitude the Government could take was stern and heartless repression.

Well, if it were true that only fear made them take to passive resistance; if they flinched now from the boycott because some had been deported; if they ceased to proclaim the ideal of Swaraj; if they ceased to preach the boycott, then only it would be true that they had adopted an ideal that they could not reach and proclaim means of reaching it in which they did not believe, because they were anxious to save their skin.

He had heard many warnings recently that those who persisted in public agitation would be deported. For himself, and he was not a model of courage, residence for the best part of a year in a solitary cell had been an experience which took away all the terrors of deportation (Cheers.) If he had ever had any fear, the kindness of the authorities in giving him that experience had cured him of them. (Laughter.) He had found that with the ideal of Swaraj to uphold and the mantra of "Bande Mataram" in the heart, there was nothing so very terrible in jail or deportation. That was the first thing he would like to impress on them as the result of his experience. Imprisonment in a righteous cause was not so terrible as it seemed, suffering was not so difficult to bear as our anticipations made it out. The prize to which they aspired was the greatest to which a nation could aspire and if a price was asked of them, they ought not to shrink from paying it.

THE MIXED POLICY.

He was not afraid of deportations and imprisonment but he was afraid of the hand who patted them on the back and the voice that soothed. The mixed policy of repression and kindness was the thing he feared most. The whip was still there uplifted though it was not just now falling upon them, but the other hand was held out to stroke the head and soothe. This offer of conciliation in one hand and the pressure of repression in the other

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might have the effect of slackening their efforts and bewildering their intelligence. They must not forget that some of their most devoted workers were rotting in British jail under the name of deportation. What was the meaning of conciliation when men like Aswini Kumar Dutta, Krishna Kumar Mitter and others were taken away from them and not released? What kind of conciliation was this which was offered us while this great wrong remained unremedied. Who could trust such a conciliation?

THE BOYCOTT

Let them not forget what they had set out to do when they declared the boycott. They had determined to undo the partition of Bengal. The partition still remained. So long as that remained, should they listen to the soothing voice? Should they give up the boycott or slacken the boycott? They had determined to revive the industries of their country. They had determined to save their countrymen from chronic starvation, but that had not yet been accomplished. Should they leave the boycott or slacken the boycott while it remained unaccomplished? Would the reforms save the country from that chronic starvation? When famine came the Government opened relief works as soon as its local officials could bring themselves to acknowledge that there was a famine in the land. That saved a number of lives, but it did not save us from the misery, the mortality, the thousands of ruined homes. That did not strike at the root of the chronic starvation and famine; Swadeshi and boycott alone could strike at the root. So long as the exploitation of the country by foreign trade remained, would they injure their country by giving up or slackening the boycott? Would they be faithful to the country if under such circumstances they were ready to listen to the soothing voice? If they did that, it would be because they could not bear the suffering and pay the price of raising up their country and they would prove themselves unworthy of the freedom to which they aspired. The time was a critical one and when the question was once more put to them they must always be ready to answer.

7TH OF AUGUST.

The 7th of August was very near. It was the birthday of the boycott, the birth day of the new spirit in India.

It was not much they had to do. Only once more to utter the sacred *mantra* of Bande Mataram, once more to declare that India was not lifeless, that Bengal was faithful to the vow she had made. He waited to see what would happen on that date in Bengal, whatever they would attend in their hundreds or in their thousands or in their tens of thousands. It was Bengal on which the burden of the struggle fell because she first had preached the Gospel, and she first had had the courage to bear suffering for the Gospel. Therefore God had given them the privilege to bear the greater part of the suffering. By so doing, he had shown a great love towards Bengal. The fate of India was with the Bengalees. As they answered the question put to them, the future would be determined. It was not the first time the question had been put or the last time it would be put for it was not the crisis of a moment but a protracted struggle. The question was with them always and very moment their responsibility for answering it in the right sense remained with them. But especially on such a day as the seventh of August the responsibility was great. They waited to see what would be the answer to the question.

CONCLUSION.

But even if the response were less than he expected, even if the demoralisation he had heard of were real and there were a shrinkage in the numbers that attended that would not discourage him.

So long as in this country there were a few who had the courage of their faith, so long as there were even a few who were ready to proclaim their faith and live it, there was no fear for the ultimate triumph of the faithful.

It is described in the Christian Bible how the cult of the true faith was almost extinguished by persecution and all Israel turned from Jehovah to foreign idols, and even the chief prophet of the faith thought himself alone and hid his head. God called to him to go forth and strive with the priests of Baal. "Always" He said, "the nation I have chosen there are some who confess me and now too in this nation there are seven thousand who have not bowed the knee

to Baal. So always in this Bengal which God had chosen there would always be several thousands who would be true to the faith and never bow the knee to false gods. If the voices that proclaimed it were silenced, if the organisers were taken away, others would rise in their place, if those were taken, still others would come, if few, yet faithful. Some would always be left who would not be afraid to utter the name of their mother. Some would still preserve the faith and preach the gospel "Their was the blood of *Kakabij*. (Laughter and cheers.)" For their action sprang from no passing or material interest but from something that was imperishable and perennial. It was something which the fire could not burn and the sword could not kill; the winds of repression could not wither and all the waters could not drown. For all that there was a great importance in the nation's response on the 7th of August. On our action now it depended whether salvation come swiftly or were put off and the struggle and suffering prolonged for decades.

On their fidelity to Swadeshi, to Boycott, to passive resistance rested the hope of a peaceful and spiritual salvation. On that it depended whether India would give the example unprecedented in history of a revolution worked out by moral force and peaceful pressure. For on the 7th August the strength of the nation would be measured, not the numerical strength, but the moral strength which was greater than any physical. He appealed to the audience to see that no one of the thousands assembled remained absent on that day.

They must remember that it was a day of worship and consecration, when the mother looked upon her assembled children. She would ask on this 7th of August how many were faithful to her and whether after her centuries of affliction she had still years of suffering to endure, or by the love and strength of her children might expect the approaching hour of her felicity. If they were unfaithful now let them remember to whom they would be unfaithful,—to themselves, to their vows, to the future of their country, to God, to their mother.

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Vol. I.

5th BHADRA 1316.

No. 9.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Srijut Surendra Nath Banerji's Return.

The veteran leader of Moderate Bengal has returned from his oratorical triumphs in the land of our rulers. The ovations of praise and applause which appreciative audiences and newspaper critics of all shades of opinion have heaped upon him, were thoroughly deserved. Never has the great oratorical gift with which Srijut Surendranath is so splendidly endowed, been displayed to such faultless advantage as in these the crowning efforts of his old age. The usual defect of his oratory, an excess of language and rhetoric over substantial force, a defect which also limited Gladstone's oratory and made it the glory of an hour instead of an abiding possession to humanity, was absent from these speeches in England. For the first time the orator rose to the full height of a great and sound eloquence strong in matter as in style. With the statesman's part in the speeches we do not wholly agree. Nevertheless it must be accounted as righteousness to Srijut Surendranath that he enforced the Moderate Nationalist view of things,—a very different view from Mr. Gokhale's which is certainly not Nationalism and hardly even strong enough to be called Moderatism,—to its utmost limits and did not leave the English public under the vain delusion that

some paltry tinkering with the Legislative Councils would satisfy the aspirations of an awakened India. His first speeches accepting the reforms were great blunders which might have done infinite harm, but his later utterances, however equivocal on this point, did much to redress the balance. We await with interest Srijut Surendranath's action in this matter. In our view the one policy for us is "No control, no co-operation," and in this we believe we are supported not only by the whole mass of advanced Nationalist opinion but by a great body of Moderates. The danger is that the older Moderates, trained in a much less exacting system of political agitation, may attempt to enforce the demand for control only in speech while in action conceding co-operation without control and thus giving away for some fancied and worthless advantage the vital position of the new movement. The reforms give no control, therefore the reforms must be rejected. Co-operation is our only asset, the only thing we can offer in exchange for control, the only thing by withholding which we can by pressure bring about the cession of control. It would be the height of political folly to give away our only asset for nothing.

A False Step.

Srijut Surendranath's maladroit reference to the outrages when speaking

at Bombay was a false step which he has since made some attempt to recover. However it be put, it was maladroit and unnecessary. Any promise of co-operation in this respect implies an admission that we have the power to prevent these incidents and are therefore to some extent responsible either for bringing them about or for not stopping them before. It echoes the indiscretion by which Sir Edward Baker sought to make a whole nation responsible for these acts of recklessness and excuses the vindictive and headstrong utterances in which Mr. Gokhale tried to protect his own party and invoke the fiercest repression against his Nationalist countrymen. The isolated instances of assassination during the last year or more have been the reaction, deplorable enough, against the insane policy of indiscriminate police rule and repression which was started and progressively increased in the recent stages of the movement. Not by a single word or expression ought any public man to allow the responsibility to be shifted from the right quarter and to rest in the slightest degree on the people who had no part in them, no power to detect and stop the inflamed and resolute secret assassin and no authority given them by which they can bring about the removal of the real causes of the symptom. To dissociate oneself is

a different matter. That should be done clearly, firmly and once for all.

A London Congress.

It is a pity that his oratorical triumphs in England seem to have blinded S. J. Surendranath to their small utility to the country. So far has he been led away by the slight and transient effect he has produced on the surface of the public mind in England that he is attempting to revive the old and futile idea of a Congress in London. Whether he will prevail on his fellow-Conventionalists to perpetrate this huge waste of money, we cannot say. The break-up of the Congress and the "stern and relentless repression" of the Nationalist party has delivered the old Congress Conservatives from the fear of public opinion. Needless to say, no so-called Congress held under such circumstances will be representative of the people. It is the old love of striking theatrical effects addressed to an English audience as patrons that has been revived in S. J. Surendranath by his visit. We notice that the dead cant about the faith in the sense of justice of the Government and the British Democracy once more reappears in the columns of the *Bengalee*. All these are bad signs. What is it that the Moderate Leader proposes to effect by this expenditure of money which might be so much better used in the country itself? We fail to see how a meeting of forty or fifty Indians, however eminent and respectable, prosing about Indian grievances and the sense of justice of the British democracy or the immaculate Liberalism of Lord Morley can do any lasting service to the cause of India in England. Even if this could be turned into a really imposing theatricality, the effect of such shows in European countries is merely a nine days' wonder unless they are followed up. It is natural that an orator should overrate the effect of oratory, but S. J. Surendranath is surely aware that the greatest speeches or series of speeches unconnected with its own interests now produce on the blasé British public only the effect of a passing ripple which is immediately effaced by the next that follows. Either therefore his proposal means only some temporary theatricals and waste of money or he must persuade our people to resume the old aban-

doned policy and carry on a perennial campaign in England for the "education" of the British Public. Only as part of such a campaign had the proposal of a London Congress ever any meaning or justification. But even in its best days, the Congress leaders could never produce enough men, money and energy for so stupendous a work, and it is doubly impossible now that the old policy is discredited. Certainly, if S. J. Surendranath thinks that the newly awakened energies of India are going to follow him in throwing themselves into this channel, he is grievously mistaken. Not all his prestige and influence can put back the hands of the clock so utterly. The Indian movement has really to deal not with the British democracy, which is an almost negligible factor in Indian affairs, but with the politicians in Parliament, His Majesty's ministers and the powerful influence in England of the official and commercial English out here. These are hard-headed and obstinate forces which, so far as they can at all rise out of the narrow groove of class interests or racial pride and prejudice, can only be influenced by one consideration, the best way to preserve the Empire in India. Even in the minds of Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Mackarness that cannot fail to be a dominant consideration. If any educational work has to be done in England, it is to convince these classes that it is only by the concession of control that the co-operation of the Indian people can be secured. And that work is best done from India.

THE POWER THAT UPLIFTS.

Of all the great actors who were in the forefront of the Italian Revolution, Mazzini and Cavour were the most essential to Italian regeneration. Of the two Mazzini was undoubtedly the greater. Cavour was the statesman and organizer, Mazzini the prophet and creator. Mazzini was busy with the great and eternal ideas which move masses of men in all countries and various ages, Cavour with the temporary needs and circumstances of modern Italy. The one was an acute brain, the other a mighty soul. Cavour belongs to Italy, Mazzini to all humanity. Cavour was the man of the hour, Mazzini is the citizen of Eternity. But the work of

Mazzini could not have been immediately crowned with success if there had been no Cavour. The work of Cavour would equally have been impossible but for Mazzini. Mazzini summed up the soul of all humanity, the idea of its past and the inspiration of its future, in Italian forms and gave life to the dead. At his breath the dead bones clothed themselves with flesh and the wilderness of poisonous brambles blossomed with the rose. Mazzini found Italy corrupt, demoralised, treacherous, immoral, selfish, wholly divided and incapable of union; he gave her the impulse of a mighty hope, a lofty spirituality, an intellectual impulse which despising sophistry and misleading detail went straight to the core of things and fastened on the one or two necessities, an ideal to live and die for and the strength to live and die for it. This was all he did, but it was enough. Cavour brought the old Italian statesmanship, diplomacy, practicality and placed it at the service of the great ideal of liberty and unity which Mazzini had made the overmastering passion of the millions. Yet these two deliverers and lovers of Italy never understood each other. Mazzini hated Cavour as a dishonest trickster and Machiavellian, Cavour scorned Mazzini as a fanatic and dangerous firebrand. It is easy to assign superficial and obvious causes for the undying misunderstanding and to say that the monarchist and practical statesman and the Utopian and democrat were bound to misunderstand and perpetually distrust and dislike each other. But there was a deeper cause.

The one thing which Mazzini most hated and from which he strove to deliver the hearts and imaginations of the young men of Italy was what he summed up in the word Machiavellianism. The Machiavellian is the man of pure intellect without imagination who, while not intellectually dead to great objects, does not make them an ideal but regards them from the point of view of concrete interests and is prepared to use in effecting them every means which can be suggested by human cunning or put into motion by unscrupulous force. Italian patriotism previous to the advent of Mazzini was cast in

this Machiavellian mould. The Carbonari movement which was Italy's first attempt to live was permeated with it. Mazzini lifted up the country from this low and ineffective level and gave it the only force which can justify the hope of revival, the force of the spirit within, the strength to disregard immediate interests and surrounding circumstances and, carried away by the passion for an ideal, trusting oneself to the impetus and increasing velocity of the force it creates, to scorn ideas of impossibility and improbability and to fling life, goods and happiness away on the cast of dice already clogged against one by adverse Fortune and unfavourable circumstance. The spiritual force within not only creates the future but creates the materials for the future. It is not limited to the existing materials either in their nature or in their quantity. It can transform bad material into good material, insufficient means into abundant means. It was a deep consciousness of this great truth that gave Mazzini the strength to create modern Italy. His eyes were always fixed on the mind and heart of the nation, very little on the external or internal circumstances of Italy. He was not a statesman but he had a more than statesmanlike insight. His plan of a series of petty, local and necessarily abortive insurrections strikes the ordinary practical man as the very negation of common sense and political wisdom. It seems almost as futile as the idea of some wild brains, if indeed the idea be really cherished, that by random assassinations the freedom of this country can be vindicated. There is, however, a radical difference. Mazzini knew well what he was about. His eyes were fixed on the heart of the nation and as the physician of the Italian malady his business was not with the ultimate and perfect result but with the creation of conditions favourable to complete cure and resurgence. He knew final success was impossible without the creation of a force that could not be commanded for some time to come. But he also knew that even that force could not succeed without a great spiritual and moral strength behind its action and informing its aspirations. It was this strength he sought to create. The spiritual force he created by the

promulgation of the mighty and uplifting ideas which pervade his writings and of which Young Italy was the organ. But moral force cannot be confirmed merely by ideas, it can only be forged and tempered in the workshop of action. And it was the habit of action, the habit of strength, daring and initiative which Mazzini sought to recreate in the torpid heart and sluggish limbs of Italy. And with it he sought to establish the sublime Roman spirit of utter self-sacrifice and self-abnegation, contempt of difficulty and apparent impossibility and iron insensibility to defeat. For his purpose the very hopelessness of the enterprises he set on foot was more favourable than more possible essays. And when others and sometimes his own heart reproached him with flinging away so many young and promising lives into the bloody trench of his petty yet impossible endeavours, the faith and wisdom in him upheld him in the face of every discouragement. Because he had that superhuman strength, he was permitted to uplift Italy. Had it been God's purpose that Italy should become swiftly one of the greater European powers, he would have been permitted to free her also. He would have done it in a different way from Cavour's,—after a much longer lapse of time, with a much more terrible and bloody expense of human life but without purchasing Italy's freedom in the French market by the bribe of Savoy and Nice and with such a divine output of spiritual and moral force as would have sustained his country for centuries and fulfilled his grandiose dream of an Italy spiritually, intellectually and politically leading Europe.

The work was given to Cavour precisely because he was a lesser man. Mazzini saw in him the revival of Machiavellianism and the frustration of his own moral work. He was wrong, but not wholly wrong. The temper and methods of Cavour were predominately Machiavellian. He resumed that element in Italian character and gave it a triumphant expression. Like the Carbonari he weighed forces, gave a high place to concrete material interests, attempted great but not impossible objects and by means which were bold but not

heroic, used diplomacy, temporising and shuffling with a force of which they were incapable and unlike them did not shrink from material sacrifices. He succeeded where they failed, not merely because he was a great statesman, but because he had learnt to cherish the unity and freedom of Italy not as mere national interests but as engrossing ideals. The passion greater than a man's love for child and wife which he put into those aspirations and the emotional fervour with which he invested his Liberal ideal of a free Church in a free State, measure the spiritual gulf between himself and the purely Machiavellian Carbonari. It was this that gave him the force to attempt greatly and to cast all on the hazard of a single die. He had therefore the inspiration of a part of the Mazzinian gospel and he used the force which Mazzini created. Without it he would have been helpless. It was not Cavour who saved Italy, it was the force of resurgent Italy working through Cavour. History often misrepresents and it formerly represented the later part of the Revolution as entirely engineered by his statecraft, but it is now recognised that more than once in the greatest matters Cavour planned one away and the great Artificer of nations planned in another. But Cavour had the greatest gift of a statesman, to recognise that events were wiser than himself and throwing aside his attachment to the success of his own schemes to see and use the advantages of a situation he had not foreseen. This gift Mazzini, the fanatic and doctrinaire, almost entirely lacked. Still the success of Cavour prolonged in the Italian character and political action some of the lower qualities of the long-enslaved nation and is responsible for the reverses, retardations and deep-seated maladies which keep back Italy from the fulfilment of her greatness. Mazzini, with his superior diagnosis of the national disease and his surgeon's pitilessness, would have probed deeper, intensified and prolonged the agony, but made a radical cure.

The circumstances in India forbid the use of the same means as the Italians used. But the general psychological laws which govern nations in their rise, greatness,

decline and resurgence are always the same. The freedom we seek in India may be different in its circumstances from Italian freedom, the means to be used are certainly different, but the principle is the same. The old patriotism of the nineteenth century in India was petty, unscrupulous, weak, full of insincerities, concealments, shufflings, concerned with small material interests not with great ideals, though not averse to looking intellectually and from far-off at great objects. It had neither inspiration nor truth nor statesmanship. Nationalism has done part of the work of a Mazzini by awakening a great spiritual force in the country and giving the new generation great ideals, a wide horizon of hope and aspiration, an intense faith and energy. It has sought like Mazzini to raise up the moral condition of the nation to the height of love, strength, self-sacrifice, constancy under defeat, unwearied and undaunted persistence, the habit of individual and organised action, self-reliance and indomitable enterprise; but it has rejected the old methods of insurrectionary violence and replaced them by self-help and passive resistance. That work is not yet complete. Only when it is complete will it be possible for a strength to be generated in the country which the past represented by the bureaucracy will consent to recognise as the representative of the future and to abdicate in its favour by a gradual cession of powers. It is our hope that as the work has begun, so it will continue in the spirit of Nationalism and not only the political circumstances of India be changed but her deeper diseases be cured and by a full evocation of her immense stores of moral and spiritual strength that be accomplished for India which Mazzini could not accomplish for Italy, to place her in the head and forefront of the new world whose birth-throes are now beginning to convulse the Earth.

THE KATHA UPANISHAD.

PART II.

CHAPTER II.

1. Yama said. "The Unborn who is not devious-minded hath a city with eleven gates; when He taketh a abode in it He

grieveth not, but when He is set free from it, that is His deliverance. This is the thing thou seekest.

2. Lo, the Swan whose dwelling is in the purity, He is the Vasu in the interregions, the Sacrificer at the altar, the Guest in the vessel of the drinking; He is in man and in the Great Ones and His home is in the Law and His dwelling is in the firmament; He is all that is born of water and all that is born of earth and all that is born of the mountains. He is the Truth and He is the Mighty One.

3. This is He that draweth the main breath upward and casteth the lower breath downward. The Dwarf that sitteth in the centre, to Him all the Gods do homage.

4. When this encased spirit that is in the body falleth away from it, when He is freed from its casing, what is there then that remaineth? This is the thing thou seekest.

5. Man that is mortal liveth not by the breath, no, nor by the lower breath; but by something else we live in which both these have their being.

6. Surely, O Gautama, I will tell thee of this secret and eternal Brahman and likewise what becometh of the soul when one dieth.

7. For some enter a womb to the embodying of the Spirit and others follow after the Immovable; according to their deeds is their goal and after the measure of their revealed knowledge.

8. This that waketh in the sleepers creating desire upon desire, this Purusha, Him they call the Bright One, Him Brahman, Him Immortality, and in Him are all the worlds established; none goeth beyond Him, This is the thing thou seekest.

9. Even as one Fire hath entered into the world but it shapeth itself to the forms it meeteth, so there is one Spirit within all creatures but it shapeth itself to form and form; it is likewise outside these.

10. Even as one Air hath entered into the world but it shapeth itself to the forms it meeteth, so there is one Spirit within all creatures but it shapeth itself to form and form; it is likewise outside these.

11. Even as the Sun is the eye of all this world, yet it is not soiled by the outward blemishes of the visual, so there is one Spirit within all creatures, but the sorrow of this world soils it not, for it is beyond grief and his danger.

12. One calm and controlling Spirit within, all creatures that maketh one form into many fashions; the calm and strong who see Him in the self as in a mirror, theirs is eternal felicity and 'tis not for others.

13. The One Eternal in many transient, the One Conscious in many conscious beings, who being One ordereth the desires of many; the calm and strong who behold Him in the self as in a mirror, theirs is eternal peace and 'tis not for others.

14. "This is He," is all they can realise of Him, a highest felicity which none can point to nor any define it. How shall I know of Him whether He shineth or reflecteth one light and another?

15. There the Sun cannot shine and the moon has no lustre; all the stars are blind; there our lightnings flash not neither any earthly fire. For all that is bright is but the shadow of His brightness and by His shining all this shineth.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER I.

Continued.

The wife, Kalyani, gave up thinking and went to the cowshed to milk the cow; then she warmed the milk, fed her child and went again to give the cow its grass and water. When she returned from her task Mohendra said, "How long can we go on in this way?"

"Not long," answered Kalyani, "as long as we can. So long as possible I will keep things going, afterwards you and the girl can go to the town."

Mohendra. "If we have to go to the town at the end, why should I inflict all this trouble on you at all? Come, let us go at once."

After much arguing and contention between husband and wife, Kalyani said, "Will there be any particular advantage in going to the town?"

Mohendra. "Very possibly that place too is as empty of men and empty of means of subsistence as we are here."

Kalyani. "If you go to Murshidabad, Cassimbazar, or Calcutta, you may save your life. It is in every way better to leave this place."

Mohendra, answered, "This house has been full for many years of the gathered wealth of generations. All this will be looted by thieves."

Kalyani, "If thieves come to loot it, shall we two be able to protect the treasure? If life is not saved who will be there to enjoy? Come, let us shut up the whole place this moment and go. If we survive, we can come back and enjoy what remains."

"Will you be able to do the journey on foot?" asked Mohendra. "The palanquin-bearers are all dead. As for cart or carriage, where there are bullocks there is no driver and where there is a driver there are no bullocks."

Kalyani, "Oh, I shall be able to walk, do not fear."

In her heart she thought, even if she fell and died on the way, these two at least would be saved.

The next day at dawn the two took some money with them, locked up room and door, let loose the cattle, took the child in their arms and set out for the capital. At the time of starting Mohendra said, "The road is very difficult, at every step dacoits and highwaymen are hovering about, it is not well to go empty-handed." So saying Mohendra returned to the house and took from it musket, shot, and powder.

When she saw the weapon, Kalyani said, "Since you have remembered to take arms with you, hold Sukumari for a moment and I too will bring a weapon with me." With the words she put her daughter into Mohendra's arms and in her turn entered the house.

Mohendra called after her, "Why, what weapon can you take with you?"

As she came, Kalyani hid a small casket of poison in her dress. Fearing what fate might befall her in these days of misfortune, she had already procured and kept the poison with her.

It was the month of Jyaishta, a savago heat, the earth as if a flame, the wind scattering fire, the sky like a canopy of heated copper, the dust of the road like sparks of fire. Kalyani began to perspire profusely. Now resting under the shade of a pabla-tree, now sitting in the shelter of a date-palm, drinking the muddy water of dried ponds, with great difficulty she journeyed forward. The girl was in Mohendra's arms and sometimes he fanned her with his

robe. Once the two refreshed themselves, seated under the boughs of a creeper-covered tree flowering with odorous blooms and dark-hued with dense shade-giving foliage. Mohendra wondered to see Kalyani's endurance under fatigue. He drenched his robe with water from a neighbouring pool and sprinkled it on his and Kalyani's face, forehead, hands and feet.

Kalyani was a little cooled and refreshed, but both of them were distressed with great hunger. That could be borne, but the hunger and thirst of their child could not be endured, so they resumed their march. Swimming through those waves of fire they arrived before evening at an inn. Mohendra had cherished a great hope that on reaching the inn he would be able to give cool water to his wife and child to drink and food to save their lives. But he met with a great disappointment. There was not a man in the inn. Big rooms were lying empty, the men had all fled. Mohendra after looking about the place made his wife and daughter lie down in one of the rooms. He began to call from outside in a loud voice, but got no answer. Then Mohendra said to Kalyani, "Will you have a little courage and stay here alone? If there is a cow to be found in this region, may Sri Krishna have pity on us and I shall bring you some milk." He took an earthen waterjar in his hand and went out. A number of such jars were lying about the place.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

YOGA

II.

To know Truth and interpret it to man, such perfect concentration of the mind is necessary. Bacon, Plato, Kant, Hegel and Sankaracharya are Yogees of this intellectual type. Whether in Art, Science or any other intellectual domain, we have evidence of this kind of mental exercise.

This Yoga requires as much practice as any other. The man that has self control can alone accomplish this feat of uniting all the scattered powers of the mind and can concentrate them in one continued mental act.

We know from individual experience and historical evidence that such mental abstraction is possible.

We all know how Archimedes was immersed in mathematical calculations and lost his life. The case of Sir Isaac Newton and his pet dog Diamond is another instance of such mental Yoga. The absolute self-forgetfulness of the very deeply engaged chessplayer and the man of science, such as Edison and others, is also a very well-known instance. In reveries, the mind takes no cognisance of the world, but flows out in a certain direction according to its own sweet will. The senses lose their functions for the time being. The mind does not, then, keep within the strict bounds of time and space. An expert musician carries us out of ourselves. When a sudden and strange music breaks the stillness of the night and rouses echo from out of her slumber, the raven down of darkness itself seems to be smoothed, and we leap out of our beds and rush to our windows. We lift our fingers and are all ears. We take in the strains with pleased attention. All our other senses are lulled to sleep, as it were, for the time being and we are "lapped in Elysium," "fancy-free."

We notice this mental abstraction in persons subject to any violent passion. In anger, we do not mind a deep gash on our side, from a deadly weapon. We are bent on wreaking vengeance. We forget all pains and injuries in pursuing the object we have in view. A loving mother will gladly rush into flames to rescue her child, dearer to her than her own life-blood. She may be scorched, and burned but the one overwhelming thought of saving her little dear one is predominant in her mind and she forgets the flames. Even she-bears and tigresses forget forest-fires, while trying to save their young ones. The story of Billamangal and that of Laila Majnoo are well-known. We thus see clearly how in moments of the deepest concentration, we can forget the world of matter. The mind is deeply immersed in one thought or subject, and can say "get thee behind me," to everything else, at least, for the time being.

Some are born Yogees. Newton was one such Yogi. But all are not so. It is possible for every one, to a limited extent, to be an intellectual Yogi, that is, one who can hold the reins firmly on one's men-

tal faculties and can make an united mental effort to master any subject on which one's attention is set. It is a matter of exercise, practice, education. Educate, the faculties properly and you become an intellectual *Yogi*, in your own little way. Every student is such a *Yogi*, for study is *Yoga*,—"Tapasya" to the student.

But it is impossible to devote our mental powers to a subject which has no interest for us. We can only do so, when the subject vitally interests us. Intense curiosity or interest whets the intellect, calls forth its highest energies and efforts, and enables it to grasp a theme that it would otherwise fail to grapple with and overcome.

We have to learn the process. Like the Wrestler, we come to success and power through a thousand falls. Let not our failures dishearten us at the beginning.

Blessed is the man who can believe. Belief is a great power. It vitalises, energises our drooping nerves. If we have a mustard seed of faith and say to this mountain, "Be thou removed and cast into the sea," it shall be removed and cast into the sea. Believe in the falls, more than in success. Through failures, we come to success. We rise, only after falls, not without them or before! We come to Heaven, after we have seen hell for and worked out the evil effects of our own Karma. Hell falls away, as Heaven grows in us. We shall have to pay to the uttermost farthing. We must pay our way even in this matter of *Yoga*. Nothing shall be had unpaid for. We must give up some of our pleasures and vices, in order to practise *Yoga*. We must sacrifice bad habits in order to acquire this good habit of *Yoga*.

Memory is a faculty of the mind that can only be acquired by the closest attention. It can be cultivated and improved when there is a tendency to forget. Mentally repeat the same ideas as many times as you can. Let other ideas suggest, by the law of association of ideas, what you would generally forget! And your memory will perform unexpected feats. Attention, "*Muno-yoga*" and Memory are very nearly related to each other.

What interests the thoughtful man more than general facts and

laws? On them has the mind of man been exercised ever since the intellectual history of mankind began. That which is of local or passing interest is not a theme, to be handled by great intellectual giants. Little things are left to little souls. They have no charms for the great. Little conceits are for pigmies. Titans must have universal, Titanic and permanent themes for treatment. Man can not only unite his own individual powers and faculties within himself, but can unite socially, racially, nationally and internationally, in intellectual commercial and other pursuits. The members of the Royal society and the like, unite, in intellectual operations, men from all parts of the world, to clean the Augean stables of human ignorance. In these days, we meet with clubs and societies, at every step. They are the signs of the times. No one can neglect them. Men have been roused from the lethargy of ages to a sense of the stupendous dimensions of the work before them. Man has felt now, more than even, that he must not only have *Yoga* in himself, but with all the rest of the world; that he can not accomplish the great task before him without the help of his brother man.

HEMENDRANATH SINHA,

The Crime of Colour.

—ooo—

One James Knight, an Australian, has just been sentenced at Pretoria to two months' simple imprisonment pending his deportation from the Transvaal as an undesirable. During the trial evidence was given of previous convictions for house-breaking and theft at Somerset and obtaining money under false pretences at Maritzburg. Thus it would appear that James Knight is a branded criminal. Yet he is leniently treated by the Court. Is it because he is a white man? The Indian passive resisters, on the other hand, even men of light and leading, are made to do scavenging work in the streets, are half-starved in jail, and are beaten and flogged by warders when their weary and unaccustomed limbs fail to do the required amount of "hard labour" with the spade or the broom! Is it because their complexion is brown? What other explanation can the Colonial Hazaras give of the startling contrast between the "simple imprisonment" of the Australian house-

breaker and cheat and the barbarous treatment that is being accorded to His Majesty's subjects for refusing to submit to an unjust and un-British law?

With Mrs. Annie Besant and these of her countrymen who are so eager to instill into the Indian mind a "love for the Empire" and a "proper idea" of the "white man's benevolence" kindly tell us why British subjects of a darker complexion are treated like branded criminals for claiming a reasonable share of the privileges of "the Empire," and why branded criminals of a paler hue are treated with special consideration by the same courts of law that feel no scruple in condemning men like Mr. Gandhi to scavenging work in the streets of Volksrust? Has Lord Morley, who has lent his enthusiastic support to Sir William Lee-Warner's scheme for interpreting "British political principles" to Indian students, taken the trouble to enquire into the horrid revelations made in Mr. Gandhi's letters regarding the treatment of Indian passive resisters in British South African jails? Has his Lordship taken any notice of the death of an Indian passive resister in the beginning of July last through alleged ill-treatment in the Johannesburg Jail? Why have not Sir William Lee-Warner, Mr. Rees, Sir Edmund Cox, and other well-wishers of India anything to say regarding the facts of the case as given in the Pretoria Press and other South African journals and the death certificate of a white doctor who attended the unfortunate deceased? The facts of the case are revolting in the extreme. Veeramuthoo, who was sentenced to 14 days hard labour for hawking without a licence, made a statement on solemn oath before Mr. W. S. Cohn, Justice of the Peace, from which we take the following:

At the camp we received no other food than mealie-pap. When we asked for rice the chief warder told us that there was plenty of grass outside. We were allowed only one blanket and mat per man, although in the tents it was bitterly cold. We were treated with extreme roughness by the native warders placed in charge over us, who pushed us and struck us without the slightest provocation. I and my fellow prisoners were not allowed water for washing or cleaning our teeth before eating, which is enjoined by our religion, during the whole term of our imprisonment. On Tuesday, the 29th June, in the morning, I took my blanket outside, after folding it, as is usual when I was struck with a stick by a native warder, whose name I do not know, the blow tearing a piece of flesh from my thumb, which has not yet healed.

The above is a sample of the general treatment accorded to our countrymen in South African jails for the crime of vindicating their rights as British subjects in a British Colony. The deceased Nagappan, a lad of eighteen, could bear it no longer, and became very ill. Veeramuthoo reported the matter to the

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

chief warder, but that worthy did not believe him and sent the unfortunate boy back to his work. What followed is thus stated by his fellow-prisoner:—

When I returned at 12 o'clock Nagappan told me that he had been struck a fearful blow about the body with a sjambok by Johannes and that he was very ill. The next day (Sunday) he could not take any food. On Monday Nagappan looked as if he would die, and supporting him, I took him to the chief warder, whom I informed that the boy had not had any food for two days that he was very ill, and that he could not work. The chief warder then asked me for how long the boy was sentenced and when I replied that his term was for 10 days, and that he would be released on Wednesday, he exclaimed *Let him die like the other*—."Addressing the boy, he said, "Take a pick and shovel and go with the others on the road." The boy then went with us to work, *we carrying his tools and supporting him all the way*.

These sickening facts were corroborated by another Indian prisoner Moodalay in his statement before the Justice of the Peace. Dr Godfrey's certificate is quoted below:—

This is to certify that I attended Nagappan during his last illness since July 1, 1909. He had just come out of the goal. From the first I saw that he had no hope. If the history that he gave me prior to his death be true, I am of opinion that the Register of Deaths should hold some sort of an inquest. And the Attorney-General should be notified as to the treatment the sick prisoners receive at the different gaol compounds. *In my opinion, the boy's death has been accelerated by the conduct of the gaol officials, if all is true.* . . . Cause of death: Primary, acute double pneumonia; second, heart failure. Duration of disease nine days. BRUISES ALL OVER THE BODY.

Let believers in the "Empire" idea take note!—The Panjabee.

THE RAMKRISHNA HOME OF SERVICE, BENARES.

The Eighth Annual Report of the Ramkrishna Home of Service, Benares, is a record of relief afforded to the suffering poor of the City. It is a highly philanthropic work, done silently and nobly, and the spirit, the method and the

organisation are unique in their kind. Whoever goes through the report will be struck with the noble principle actuating the whole organisation—that of serving humanity as an act of worship. The accounts of the Home bear eloquent testimony to the disinterested motive and self-sacrifice of the workers, as every farthing collected in the name of the poor went to relieve their distress.

The total number of persons, consisting of men, women and children belonging to every province of India and of all castes and creeds, who were served during the year under report, was 3044. It indicates the catholic character of the charitable work which the Ramkrishna Home of Service is carrying on. The number of patients treated in the Home Hospital during the year was 1406. Mr. E. C. Radice I. C. S. C. I. E. Magistrate of Benares, in his annual presidential address, truly remarked that the institution although limited in accommodation, relieved cases for which accommodation is made in no other place. Mr Arundale, vice-principal of the Central Hindu College, Benares, spoke of this institution as "the noblest of all charitable works Benares has to show." Any one visiting Benares would, we are sure, bear similar testimony to the good work done by the Home of Service. We are glad to notice that the institution has, during the last year received generous support in aid of its Hospital fund from several kindhearted gentlemen. The Home of Service is in urgent need of the Hospital which it is building for the accommodation of its daily increasing diseased and homeless poor but has been obliged to discontinue the work owing to want of funds. The whole cost of the building was estimated at Rs. 38000. Funds already promised and subscribed are just sufficient to cover the construction of the out-door dispensary, the office room, five general wards and three infectious wards. But one small general ward, workers quarters, kitchen, servants quarters, privies, bath rooms, the gate, the gateway and the morgue are still unprovided for. The Home appeals to the public for the sum of Rs. 14000 - which is still necessary for the completion of the Hospital Buildings. An institution so noble and humanitarian and so urgently needed in a place like Benares should not be allowed to be hampered in its benevolent work

for want of necessary funds. The generous public would find that every farthing contributed towards this charitable work would be none worthily spent. We join the Home in its appeal to the sympathetic public to strengthen its hand in this hour of need.

N. B. - All contributions should be sent to the Assistant Secretary R. K. Home of Service, Ramapura, Benares city.

NEWS.

COTTON GOODS TRADE.—

The *Monthly Record* of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has published the statistics of cotton exports of yarn and cloth to the East during the months ending 31st May 1909 and in the corresponding twelve months ending May 1906, 1907, 1908. We give some figures below, which will be interesting, from the standpoint of Swadeshi-boycott. The figures are in millions of lbs. and millions of yards.

	Plain Cottons—yards.			
	1909	1908	1907	1906
Bombay	270.0	397.0	416.0	422.0
Calcutta	920.0	1075.0	1059.0	1174.0
Karachi	132.0	229.0	176.0	150.0
	Dyed and Coloured Cottons—yards.			
	1909	1908	1907	1906
Bombay	58.7	60.2	81.7	83.5
Calcutta	46.7	61.0	57.4	70.1
Karachi	29.9	46.9	32.4	41.2
	Printed Cottons—yards.			
	1909	1908	1907	1906
Bombay	86.6	126.0	125.6	125.5
Calcutta	49.5	73.0	48.0	66.5
Karachi	47.9	64.8	67.1	63.4

These figures will show that the imports into India of foreign cotton goods have decreased during the last four years. The imports in Ceylon and Madras show very slight increase but that does not go to make up the heavy deficit in other parts. It might be contended by anti-Swadeshi-Boycotters that this deficit in the imports is due solely to the general depression everywhere. But it is a remarkable thing that the depression did not affect the imports of Twist; on the other hand they have been growing. Besides in the years of general depression of trade, the Indian mills did not materially suffer, but increased in number and in their output. That is the result of the Swadeshi-boycott movement. The movement created a large demand for Indian goods; and it was owing to this demand that the mills were working steadily and escaped collapse owing to the general depression. —*Mahratta*.

"APPEARANCE IS HALF THE MAN."

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It has been pleasing millions of its users and will please you. Sold in 5½ oz. bottles—Sweet Lily, Rose and Jasmine Scented.

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NEWS.

DREAD OF THE "SVARJ".—

The "Mahratta" says the Committee of the Poona General Library of which Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is Vice-President passed a resolution some days ago to exclude from the library Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's paper "Svaraj." A general meeting of subscribers of the library, however, passed a resolution that the paper should be subscribed for. Dr. Bhandarkar has thereupon resigned his office in the library and Rao Bahadur Joshi his membership on the Committee.

A FARIDPUR TEACHER DISMISSED.—

Srijiit Kali Prasanna Ghose, third teacher, Faridpore Ishan Entrance School, has been dismissed for taking part in Boycott demonstrations and leading boys in picketting expeditions.

UNUSUAL INTEREST.—

Only one witness representing the landholders has appeared before Mr. Butterworth now sitting in Madras to record the opinions of the community in connection with the scheme of election to the councils by landholders and Mahomedans. A zemindar of Bhadrachalam, in Godavary district, said he was in favour of nominations to the councils by Government for the simple and incontrovertible reason that the sound and impartial judgment of Government and its officers was a thousand times more valuable for the safe conduct of the administration of the country at the present time than the opinions of men who do not possess or require political information.

COUNCIL REFORM.—

A draft of the proposed constituencies for the Northern Central and Southern Division of the Presidency and City of Bombay for the election of Muslim members of the new Councils has been received by the Anjuman-Islam, Bombay, for its opinion. A reply is requested within a week. The draft is as follows:—The electorate for Muslim elections in the constituencies of the Northern, Central and Southern Divisions shall consist of the following persons:—(1) All Justices of the Peace. (2) All Honorary Magistrates. (3) All landholders paying not less than Rs. 100 as land-revenue. (4) All persons assessed to income tax on Rs. 1000 or more. (5) All graduates of recognised Universities in the British Empire. (6) All holders of titles conferred by Government. In the case of Bombay City for (3) and (4) of above shall be substituted following. (3) All landholders paying not less than Rs. 500 as land-revenue. (4) All persons assessed to income tax on Rs. 2000 or more.

THE ALIPORE BOMB CASE.—

In the hearing of the appeals in the above case in the High Court Mr. C. E. Dase said on the 17th—"My lords, before I proceed to deal with the case I beg to

bring to your Lordships' notice the fact that one of the appellants before your Lordships died last night and that is Asoke chandra Nandi. He was arrested at 131 Harrison Road and was tried in the High Court under the Arms Act for the fact that bombs were found at 124. He was subsequently acquitted of that charge and in spite of that acquittal proceedings against him under section 121 were continued before Mr. Birley. Further in spite of the clear finding of Mr. Birley that the evidence did not establish any connection between Asoke Chandra Nandi and the garden the bail was refused throughout and the learned Sessions Judge admitted him to bail after argument and eventually he convicted him basing largely on the statement of Narendra Nath Mullick. Thereafter we made repeated applications for bail on the ground that he was suffering from phthisis with which he was attacked while in jail. All those applications were refused. We eventually made an application to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and His Honour admitted him to bail. So far as this case is concerned his case goes out. If he had been alive, I am confident I would have been able to prove to your Lordships that not only he was not guilty but he was innocent of all the charges."

The attitude of the Government as regards section 121 I. P. C. will be clear from the following statements and comments on the 14th August:—

Mr. Norton, for the Crown, said that with regard to the charge under Section 121 he had had a consultation with the Government and his instructions were to leave the matter to their lordships. They desired him not to withdraw the charge under Section 121, for two reasons among others. In the first place it involved a charge against Indra Nath Nundy, who was one of those charged in the second batch, and against whom no such defects could be argued as in regard to the first batch. The second reason was that the Government were anxious that, if possible, there should be a decision upon the various questions of law involved here, which would be extremely important both for present as well as for future guidance.

The Chief Justice: They do not instruct you to argue this point?

Mr. Norton: I may frankly state that it was not their intention on the 17th May to include Section 121, because they had not then all the materials with

regard to Section 121 before them to enable them to come to a definite pronouncement. It was only later on that they came into possession of full particulars.

The Chief Justice: Then may it in this way? The Government do not desire you either to withdraw the charge or not to withdraw them, but not their intention to sanction complaint under Section 121 on the 17th May.

Mr. Norton. Yes.

The following letter is published for the information of the public.

The Bengal Provincial conference, 1909.

From

Babu Bishnu Pada Chatterjee.

M-A, B. L.

The Secretary reception

Committee Provincial

Conference Hooghly

To

Babu Jotindra Mohan Sen

Pleaser Dinajpur

Dated Chinsurah

11th August 1909.

Dear Sir,

With Reference to your letter dated the 25th July 1909.

I am to state that it is proposed to run the Hugli conference on the old lines i. e. on the lines of Pabna Conference. So it is not necessary for any association to be affiliated to the Bengal Provincial congress committee to be able to elect delegates to the conference.

I am also to request you to proceed to the election of delegates at once and send in their names to the secretary on or before the 18th inst.

Yours faithfully

(sd) Amulya Chandra Dutta

LALA KANHAYAL ON THE "CONGRESS".—

Lala Kanhyal, pleader of the Lahore Chief Court Bar and one of the oldest Congressmen in the Province, in course of a letter to the *Tribune* declares "in the present state of the country it was highly advisable to lay down the aims and objects of the Congress and that people should join the Congress and being in it, should fight in support of their opinions and create a majority if they can." It is no good, he declares, to find fault with the Congress from outside. He attempts to refute the theory that the Congress has been a self-inflicted evil to the Hindu community and dwells at length on the enormous good work done by the Congress. He says, he is in favour of joining and helping the Congress but he deprecates interference of Government in the Exhibition. The Congress authorities, in his opinion, ought to have done what they could without troubling Government and in that case would have taught the people a lesson in self-help.

LARGEST IN INDIA

Awarded Medal at the Indian Industrial Exhibition of 1906-07.



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Extract from Mr. J. G. Cumming, I. C. '88
Special Report on Industrial Survey of Ben. Ad.
(Vide Calcutta Gazette, August 28th, 1908).
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NEWS.

MALARIA CONFERENCE.

A conference to consider measures for checking malaria will open at Simla, on the 11th inst. Medical officers and selected district officers from malarial tracts will attend.

ARMS ACT.

Revised regulations under the Arms Act will appear in the next "Gazette of India".

PANDIT M. C. SAMADHAYI.

A meeting of the Pandits held at Benares on the 14th August congratulated Pandit Mokhada Charan Samadhai for his honourable acquittal and sympathised for his unmerited sufferings. It was decided to invite him to attend and preside over the great meeting of Vaidik Pandits to be held here next month.

THE DEPORTED PULIN BEHARI DAA.

The *Hindustan* says that the deportee Pulin Behari Daa, now interred in Montgomery Jail, is not allowed to sleep outside at night, though Montgomery is one of the hottest place in India. It makes also complaints as to his food.

GANESH MODAK'S CASE.

Ganesh Modak, agent of the "Vartman" agency, appeared before the Chief Magistrate Mr. Aston to answer the charge under Sec 124 A for spreading sedition by selling a certain number of the *Swaraaj* written and printed by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in London. The Public Prosecutor being indisposed, the case was adjourned.

AN OPENING CEREMONY.

On the 12th August Mr. E. H. Radice, C. I. E. Commissioner of the Lucknow Division formally opened the National Bank of upper India in the presence of a representative assembly composed of about 250 gentlemen of all classes and communities. Among those present were the following:—Mrs. Radice, Raja Sir Tasaduk Rosool Khan, K. C. S. I., the Hon'ble Pandit Sanderlal, C. I. E., Mr. H. G. Warberton, C. S., Mr. Hobart C. S. Kuyar Parmanand, Mr. Davis, Rai Prag Narain Bahadur, Shaikh Shabid Hosain, Nawab Mehdi Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Choudhuri Nathuram Taga, Munshi Abdul Sami, Babu Sita Ram, Pt. Suraj Narain Bahadur, Pt. Ikbal Narain.

NEWS.

Maharaja, Pt. Jwala Dutt Joshi, Pt. Bahadur Dutt Joshi, Moulvi Nizam-ud-din, Mr. V. K. Dutt, Lala Baligram, Shaik Yusuf Hossain Khan, Mr. Burni, Nawab Syed Ali Khan, and Pt. Sheo Behari Lal.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES IN THE PUNJAB.

In the Report on the working of Joint Stock Companies in the Punjab for 1908-09 the Registrar records that the Companies with share capital now number 128 as against 96 last year and 60 eight years ago. This is an unprecedented increase and indicates that a 'boom' in Company promoting has set in which will sensibly affect in one way or another the prosperity of the Province. The nominal capital is about 485 lakhs as against 337 lakhs last year and 157 lakhs in 1900-1901; and the paid up capital 149 lakhs as against 139 and 73, respectively. It will be seen that while the nominal capital has increased since last year by 44 per cent. the paid up capital has increased by only 7 per cent.; further, the paid up capital is 31 per cent. of the nominal, whereas last year it was 41 per cent. It would appear therefore that with an increase in numbers and capital there has not been a corresponding improvement in financial stability. Forty-two new companies were registered during the year. No less than 12 banking and three insurance companies were started with a capital of nearly 77 lakhs, of which 16 per cent. only was paid up. There were 14 new trading companies with diverse objects and five mills. Two tobacco companies were formed at Lahore and a coal company at Sialkot. Ten companies became defunct, including two of those newly started which never commenced business. Of these the most important were the Punjab Motor Transport Company and the Himalaya Glass Works. The Ambala People's Bank, which was started by an enterprising Extra Assistant Commissioner with the object of financing Co-operative Credit Societies, failed because there were no Co-operative Credit Societies in the Ambala District to finance. Seven companies, mostly banks, have increased their nominal capital by 24 lakhs. The largest increase is in the Punjab National Bank (10 lakhs). This company has also a large increase of paid up capital (Rs. 94,000). Other notable increases of paid up capital are in the case of the Punjab Co-operative Bank (2½ lakhs). And the Century Flour Mills (over 1½ lakhs). Registration fees amounted to Rs. 11,045, the highest total on record. Last year the total was Rs. 6,427.

A GREAT WORK ON HINDU RELIGION.

BHISMA;

HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS.

1 The name of the MAHABHARATA has long been known widely all over the civilized world. This great Epic has not been translated into almost all civilized languages. Therefore the story of the Mahabharata is known to all; and the name of the great Patriarch of the Kurus Bhishma, is familiar to every one, whether in the East or in the West.

2 His TEACHINGS to his nephews stand unexampled in world—they are the grandest on the various phases of human duties, religious, social, political and moral, that were ever told to man, or that were ever found in any other literature. It occupies the whole of the SANTI PARVAN of the MAHABHARATA, the biggest, the most difficult, the greatest and the sublimest of all other Parvans.

3. But unfortunately the Mahabharata is not a handy work, but it is a stupendous mass of literature. Hardly there is one in these busy days, who has time or who cares to take the trouble to read this great work from page to page. Therefore the NOBLEST CHARACTER OF BHISMA is not widely known, or so greatly appreciated as it should be. His GREAT TEACHINGS—THE NOBLEST AND THE GRANDEST THAT WERE EVER DELIVERED,—lie hidden under the great mass of the great Mahabharata.

4. We have humbly ventured to undertake the publication of this work. It will be a handy volume and will be written in simple and lucid language, so that every one will be able to read and understand it without the least difficulty. The book will be published in Monthly Parts and will be completed in Twelve such parts. Each Part will come out at the end of every month. PART FIRST SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH are out, fifth is in the press, and will shortly be out.

SUBSCRIPTION—Each Part per V. P. P. is one Rupee.

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Its exposition is in the best style. No Hindu household should be without a copy of this great and grand work. Every Hindu should know on what grand philosophical basis his great Religion stands.

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- (2) The Philosophy of the Upanishads.
- (3) Sankhya Philosophy. (4) Yoga Philosophy. (5) Nyaya Philosophy. (6) Vaisheshika. (7) Mimamsa Philosophy. (8) Vedanta Philosophy. (9) Jaina Philosophy. (10) Buddhist Philosophy. (11) Charvaka and other Philosophies. (12) The Hindu Religion and the Hindu Philosophy.

The book is thus divided into twelve sections, dealing with the Hindu Philosophy in all its phases. Nothing has been left unsaid. The most difficult and abstruse Hindu Philosophy has been placed before the publication of this book in such a lucid way that even a boy will be able to grasp its mystery and understand its import. Price Rs. 2-8. REDUCED Rs. 1-8. Postage Extra.

J. N. BOSE.

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NEWS.

CATTLE AND DAIRY PRODUCE CONFERENCE.

The Cattle and Dairy Produce Conference that has closed is reported not to have touched the question of cattle slaughter as sufficient data were not before it. Zaminders have, it is said, been requested not to convert waste land into cultivated field. Improvement in cattle breeding has been strongly recommended.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN ART.

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc

MR. E. B. Havell, for ten years Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, and perhaps the only Englishman possessing any adequate knowledge of Indian Art, has remarked that "In India there has been, during the last hundred years, a continuous decline of public taste, so that at the present time the educated Indians probably stand behind the rest of the world in artistic understanding." Italics are mine. I suppose there could not be stronger evidence of the baneful character of 'English' education, as now understood in India, than the undisputable fact, that the great majority of persons so 'educated' not only know nothing of the art of their own country, but are absolutely unable to appreciate this most characteristic expression of their own culture even when their attention is called to its existence. They have indeed become strangers in their own land.

Such 'educated' persons, remonstrated with, reply that "perhaps the Gandhara sculptures are of some importance, but these were done under Greek influence; all really important art came from the West then, as it does now." Upon this principle the Schools of Art in India have generally acted. So ingrained is this point of view in the minds of Indians also, that when, as the result of Mr. Havell's sympathetic comprehension and foresight, the European pictures at the Calcutta School of Art were some years ago sold off, and the valuable collection of Indian paintings now there, began to replace them, there was a loud outcry from the Nationalist leaders; "Once more we are betrayed," they cried, "Government is robbing us of the opportunity of progress; it is another part of a deliberate scheme to keep us in the dark." A little healthy prejudice in favour of things Indian, merely because they are Indian, would be preferable to

such blindness. For, once for all let it be said, Indian art is an expression of Indian culture, of the same order of importance as Indian music and literature, each in its own direction a supreme achievement of humanity.

But there yet remains to be written a 'Nature of Indian' that shall be to modern India and to the West, what Ruskin's 'Nature of Gothic' was to Victorian England. Both the achievement and the philosophy of Indian Art are still almost unknown, and are ignored, as Gothic Art was ignored a hundred years ago. But there are already signs of change; and the place of Indian art in the collective culture of humanity a hundred years hence is not less assured than that of Gothic Art to-day.

Two special causes have, together with defective education in modern times, contributed to the neglect of Indian art; first, the entirely scientific and archaeological approach, and second, the concentration of attention upon the artistically unimportant work of the Gandhara School. We have only to turn over the pages of such a work as Grunwedel's *Buddhist Art in India* to realise how completely these two obsessions have obscured the consideration of the significance of Indian art, as art.

The Gandhara sculptures are probably the work of late Greco-Roman craftsmen striving in vain to interpret Indian ideals. Their work constitutes perhaps the least important chapter in the history of Indian art. The whole question of Greek influence has been misapprehended. "The zenith of Greek art was in the fifth century B. C.; of Indian, certainly not before the fourth century A. D. Mr. Vincent Smith's statement, in the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, that Indian sculpture after 300 A. D. hardly deserves the name of art, will not be endorsed by artists. As a matter of fact, it was not until the direct effects of decadent classic influence had passed away that the Indian genius was able to assert itself." The matter depends fundamentally upon religious considerations. The philosophies of Greek and Indian art are poles apart. Greece could not have given to India what is greatest and most essential in her art. In comparison with this fact, the possible borrowing of particular conventions is of the smallest significance; and even here it would be hard to disprove the alternative theory of a common source.

Greek art was the perfect expression of a cult of physical human beauty; Indian art did not despise beauty, of which it had its own ideal, but beauty was not its only aim. Its aim was manifestation; manifestation of a reality beyond the limited conceptions of beauty and ugliness. The Greek portrayed humanity; the Indian, God. Greek art is admittedly in no sense transcendental or mystic; Indian art aimed ever at the intuition of the Infinite Unknown. Without making any comparison of Greek with Indian art in respect of greatness of aim or achievement, it is clear from such considerations

that the one could not have reached the other.

Theoretical and serious study of Indian art is hardly yet begun; the place of art in the national ideal is not realising. Ravi Varma's theatrical and, in the artistic sense of the word, vulgar, paintings are still accepted as a wonderful achievement; the Silpa Sastras lie untouched, the men that used them have forgotten what they mean; the paintings of Tagore are better appreciated in England than in India. Every year the German collector and the American tourist are taking away from India the perfect work of bygone craftsmen, to place in their Museums for the instruction of their own designers, or to set about their drawing rooms as 'ornaments'; every year, too, they are hastening the degeneration of the craftsmen by buying the cheap worthless modern work, which is the result of the craftsmen's discovery that anything is good enough for the ordinary tourist. Every year educated Indians, rich Zemindars and Rajas, spend more on foreign luxuries, and less on the true art that may be found beside their very gates. Shall it be said of us, as it has been said lately by a sympathetic student of Egyptian Nationalism, that our Nationalism too is active as yet only in the realm of pure politics. It is doing nothing to create a native literature, or even to stimulate historical studies. Buried for ever with diplomatic and constitutional questions, the young men who have formed themselves on its teaching are leading an intellectual life as narrow as it is keen. The idea of nationality opens for them no new doors in the world of thought. They do not love the past. They do not seek to find a compensation for political impotence in artistic creation.

I should rather put the last statement in this way that in the world of art there has as yet appeared no sign of life corresponding to the vitality of political ideas.*

For, artistic creation is certainly not to be regarded as a 'compensation for political impotence'; much rather should artistic creation and the struggle for political freedom be equal and complementary evidence of the vitality of the national idealism.

* The new school of national art led by Abanindranath Tagore and his pupils is so far the only—though a very important exception to this general statement.

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It is not the ideal of Indian Nationalism that is in danger. It is the danger that the ideal of the new ideal is not yet, but deep enough. It is not that through art or music education may be brought to a national life slowly, decadent, but that it cannot be but that a true realization of the ideal, a national life overflowing with the abundance of its own power, will find its due expression in every side of culture and of human life. And so it is that the future of Indian art is bound up both with its own past and with the national movement of to-day; and herein lies for us not merely the importance, but the duty which we owe to humanity, of being our true selves, and not merely the imitators of other men, who should see themselves in us reflected as in a glass darkly. The history of Indian art has yet to be written; its aims and achievements interpreted by those whose heritage it is; its dreams more fully realised by artists yet to be. And so it is right for us, even if hesitatingly at first, to endeavour to interpret the philosophy of Indian art.

What after all, is the secret of Indian greatness? Not a dogma or a book; but the great open secret that all knowledge and all truth are absolute and infinite, waiting not to be created, but to be found; the secret of the infinite superiority of intuition, the method of direct perception, over the intellect, a mere organ of discrimination. There is about us a storehouse of the As-yet-Unknown, infinite and inexhaustible; but to this wisdom, access by intellectual means is impossible. The intuition that reaches to it, we call Imagination and Genius. It came to Sir Isaac Newton when he saw the apple fall and there flashed across his brain the Law of Gravity. It comes to the poet as his inspiration; no man ever wrote a poem with his brains. It came to the Buddha as he sat through the silent night in meditation, and hour by hour all things became apparent to him as he knew the exact circumstances of all beings that have ever been in the endless and infinite worlds; at the twentieth hour he received the divine insight by

which he saw all things within the space of the infinite, as clearly as if they were close at hand, then came still deeper insight, and he perceived the cause of sorrow and the way of knowledge. He reached at last the exhaustless source of truth. The same is true of all 'revelation' the Veda, the eternal Logos, 'breathed forth by Brahman', in whom it survives the destruction and creation of the Universe, is 'seen' or heard, not made, by its human authors.....The reality of such perception is witnessed too by every man within himself upon rare occasions and upon a smaller scale. It is both the vision of the artist, and the imagination of the natural philosopher.

The whole philosophy of Indian art is summed up in a verse of Sukracharya's Sukranitisara:

In order that the form of an image may be brought fully and clearly before mind, the image maker should meditate. No other way—not indeed seeing the object itself—will answer his purpose.

নারী-ধর্ম ।

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...হৃদয় ও মস্তিষ্কার মধ্যে যেতা ও সেবিকার বৃদ্ধি করিবার অবসর কর নাই । ইঞ্জিন-বটিক মিলন ঘটাইল । এরূপ মিলনে যেবতার অভিশাপ আছে । এরূপ মিলন কখন শিবক হয় না । তাই কবি হর্ষদাসের নামে এ মিলনে বিরোধ ঘটাইলেন । যোগের কারণ প্রভৃতি বিষয়ের “প্রীতিপাণ্ডিত্য” গ্রন্থকারী প্রকৃতি প্রবন্ধে হিন্দু নারী-ধর্মের একতরঙ্গ পলিত হইয়াছে ; আর গদ্য সঙ্গ বর্তমান বিবর্তিত, পুণ্যপুণ্য, নারীর আদর্শের উদাহরণ দিয়া কবি হইয়াছে । গ্রন্থকার লিখিত ও আবৃত্তিযোগে প্রণীত ।

Indian art is not the art of Indian culture, it is the art of Indian life. It is vital, it is the art of the national ideal, it cannot be separated in thought from the conditions of its environment. It is not surprising, then to find expressed in it that philosophical idealism which is characteristic of all Indian thought. The aim of Indian art has never been naturalistic. India has always understood the great secret of drawing inspiration from the Infinite Unknown, rather than from the finite known. Art is not therefore concerned with the imitation of natural beauty; it aims rather at an intimation of Divinity, through the medium; of plastic forms; and the grammar of the language of art is based upon a reality within, not without, the consciousness. The ideal is to manifest, not particular things or merely human or physical grandeur, but a truer reality, a more divine Being.

The highest aim of Indian art is the suggestion of the Divine. But the infinite and unconditioned cannot be expressed in finite terms, and art, unable to portray Divinity unconditioned, and unwilling to be limited by the limitation of humanity, is in India devoted to the representation of Gods, who to finite man stand for comprehensible aspects of an infinite whole. Even the very name of God is a human limitation imposed upon the Divine reality but “the Unshown Way is hardly won by them that wear the body,” and for the majority, for all who do not tread that lonely path, it is through worship that the Divine is sought. And so it is that

Any Indian man or woman will worship at the feet of some inspired wayfarer who tells them that there can be no image of God, that the world itself is a limitation, and go straightway, as a natural consequence, to pour water on the head of the Siva-lingam (Okakura, Ideals of the East.)

Indian religion has accepted art, as it has accepted life in its entirety, with open eyes. India with all her passion for renunciation, has never suffered much from Puritanism; that confusion of ideal which imposes the method of the true ascetic upon the citizen whose Dharma lies not in renunciation, but in the performance of right action without attachment to the fruit.

To be continued

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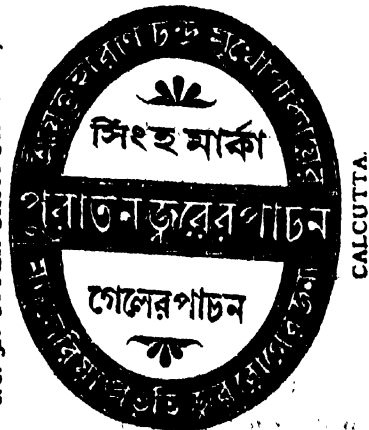
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I

All Historical Account of Paper- Making in India

In ancient times various materials were employed in India for writing. Stones, bricks, wooden boards, chips of bamboo, metal plates (especially those of copper), and above all, palm-leaves and birch-bark, burja (Baetula bhojpattri) were all in use. The last is even called lekhanā or "the writing material," and written documents go by the name of Bhurja. The art of preparing the bark for use has now been lost. But birch-bark manuscripts are said to be still common in the libraries of the Kashmir pandits. They are, however, very rare in the Khatmunda Library in Nepal, where most of the ancient manuscripts are found written on palm-leaves.

Skins of animals so common in other countries were not much in vogue in India, probably on account of their being ritually impure. Alburini, who visited India with Mahmud of Ghazni and gave a detailed account of the manners and customs, science and literature art and industries of the people of this country, expressly says, "The Hindus are not in the habit of writing on hides like the Greeks in ancient times." A reference to this practice is implied in the reply given by Socrates when he was questioned as to why he did not compose book: "I don't transfer knowledge," said he, "from the living hearts of men to the dead hides of sheep."

The use of well-beaten cotton cloth as a writing material by the Hindus is mentioned by Nearchus who was one of the generals of Alexander the Great. The Kanarese traders still use for their books of business a kind of cloth, called kadatam, which is covered with a paste of tamarind seed afterwards blackened with charcoal. The letters are written with chalk of steatite pencils, and the writing is white on black (Mysore or Croog Gazetteer, 1877, 1, 408).

The first authentic account of paper-making in India dates from the times of the Emperor Akbar, when the art is said to have been introduced into Kashmir. It spread rapidly all over India and displaced the birch-bark and palm-leaves that were previously used for writing. The Persian word for paper, kagaj, has been adopted in most Indian languages. This also points to the Mahomedan introduction of the industry. The Sanskrit word for that which is used for writing upon is patra, the same as pata in Bengali.

It is probable, however, that the art of paper-making came from China to the inhabitants of Eastern Himalaya long anterior to the introduction of the paper industry into Kashmir by Akbar. Rajendra Lala Mitra asserts that a "letter-writer by king Bhoja of Dhara proves its use in Malwa during the 11th century A. D. (Gough's papers, 16). This king it may be mentioned, reigned from 1106 to 1142 (?) and was one of the Hindu chiefs who fought Mahmud of Ghazni. At any rate paper had not yet become common in India, unlike in Mahomedan countries, at this time.

Paper manuscripts dated Vicrama Samvat 1384 and 1394 (A. D. 1327-28 and 1337-38), the leaves of which are cut according to the size of palm-leaves, have been discovered by Peterson at Anhilvad Patan. It is very doubtful if any of the ancient manuscripts from Khaggar which are written on a peculiar paper, covered with a layer of gypsum are of Indian origin: Dr. Hoernle believes that all of them were written in Central Asia.

II

Nepal Paper.

During his recent visit to Khatmunda Pandit Haraprasad Shastri acquired a Sanskrit manuscript belonging to the 11th century A. D. written on Nepal paper.

It may be interesting to mention that paper is made in Nepal partly from bamboo and partly from the bark of a small thorny shrub known as Mahabeva's flower (Daphne cannabina). The surface is made glossy by rubbing with a smooth piece of stone. The Daphne paper is generally very thick and is made

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thicker and stiffer by being coated over with a paste made from the boiled kernel of tamarind seed. It is coloured yellow on the side, probably with turmeric. Thus prepared the paper becomes very hard and looks almost like a piece of hide. But the use of the paste from the tamarind seed makes the paper unfit for the transcription of sacred texts. As we shall see later on, in Bengal and perhaps elsewhere in India, a solution of starch made by boiling sunned rice is used for sizing paper. This operation is called 'tulat'. Paper which was subjected to this process was avoided by the old pandits for writing their 'pothis'.

Excepting in the case of correspondence with the outside world, the Nepal Government never uses any machine-made foreign paper.

The Daphne paper, though commonly known as Nepal paper, is really mostly made in Bhutan. But the Bhutias also use the bark of another plant locally known as 'Dial' for paper making. The process followed is just the same as in China and Japan.

III

Present Condition of the Hand-made Paper Industry

BENGAL.

Paper-making is a dying industry in the province of Bengal. Only a generation ago it was still in a flourishing condition. Within this short period it has completely disappeared from many districts. At present the industry, such as it is, exists only in three districts in Bengal: in Hooghly, Howrah and Murshidabad. In Howrah the industry is confined to a single village named Mainah, three miles

from Amta Railway Station in the Ulubaria Sub-Division. In Murshidabad it is confined to two villages named Kristapur and Srirampur, in thana Samserganj in the Jansipur Sub-division. In the Hooghly district it is made at Manad and Gossainmalpara in the Polba police-station, at Neala in the Pandua police-station, at Shabbazar and other villages in the Dhanialkhal police-station and at Bali Dewanganj in the Arambagh Sub-division.

It is in the hands of a class of Muhammadans known as Kagjis or paper-makers. The sight of a Kagji village is most melancholy. So far as the paper industry goes the crude hand tools in use in this country have apparently no chance whatever against machinery. At Mainah near Amata in the Ulubaria Sub-division, Howrah district, out of 100 families that carried on the industry 30 or 35 years ago, only half-a-dozen families still desperately stick to their old profession, the rest having either turned cultivators or labourers or having left the village. The Kagji villages in the Hooghly district are, if possible, only in a worse plight, having been devastated by malaria in addition to the havoc caused by the competition of machine-made paper. Paper-making used to be carried on at Nasirganj in the Shahabad district, but the industry ceased to exist some years ago. The Collector of Cuttack reports that about 30 years ago a small paper-making industry was carried on by some Muhammadans of Hariharpur. There are still 7 men who can make paper but the industry is dead. The paper was made from straw and though rough and coarse was formerly used in the Collectorate

Record-room for fly-leaves, but its use has been discontinued for some years.

At shabbazar near Tarakeswar (district Hooghly) in place of 'dhenkis' (as the mortar-and-pestle arrangement for producing the pulp is called) only two are still in use. The large pieces of stone that once served as mortars for the 'dhenkis' lie scattered about, sometimes serving only as steps for their houses. The people sorrowfully point to the large tanks their forefathers had excavated from the profits of paper and which have now become silted up containing only a little dirty water.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

An idea of the present condition of the industry in the United Provinces may be obtained from the following extracts from "Notes on the Industries of the United Provinces" by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., who was deputed by the Government of these provinces to enquire into the condition of the local industries and possibilities of their development. Says Mr. Chatterjee (pp. 82-83) "At one time an extensive hand industry in paper flourished in these provinces. Mathura (Muttra), Lucknow, Jaunpur, and Kara in the Allahabad district were the principal centres. The process of manufacturing the coarser kinds was described at pages 127 and 128 of Dr. Hoey's Monograph on the *Trades and Manufactures of Northern India*. The industry is now practically extinct in the three last-named places. Some paper is manufactured by hand in the interior of the Almora district from the fibre of the *boru* plant, but I have had no opportunity of seeing the process. In the town of Muttra (Mathura) the hand industry still manages to survive."

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Vol. I. }

12th BHADRA 1316.

{ No. 10.

FACTS AND COMMENTS.

The Cretan Difficulty.

Foreign affairs are as a rule lightly and unsubstantially dealt with by Indian journals. This is partly due to want of the necessary information, partly to the parochial habit of mind encouraged by a caged and subject national life which cannot enlarge its imagination outside the sphere of those immediate and daily events directly touching ourselves. And yet the happenings of today in Asia, Europe and Africa are of great moment to the future of India and full of encouragement and stimulus to the spirit of Nationalism. The recent events in Turkey are an instance. It is not the methods of the Young Turks which have any lesson for India. The circumstances are too dissimilar to warrant any fanciful theories of that kind. It is rather the character of the party of freedom which bears a lesson to all struggling nationalities. The dominant qualities of the democratic leaders—and these are the qualities they have imparted to the movement,—are strength, manhood, a bold heart, a clear brain, a virile efficiency. The Government they have established has begun showing these qualities to the full in its treatment of the Cretan difficulty. It has shown that free Turkey, while not really children of the

circumstances created by an unfortunate past, will not tolerate any attempt to be treated as Sultan Abdul Hamid suffered himself to be treated. Sultan Abdul Hamid, afraid of his subjects, afraid of the world, afraid even of his spies and informers, followed the weak and cowardly policy of a dishonest, intriguing and evasive Machiavellianism. He conducted that policy with a certain skill and statecraft in details which eventually evoked admiration, but it could neither save Turkey from ignominy and weakness nor permanently protect a throne based upon cruelty, falsehood and despicable meanness. All that it did, for Satan must be given his due, was to stave off a final disruption of Turkey and expulsion of the Ottoman from Europe. But true freedom is always conscious of strength and knows that it is better to perish than to live for a short while longer at the cost of continual insult, degradation and weakness. The first efforts of the new Government have been to save what remained of the outskirts of Turkish empire in Europe, the suzerainty in Crete, the supreme control in Macedonia. Their diplomacy has been strong, outspoken and fearless. It did not flinch nor in any way draw back a step or lower its tone until it forced Greece to a satisfactory attitude and obliged the Powers to battle the

tortuous Greek methods by lowering the Greek flag in Canea. It has quietly ignored the attempt of the Powers to interfere even by a suggestion in the direct question between itself and Greece; for we read that Turkey is not going to give any formal answer to the Powers' Note recommending pacific counsels as that Note did not call for any reply. It has been supported by the newly liberated nation by means of a Boycott which would have alarmed into reason a stronger Government than that of Athens. And as strength; when firm and able, can never be ignored, it has secured the sympathy of the Powers in the shape of concessions which would never have been yielded to a weak or over-cautious Government. Strength attracts strength; firm and clear-minded courage commands success and respect; strong and straight dealing can dispense with the methods of dissimulation and intrigue. All these are signs of character and it is only character that can give freedom and greatness to nations. Greece and Turkey.

It is not to be imagined however, that this is the closing chapter. The question between Greece and Turkey will have eventually to be fought out by the sword. It is true that the immediate question is for the moment settled and the rest in the Cretan patchwork mended. But that patchwork is not of a kind to

last. The Greek Government is not likely to give up its methods in Crete, the Christian population their desire for union with Athens or the present Cretan administration their secret sympathy with and support of these aspirations. It would have been a simpler matter if the population of the island had been wholly Christian, but there is a Mahomedan population also which is as eagerly attached to the Turkish connection as the others are desirous of the Greek. The ancient history of Crete supports the sentiment of Greek unity, its later history the sentiment of imperial Ottoman greatness. And apart from Crete, there are inevitable sources of quarrel in Macedonia. Some day the Powers will have to stand aside and allow these natural enemies to settle the question in the only possible way. The result of such non-intervention in an armed struggle could not be doubtful. The Mongolian is a stronger spirit than the Slav, the Mussulman a greater dynamic force than the Christian, and it is only ignorance and absolutism that has for the time depressed the Turk. The disparity between the Turk and the Greek is abysmal. The former is a soldier and statesman, the latter a merchant and intriguer. A war between two such Powers with none to intervene would speedily end with the Turk not only in occupation of Thessaly but entering Athens.

Spain and the Moor.

Another corner of the Asiatic world—for Northern Africa is thoroughly Asianised if not Asiatic,—is convulsed with struggles which may well precede another resurgence. There was a time when the Moor held Spain and gave civilisation to semi-barbarous Europe. The revolution of the wheel has now gone to its utmost length and finds the Spaniard invading Morocco. But this invasion does not seem to promise any Spanish expansion in Africa. With infinite difficulty and at the cost of a bloody eunuch in Spain King Alfonso's Government have lauded a considerable army in Morocco and yet with all that force can only just protect their communications and are still facing the formidable country where the stubborn Kabyle tribesmen await the invader. There the army is hung up for the present, unwilling to retreat and afraid to advance,

and the Spanish General has again sent to Spain for reinforcements, a feat of military strategy at which he seems to be exceptionally skilful. If the men of the mountains are fortunate enough to have a leader with a head on his shoulders, the circumstances augur a reverse for Spain as decisive and perhaps more sanguinary than the Italian overthrow in Abyssinia. Meanwhile King Alfonso has sacrificed all his youthful popularity by this ill-omened war and the bloody severity which has temporarily saved his throne. And with the popularity of the young King has gone the friendship of the Spanish nation for England, for the Spaniards accuse that friendship of the origination of these troubles and the British Government as the selfish instigators of the intervention in Morocco.

The London Congress.

Since we made our remarks on the proposal of a Congress session in London, we have seen two reasons urged for this reactionary step. It is necessary, it seems, to prevent judgment going against us in England by default and also to win the sympathy of the civilised world. The former argument we have already answered in our last issue. Neither the speeches of a famous orator nor the conjoint speeches of many less famous will win for us the support of the British people for claims which go directly against their interests. Only a prolonged and steady campaign in England all the year round for several years can make any impression of a real and lasting kind and even that impression cannot in the nature of things be sufficient for the purpose. Those who are on the side of Indian interests must always be in the minority and will always be denounced by the majority as allies of the enemies of English interests. Even now that is increasingly the attitude of the public towards Mr Mackarness and his supporters and we do not think Sir Surendranath's eloquence has changed matters. Already the most prominent critics of Lord Morley and his policy of repression have received intimation from their constituents of their serious displeasure and are in danger of losing their seats at the next election. This is in itself a sufficient refutation of the fable that speeches and Congresses in England

can change an ignorant British public into informed and enthusiastic supporters of Indian self-government. It is only political necessity and the practical recognition that change is inevitable which can convert the statesmen of England. As for the opinion of the civilised world, we do not despise it as a moral force. But its practical effect is so little as to be almost nil. In a constitutional question between the present Government in India and the people we do not see what can be the place or mode of operation of the world's opinion or sympathy. An academical approval of our aims can be of no help to us. Nor is the sympathy of the world likely to be excited beyond such academical approval unless the Government faithfully imitates the Russian precedent in dealing with popular aspirations. Even then it is not likely to tell on the action of the Government concerned which will certainly resent foreign interference in its dealings with its own subjects. The impotence of the civilised world was strikingly shown in the crisis of Russian despotism and at the time of the Boer war. Even were it otherwise, a London session of the Congress would only awaken a passing interest. In that respect the visit of Swami Vivekananda to America and the subsequent work of those who followed him did more for India than a hundred London Congresses could effect. That is the true way of awaking sympathy,—by showing ourselves to the nations as a people with a great past and ancient civilisation who still possess something of the genius and character of our forefathers, have still something to give the world and therefore deserve freedom,—by proof of our manliness and fitness, not by mendicancy.

Political Prisoners.

We extract elsewhere some very telling criticisms from the pen of the well-known positivist Mr. Frederic Harrison on the treatment of political prisoners. This is a subject on which a Nationalist writer is naturally somewhat shy of dilating, as any stress on the brutality and callousness of the treatment to which not only convicted but undetected prisoners of gentle birth and breeding are sometimes subjected in Indian jails, might be misinterpreted by our opponents as an unwillingness to face the possibility

on those who cherish great aspirations for their race and country. But two instances have occurred recently which compel attention. One is the death of the convicted prisoner Ashok Nandi of consumption brought on by exposure and neglect during fever in the undertrial period of the Alipur Case. We exonerate from blame the jail authorities who were exceptionally humane men and would have been glad to deal humanely with the prisoners. But their blamelessness only brings out the barbarity of a system which allows of the confinement of a delicate ailing lad in a punishment cell exposed night after night to the dews and cold of an unhealthy season, and that without his having committed any fault or shown anything but the mildest and most docile of characters. The other case is that of Mr. Achyut Rao Kohlatkar of Nagpur, editor of the Doshsevak, a gentleman of distinguished education, ability and character, who was convicted for the publication in his paper of the reports of S. J. Aurobindo Ghose's speeches delivered at a time when Mr. Kohlatkar was absent from Nagpur. The Sessions Judge of Alipur declared on the police reports of these speeches that so far from being seditious or violent they told in favour of the speaker and not against him. We find it difficult to believe that the newspaper report of speeches from which the police could extract nothing that was not in the speaker's favour, could be at all seditious. Be that as it may, Mr. Kohlatkar was convicted and perhaps, according to the "strong man" code of ethics, forfeited claim to generous treatment by his refusal to apologise. We have heard rumours of treatment being meted out to him which can only be described as studied brutality and the evidence of eye-witnesses who have seen the condition to which he was reduced, do not encourage us to reject these reports as fabrications. Finally, the refusal of the Central Provinces Government to face independent medical inspection and so dispose of the serious allegations publicly preferred put a very ugly aspect on this case. If the allegations are true, they amount to a treatment which would evoke the loudest indignation

and reprobation in England if applied under the same circumstances in another country. But we cherish little hope of redress. The prison system of the European nations is only a refined and systematized savagery perpetuating the methods of ancient and mediaeval barbarity in forms that do not at once shock the eye. Besides, the account of the recent starvation strike of the Suffragettes has shown what callous and brutal treatment can be inflicted by English officials in England itself even on women, and women of education, good birth, position and culture, guilty only of political obstruction and disorderliness. Yet this is the civilisation for which we are asked to sacrifice the inheritance of our forefathers!

An Official Freak

We suppose in a bureaucracy it is inevitable that officials should be masters and be able to inflict inconvenience and loss on the citizen without any means of redress. Last Monday the publication of a new weekly named Dharma, edited by Aurobindo Ghose, was due and had been widely announced. The issue was ready and the printer duly attended the Police Court to declare his responsibility for printing and publishing the periodical. Except under very unusual circumstances this is a mere formality and one would have thought no difficulty could intervene, but nothing could persuade the Court Official to refrain from delaying the acceptance till the next day. It was pointed out that this would entail unnecessary inconvenience and perhaps considerable financial loss, but that naturally did not concern him as he was the master of the public and not their servant. The next day a variation of the same vexatious procedure was repeated. It was whispered, we do not know with what truth, that the first delay was for the Criminal Investigation Department to have time to find out whether the printer had been convicted in any sedition case. If so it was a futile delay. There is no concealment of the responsibility with regard to this paper. The name of the editor and proprietor was openly given and the printer was there to accept his responsibility. This does not look like intended sedition. If there were any doubt

the required information could easily have been gained from the Manager of the paper who was present and would no doubt have been glad to save delay and loss by stating the printer's antecedents. It was not likely that he would conceal a conviction as that would be breathing impossible to suppress. But then, if officials were to acquire a common sense, the laws of Nature would be sadly contravened and it is better to inflict loss on individuals than to upset a law of Nature.

Soham Gita.

Every Bengalee is familiar with the name or Shyamakanta Banerji the famous athlete and tigertamer but it may not be known to all that after leaving the worldly life and turning to the life of the ascetic, this pioneer of the cult of physical strength and courage in Bengal has taken the name of Soham Swami and is dwelling in a hermitage in the Himalayas at Nainital. The Swami has now published a philosophical poem in his mother tongue called the Soham Gita. The deep truths of the Vedanta viewed from the standpoint of the Advaitavadin and the spiritual experiences of the Jnani who has had realisation of *dhyani* and *samadhi* are here developed in simple verse and language. We shall deal with the work in a more detailed review in a later issue.

BENGAL AND THE CONGRESS.

The dissensions in the Congress have been a severe test of the capacity of the Indian people to act politically under modern conditions. The first necessary element of democratic politics is difference of opinion; robust, frank, avowed, firmly and passionately held, and the first test of political capacity in a democratic nation is to bear these differences of opinion, however strong and even vehement, without disruption. In a monarchy differences of opinion are either stifled by an all-powerful absolute will or subordinated and kept in check by the supreme kingly arbiter; in an aristocracy the jealousy of a close body discourages free opinion and its free expression; in a bureaucracy stereotyped habits of action and method lead to a fixed and inelastic way of

thinking and difference of opinion, when tolerated, is kept by the exigencies of administration private and largely ineffective. It is democracy alone that demands free divergence of opinion in politics and open propagandism and debate as the very breath of its nostrils. The tendency to democracy creates freedom of speech and thought and these in their turn hasten the advent of democracy. All attempts to silence by force or evasion important differences of opinion are anti-democratic and though they do not necessarily show an incapacity for government, do show an incapacity for democratic politics. The democratic tendency in humanity is and has long been pressing forward victoriously to self-fulfilment and the modern attempt of the banded forces of autocracy, bureaucracy, plutocracy and theocracy to turn its march can only result in its growing stronger by the check and urging forward with greater impetuosity to its goal. It is therefore the democratic tendency and the democratic capacity which must be accepted and shown by any nation which aspires to go forward and be among the leaders of the world. In the matter of the Congress it is only Bengal, so far, that has shown the democratic capacity of being able to meet and discuss and to a certain extent work together in spite of grave and even fundamental differences. To a large extent this is due to the fact that all parties in Bengal have some common ground. Just as the different parties in a well-organised country, even when they differ in everything else, have this foundation of union and common tolerance that all are desirous of the freedom, greatness and sound internal condition and development of their nation, so we in Bengal are all agreed in holding the development of a well-organised, self-sufficient and self-governing people as the immediate and ultimate object of all our politics. This is only to say that Bengal has attained earlier than other provinces to political perception and sound political instincts. There are forces of disruption in Bengal as everywhere else; but it says much for the capacity and insight of the mass of the educated class that these forces have been overborne and Bengal preserves her unity. The credit is

due much more to the people themselves than to the leaders on either side, and this itself is the healthiest sign of all and the guarantee of democratic development. When the people are wiser than their leaders and wise men, the democratic future of a country is assured. Men of great gifts and strong character are often carried away by their eager perceptions and at such moments it is the sound common sense of a capable democracy that sets right the balance. It was this common sense that saved the situation after Surat. The people had the instinct to desire unity and the good sense to see that unity was not possible or, if possible, was not worth having by the sacrifice of the movement which Bengal had initiated. That such an unthinkable repudiation would have been the first result of surrender to the Convention leaders of Bombay and Madras, has been sufficiently proved by the determined rejection of the Boycott resolution at the meeting of the Convention last December. The Pabna resolution for an United Congress was therefore so framed as to leave the Convention Committee a door open for reconciliation. They rejected the opportunity on a constitutional technicality of a purely verbal character and of doubtful validity and proceeded to show the honesty of this sudden passion for scrupulous constitutional procedure when they imposed a constitution on the body they chose to call the Congress without allowing it to be submitted for acceptance or amendment by that body. The resolution at Hughly ought to be differently framed so as not only to make an United Congress possible but to bring it about so far as Bengal can help towards that consummation.

In Bengal there are three classes of opinion as to the best way of meeting the difficulty. There is a small section of the Moderate party which desires the Convention Congress to stand and the Nationalists to be excluded. There are two courses open to this minority. They may insist on the Bengal Provincial Conference and the District Committees accepting the body created by the Congress Committee as the real Congress and on their loyally following the rules and the instructions of this Congress and its provincial Com-

mittee. If that were accepted the Bengal Provincial Conference would become a Moderate organisation and, while commercial Swadeshi would be preserved, the Boycott would disappear from the avowed programme of Bengal. But we do not think anyone will have the hardihood to make this proposal in so many terms and if any ventured so far, it would be without any chance of popular acceptance. A more probable course is for this minority to agree to a vague and easily evaded resolution which they will have no intention of accepting as a guide to conduct and to oppose the passing of any more definite resolution on the ground that Bengal ought to preserve its own integrity and leave the rest of India to its divisions. The object they would aim at is to leave the Convention and its Committees to figure as the real Congress and Congress Committees and themselves be free to join them without popular disapproval. But the inevitable consequence would be that the Nationalists will be compelled to erect another body which would represent their interests. The erection of a rival National Congress at Nagpur last year was prevented by the Government, fortunately, we think, for no such body could really claim to be a National Assembly any more than the Convention can justly claim that character. But if an United Congress proves impossible, the Nationalists cannot allow the Convention unchallenged to delude the world by pretending to voice authoritatively the sense of the Indian nation.

A second section of opinion is that of advanced Moderates and among these we find two ways of thinking. Some lay stress on the unconstitutional conduct of the Convention Committee in forcing their constitution on the Madras Convention without submitting it to discussion and seem to think that by passing it through the next sitting the constitutional defect will be cured. They seem to forget that it will be a Congress elected under this unconstitutional constitution to which the question will be submitted. In effect, therefore, a body unconstitutionally elected will set to validate the unlawful law under which it was born and so cure its own unconstitutional character with-

and incurable defect which prevents it from sitting at all. The constitutional difficulty will not be met and the political difficulty will remain as serious as ever, for the Nationalists would still be excluded and the menace to our unity in Bengal would increase every year. Others of the advanced Moderates see more clearly and can understand that only a freely-elected Congress, as freely elected as the Highly Conference will be, can accept this constitution or form any other. Any resolution passed on this subject must therefore contemplate a freely elected session and the submission to it of any constitution proposed or drafted for the better organisation of Congress procedure and Congress affairs.

The third section of opinion is that of the Nationalist party. Immediately after the fracas at Surat, on the same day indeed, the party became acutely sensible of the nature of the catastrophe which had occurred and its first step was to take an attitude which might leave the way open to reconciliation; and this attitude they maintained at all the subsequent Conferences where they were either represented or dominant. We do not agree with Lala Lajpatrai's suggestion that the Congress should always remain in the hands of the Moderates; a popular body must remain either in the hands of the party which numerically predominates or be run by a joint body representing them proportionately to their numbers. But the Nationalists would not deny the name of Congress to a body merely because its administration was in the hands of a single party. They refuse it because that body by a constitution passed without right or authority excludes a powerful section of opinion in the country and pretends to be a National Congress when it is really a party organisation. If the Convention were to consent to a free election and a free constitution, the Nationalist party would not allow a matter of nomenclature, however important, to stand in the way of reunion. But the Convention constitution is not free. It is in the first place a close oligarchical constitution seeking to limit the right of election to a few privileged bodies affiliated to itself. Even if this reactionary

limitation were to be confirmed by a freely elected Congress the Nationalists would have no cause of complaint, for they would still be free to organise a party institution which would spread the knowledge and appreciation of democratic principles and get these limitations abrogated from within the Congress itself. But the Constitution is also not free in virtue of the eligibility to delegateship being limited to those who can sign a declaration of faith specially designed to exclude the advanced school of patriotism. This limitation is vital. A national Assembly cannot bind itself by any creed but the creed of patriotism which is understood and which it would be futile to express. The Nationalist party cannot accept the limitation of delegateship by an exclusive creed. They would not seek to bind it by their own creed, still less can they accept a creed which contravenes their avowed principles. The Congress may always pass a resolution expressing its aims and objects. That is merely the opinion of the majority and can always be changed if the minority becomes the majority. But a personal subscription to views one does not hold is unthinkable to any man of honour and probity. These are the three parties and their views. The election of a free Congress is the only possible way to their final reconciliation, the omission of the creed the only condition of the continuance of an United Congress. It is for the good sense of the people at large to decide between these conflicting views and determine what is best for Bengal and the nation.

THE KATHA UPANISHAD.

PART II

Chapter Three

1. Yama said. "This is the eternal uswattha-tree whose roots are aloft, but its branches are downward. It is He that is called the Bright One and Brahman and Immortality, and in Him are all the worlds established; none goeth beyond Him. This is the thing thou seekest.

2. All this universe of motion moveth in the Prana and from the Prana also it proceeded; a mighty terror is He, yea, a thunderbolt

upheld. Him are the immortals.

3. For fear of Him the fire burneth, for fear of Him the sun giveth light, for fear of Him Indra and Vajras and Death hasten in their courses.

4. If in this world of men and before thy body fall from thee, thou art able to apprehend it, then thou art able for embodiment in the worlds that are His creations.

5. In the self one seeth God as in a mirror but as in a dream in the world of the fathers, and as in water one seeth the surface of an object, so one seeth Him in the world of the Gandharvas; but He is seen as light and shade in the heaven of the Spirit.

6. The calm soul having comprehended the separateness of the senses and the rising of them and their setting and their separate emergence putteth from him pain and sorrow.

7. The mind is higher than the senses, and above the mind is the thought, and above the thought is the mighty Spirit, and above the Mighty One is the Unmanifest.

8. But highest above the Unmanifest is the Purusha who pervadeth all and alone hath no sign nor feature. Mortal man knowing Him is released into immortality.

9. He hath not set His body within the ken of seeing neither doth any man with the eye behold Him, but to the heart and mind and the supermind He is manifest. Who know Him are the immortals.

10. When the five senses cease and are at rest and the mind resteth with them and the Thought ceaseth from its workings, that is the highest state, say thinkers.

11. Not with the mind hath man the power to see God, no, nor by speech nor with the eye. Unless one saith "He is," how can one become sensible of Him.

12. One must apprehend Him in the concept "He is" and also in His essential principle, but when he hath grasped Him as the Is, then the essential of Him dawneth upon a man.

13. When every desire that harboureth in the heart of a man hath been loosened from its moorings, then this mortal putteth on immortality; even here he enjoyeth Brahman in this human body.

14. "When all the strings of the heart are rent asunder, even here in this human birth, then the mortal becometh immortal. This is the whole teaching of the Scriptures."

15. A hundred and one are the nerves of the heart and of all these only one issueth out through the head of a man; by this the soul mounteth up to its immortal home but the rest lead him to all sorts and conditions of births in his passing.

16. The Purusha, the Spirit within, who is no larger than the finger of a man is seated for ever in the heart of creatures; one must separate Him with patience from one's own body as one separates from a blade of grass its main fibre. Thou shalt know Him for the Bright and the Immortal, yea, for the Bright Immortal."

17. Thus did Nachicatus with Death for his teacher win the God-knowledge; he learned likewise the whole ordinance of the Yoga: thereafter he obtained Brahman and became void of stain and void of death. So shall another be who cometh likewise to the science of the Spirit.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER II.

Mohendra departed. Left alone with no one near her but a little girl, Kalyani in that solitary and unpeopled place, in that almost pitch-dark cottage began to study closely every side. Great fear was upon her. No one anywhere, no sound of human existence to be heard, only the howling of the dogs and the jackals. She regretted letting her husband go,—hunger and thirst might after all have been borne a little longer. She thought of shutting all the doors and sitting in the security of the closed house. But not a single door had either panel or bolt. As she was thus gazing in every direction suddenly something in the doorway that faced her caught her eye, something like a shadow. It seemed to her to have the shape of a man and yet not to be human. Something utterly dried up and withered, something like a very black, a naked and terrifying human shape had come and was standing at the door. After a little

while the shadow seemed to lift a hand,—with the long withered finger of a long withered hand all skin and bone it seemed to make a motion of summons to some one outside. Kalyani's heart dried up in her with fear. Then just such another shadow, withered, black, tall, naked, came and stood by the side of the first. Then another came and yet another came. Many came, —slowly, noiselessly they began to enter the room. The room with its almost blind darkness grew dreadful as a midnight burning-ground. All those corpse-like figures gathered round Kalyani and her daughter. Kalyani almost swooned away. Then the black withered men seized and lifted up the woman and the girl, carried them out of the house and entered into a jungle across the open fields.

A few minutes afterwards Mohendra arrived with the milk in the waterjar. He found the whole place empty. Hither and thither he searched, often called aloud his daughter's name and at last even his wife's. There was no answer, he could find no trace of his wife and child.

CHAPTER THIRD.

It was a very beautiful woodland in which the robbers set down Kalyani. There was no light, no eye to see the loveliness,—the beauty of the wood remained invisible like the beauty of soul in a poor man's heart. There might be no food in the country, but there was wealth of flowers in the woodland; so thick was the fragrance that even in that darkness one seemed to be conscious of a light. On a clear spot in the middle covered with soft grass the thieves set down Kalyani and her child and themselves sat around them. Then they began to debate what to do with them, for what ornaments Kalyani had with her were already in their possession. One group were very busy with the division of this booty. But when the ornaments had been divided, one of the robbers said, "What are we to do with gold and silver? Someone give me a handful of rice in exchange for an ornament; I am tortured with hunger, I have eaten today nothing but the leaves of trees." No sooner had one so spoken than all echoed him and a clamour

arose. "Give us rice, give us rice, we do not want gold and silver." The leader tried to quiet them, but no one listened to him. Gradually high words began to be exchanged, abuse flowed freely, a fight became imminent. Every one in a rage pelted the leader with his whole allotment of ornaments. He also struck one or two and this brought all of them upon him striking at him in a general assault. The robber captain was emaciated and ill with starvation, one or two blows laid him prostrate and lifeless. Then one in that hungry wrathful, excited, maddened troop of plunderers cried out, "We have eaten the flesh of dogs and jackals and now we are racked with hunger; come, friends, let us feast to-day on this rascal." Then all began to shout aloud "Glory to Kali! Bom Kali! to-day we will eat human flesh." And with this cry those black emaciated corpse-like figures began to shout with laughter and dance and clap their hands in the congenial darkness. One of them set about lighting a fire to roast the body of the leader. He gathered dried creepers, wood and grass, struck flint and iron and set light to the collected fuel. As the fire burned up a little, the dark green foliage of the trees that were neighbours to the spot, mango, lemon, jackfruit and palm, tamarind and date, were lit up faintly with the flames. Here the leaves seemed ablaze, there the grass brightened in the light; in some places the darkness only became more crass and deep. When the fire was ready, one began to drag the corpse by the leg and was about to throw it on the fire, but another intervened and said "Drop it! stop, stop! if it is on the grand meat that we must keep ourselves alive to-day, then why the tough and juiceless flesh of this old fellow? We shall eat what we have looted and brought with us today. Come along, there is that tender girl, let us roast and eat her." Another said "Roast anything you like, my good fellow, but roast it; I can stand this hunger no longer." Then all gazed greedily towards the place where Kalyani and her daughter had lain. They saw the place empty; neither child nor mother was there. Kalyani had seen

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

her opportunity when the robbers were disputing, taken her daughter into her arms, put the child's mouth to her breast and fled into the wood. Aware of the escape of their prey, the ghostlike ruffian crew ran in every direction with a cry of "Kill, kill". In certain conditions man is no better than a ferocious wild beast.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

AN APPEAL FOR THE RAM KRISHNA MISSION HOME OF SERVICE, BENARES.

—000—

MY COUNTRYMEN IN LOVE AND CHARITY.—

I beg on behalf of the Ramkrishna Mission Home of Service to appeal to you for assistance both in money and materials. The Home was started some ten years ago here by a band of enthusiastic young men with the objects of succouring the destitutes and the sick of any race and creed and reaching help particularly to those who could not be relieved by the usual channels. Under the grace of God it has steadily developed and has had recently the honor of repeated visits by the Commissioner and Collector of Benares both of whom expressed their perfect approval of the aims and admiration at the methods (involving great labour and self sacrifice on the part of the noble honorary workers—the mainstay of the Home) employed for their realisation. An influential Raja of Benares has by his large hearted charity enabled permanent quarters and hospital to be erected for the use of the Home. The building is however still incomplete and it is estimated another Rs 10000 will be necessary before it could perform all its purpose. The endowing of beds, a few of which has already been so done, is another matter which I beg earnestly to commend to the notice of all generous and charitable people. Above all the work i. e. the amount of help solicited, has gone on increasing every year and therefore a steady corresponding growth in income too has become necessary—unless we are to close our doors to the needy and diseased and I am sure the generous public will not allow it to come to such a pass.

The work is essentially one of service to humanity and as such I appeal to you, of whatever creed or colour, race or nationality for the help in all religion

and morality declares that the same divinity sits enthroned in every human body, and that to serve suffering humanity is to worship God. The Home needs your kind help however small, for miles thus ever grow to millions.

(SD.) MADHOLALL

President,

R. K. HOME OF SERVICE.

NEWS.

REVOLVERS FOUND.—

A few arrests were made on the night at Asokpur Tazail in the house of Digambar Chakraverti, where it is said the police have secured four revolvers kept ready for use on a table along with materials for preparing cartridges. The District Superintendent of Police with nine constables surrounded the house at midnight and secured the finds. Umasath Das and Amrita Bhattacharjee have also been arrested.

THE "TILAK" SUPPRESSED.—

The Punjab Government "Gazette" says that the Lieutenant-Governor has annulled the declaration in respect thereof under Section 7 of Offences Act.

SJT. BABU ASHWINI KUMAR DUTT.—

Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutt, who was put till now at Lucknow, has been removed to Bareilly Jail. His relatives, who were formerly permitted to see him, have been advised accordingly to go to Bareilly.

MR. A. B. KOLHATKAR.—

The following application has been sent on behalf of Mr. Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, ex-editor of the *Deekshavak* of Nagpur:—

To The Honourable the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces and Berar.

Sir,—We beg most respectfully to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 1513 of 13th July, 1909, in reply to our application, dated the 24th June, 1909, regarding the present state of health of Mr. Achyutrao Kolhatkar, B. A., L. L. B., who is undergoing his term of hard labour at present in the District Jail of Khandwa.

In view of the fact that one of us, Mr. Cholkar, actually saw the prisoner "in a very bad state of health with sunken eyes and cheeks, very pale anæmic face and in an advanced state of emaciation" with swollen oedematous feet and legs lead-

ing him to suppose that this may be due to some form of disease or degenerative cardiac debility, we are extremely sorry to have to bring to your notice that this reply "that we are mistaken in thinking that the prisoner is in bad state of health" has not been able to appease our mind and, we fear, neither that of the public.

We therefore most respectfully beg to request you to order for supplying to us his weights when he was admitted in the Nagpur Jail and also when he was removed to Khandwa Jail.

We shall be much obliged if his present photo be supplied to us or we shall be permitted to take his photo.

We beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Sd.) L. D. Garde, B. A., L. M. S.,

" B. S. Moonje, L. M. S.,

" M. R. Cholkar, L. M. S.,

" W. V. Limare, L. M. S.,

Medical Practitioners.

Nagpur, Aug. 5, 1909.

DHINGRA.—

It was stated a few days ago that the only visitors to Dhingra had been two elderly ladies connected with some Indian Association and an Indian gentleman friend of the condemned man. Dhingra partakes regularly, of his meals, which consist principally of rice and fish. The "Daily Graphic" publishes an extract from a private letter addressed by C. L. Dhingra, the assassin's brother. The writer says that Madan Lal often showed signs of insanity before he left for England. It was thought the stay in England would probably improve his mental weakness. A letter from his brother in England, Bhajan Lal Dhingra to the same effect is published. Bhajan mentioned that he attempted to see his brother in prison twice, but he absolutely declined to see or communicate with him. The *Pioneer's* London correspondent wires:—A political note in the *Times* refers to the circulation of what purport to be copies of a statement by Dhingra left in his cell. The *Times* argues that this was more probably composed by those who egged him on to commit the murder. The document in the cell has been retained by the police, but some copies are stated to have come from Paris. The *Evening Standard* announces the receipt by Indian students of pamphlets from Paris directly inciting to the emulation of Dhingra's crime. The pamphlet says:—"Even the feeblest Indian youth can arm himself with a revolver and cut asunder at least one link in the iron chain which fetter the mother."

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NEWS.

THE LATE BABU ASHUTOSH BISWAS.—

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the grant of a Jaighir to the widow and family of the late Babu Ashutosh Biswas, who was murdered at Alipore last February, while engaged as Public Prosecutor in connection with the Alipore Bomb Case. The grant comprises three villages in the district of the 24 Parganas, with a rent-roll of over Rs. 5,000 a year. This property will be held in succession, free of revenue, by the deceased's widow and her eldest son and thereafter half-rates by his grandson.

RAJITPUR DACOITY CASE.—

In the Rajitpur dacoity case, the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, under instructions of the Advocate-General has withdrawn the case against Monmohan Barman Roy committed for trial before a special tribunal by Mr. W. L. Scott, Additional Magistrate upon a charge under sections 392, 109 of the Penal Code for want of adequate evidence.

THE "INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST".—

Mr. Krishna Varma's paper, the "Indian Sociologist", has reappeared in England. It is issued by a new printer named Aldred, who states that he is not identified with Krishna Varma's propaganda but that he undertakes the printing in defence of freedom of press.

AN ARREST AT GAUHATI.—

On the 18th August there was considerable stir here on account of the sudden arrest by the police of Profulla Banerjee alias Bibbuti Banerjee, a Bengalee youth, who came here lately and started a swadeshi shop with a small capital. It is said that he could not give a satisfactory account of himself when questioned by the police. He was let out on bail of rupees one hundred by Babu Parkash Chandra Singh, Senior Deputy Magistrate. It was subsequently raised to Rs. 500 by the Deputy Commissioner. Several gentlemen came forward to stand as sureties. No charge is known to have been formulated against him, yet it is believed that the gentleman is respectably connected in Bengal.

MR. VEERENDRA NATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

A correspondent writes from Hyderabad, Deccan, to a contemporary:—

Mr. Veerendra Nath Chattopadhyaya whose expulsion from the Middle Temple according to Reuter, has been determined on is a Hyderabad. He is a second child and the eldest son of Dr Aghor Nath Chattopadhyaya, D. Sc (Edin) formerly the Principal of the Nizam's College and, but recently the Professor

NEWS.

of Science in the same institution. Mr. V. Chattopadhyaya had a brilliant University career before he went to England to study for the I. C. S. Examination. He passed the Madras Matriculation examination in the 1st class from the St. George's Grammar School, Hyderabad. It is unnecessary to add that he was the most brilliant student of his class and won several prizes. He did excellently well in the F. A. examination, having stood 2nd in the list of successful candidates. In the B. A. owing to causes which need not be mentioned here he took an ordinary degree, though he did well in English and stood first in Latin. After he took his degrees his venerable father sent him to England to compete for the I. C. S. Examination, in which however to the surprise of his relations and friends, he got plucked twice. After that, I suppose, he began qualifying himself for the bar.

The Chattopadhyaya family is held in the highest esteem by all classes and communities in Hyderabad, and all share their joys and sorrows. We cannot, of course, pass any judgment on the drastic action the Benchers of Middle Temple are reported to have taken; for, we are not in full possession of all the facts of the case.

But that does not prevent us from sympathising with the Chattopadhyaya in their present misfortune.

Those who knew Mr. Veerendra Nath when he was here knew him to be a man of very strong will: but nobody had ever dreamt that he would write anything astounding and suffer in consequence. We all wish, however that all that has been said of him will turn out to be untrue and that he is not, in the long run, expelled. I have to add, by way of postscript, that the talented Poetess Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is Mr. Veerendra Nath's elder sister.

According to the "Daily Express," Veerendranath Chattopadhyaya stated on Saturday it was probable he would appeal to the House of Lords against the decision of the Benchers of the Middle Temple. He declares that he expressed opinions which are more moderate than those held by other Indians who are not merely students like him but have been called to the Bar. He is 29, has resided in England eight years and became a student of the Middle Temple last November.

NEWS.

HARASSING IMMOBILITY.—

Mr. Manekji Palsani, late of Wakam, a wealthy Parsi owner of five thousand acres of land, several saw-mills, rice mill and steam launches, has submitted a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor praying that a searching inquiry may be made into the causes which led to the recent series of prosecutions including an indictment of murder in which either Manekji or one of his relations or assistants was accused and in each of which trials all the accused were honourably acquitted. The memorialist sets out numerous instances of irregularities committed by certain European and Burmese officials during the course of protracted legal proceedings and charges a Burmese Sub-divisional Officer with practices contravening the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to inflict the greatest possible indignities on the memorialist as an accused. Among the allegations are unnecessary handcuffing and pointing of revolver, excessive demand of bail, refusal of bail in bailable offences, wrongful restraint for days together after formal release on bail, confining the accused with criminals and felons of the worst description in the lock-up, taking of depositions in the absence of the accused, issue of annoying search warrants and the search conducted in more than one instance in the absence of the accused or any male member of his family and breaking open of safes, almirahs and boxes ostensibly to get at genuine accounts without asking for the keys and in the absence of the memorialist. Throughout the trials the investigating officers are said to have acted avowedly on information supplied by worthless witnesses set up by rival launch owners and men of no reputation. Manekji estimates his material loss to one lakh and a half and complains of mental torture extending over months, but declines to seek any monetary compensation. His single prayer is that His Honour might be pleased to bring to look for the good name of British Justice, officers who have so glaringly abused the powers invested in them by a too liberal Government. The memorialist mainly relies on the Judgment of the Sessions Judge, Mr. Wilson who displayed entire sympathy with the accused and passed strictures on the way in which evidence against Manekji was sought to be procured.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN ART.

The religious art of India has thus been free to draw upon all life for the materials of a divine symbolism, for no part of life has been regarded as intrinsically profane or secular. Human love is an intimation of the love of God; and physical phenomena being but the symbols of spiritual reality, the religious artist has not shrunk even from sex-symbolism in his sacred art. Surely there is a great purity, and by no means the reverse, in this capacity for seeing the Divine in all things, and all things in the Divine. All life is a sacrament and there is no part of it that may not symbolize eternal and infinite realities.

There is no thought in the philosophy of Indian art of Art for Art's sake. Life is not to be represented for its own sake, for the mere giving of pleasure or display of skill, but for the sake of the Divine Idea expressed through it. Thus Sukracharya lays down—

It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of gods. To make human figures is wrong or even impious. Even a misshapen image of God is always better than an image of man, however beautiful.

The doctrine thus so sternly stated means in other words, that imitation and portraiture are lesser aims than the representation of ideal and symbolic forms; the aim of the highest art must be the intimation of the Divinity behind all form, rather than the imitation of the form itself. One may thus depict the sport of Krishna with the Gopis, but must be in a spirit of religious idealism, not for the mere sake of the sensuous imagery itself.

The same principles are applied in the case of literary art. Thus we read in the *Bhakta Kalpadruma* of Pratapa Sinha:—

The poem, or any composition with all the graces possible of style that doth not tell of the acts of the Holy One, is altogether fruitless and most base.

* The whole idea of Art for Art's sake is repugnant to the Indian conception of the meaning of life. Nor has Indian art lost by this; for if it has thus first sought the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, surely all else has been added to it. The art that is Art, for Art's sake proves tasteless and insipid to those who have once realised the significance

* Translation by G. A. Grierson, J. R. A. S. 1908.

of art as a manifestation of divinity. Not long ago I witnessed the beautiful dancing of a famous dancer in a London Music Hall, and found that the impression left could be summed up in saying that however beautiful, it had no meaning, it was not religious.

How strangely this art philosophy contrasts with that characteristic of the modern West and so clearly set forth (at its best) in Browning's poem.

But why not do as well as say,—
paint these
Just as they are, careless what
comes of it!

God's works—paint anyone...
.....Have you noticed, now,
Yon cullion's hanging face? A bit of
chalk

And trust me but you should though
How much more

If I drew higher things with the
same truth!

That were to take the Prior's pulpit-
place.

Interpret God to all of you!

For such realists this last is not the function of art; but to us it seems that the very essential function of art is to 'interpret God to all of you.'

Burne Jones, almost alone amongst artists of the modern West, seems to have understood art as we in India understand it. To a critic who named as a drawback in the work of a certain artist, that his pictures looked as if he had done them only out of his head, Burne Jones replied, 'The place where I think pictures ought to come from.'

Of impressionism as understood in the West, and the claim that breadth is gained by lack of finish, Burne Jones spoke as an Eastern artist might have done. Breadth could be got "by beautiful finish and bright clear colour well-matched, rather than by muzzy. They (the Impressionists) do make atmosphere, but they don't make anything else: they don't make beauty, they don't make design, they don't make idea, they don't make anything but atmosphere and I don't think that's enough—I don't think it's very much." Of realism he spoke thus:—

Realism Direct transcript from Nature! I suppose by the time the 'photographic artist' can give us all the colours as correctly as the shapes, people will begin to find out that the realism they talk about isn't art at all but science: interesting ~~enough~~, as a scientific ~~achievement~~, but nothing more. ~~Transcripts~~

from Nature, what do I want with ~~photography~~? I prefer her own ~~expression~~. I don't want ~~photographic~~ ~~reproduction~~ of her skillful....
It is the ~~message~~, the 'burden' of a picture that makes its real value."

At another time he said, "You see, it is these things of the soul that are real... the only real things in the universe."

Of the religiousness of art he said:—

That was an awful thought of Burne Jones, that artists paint God for the world. There's a lump of greasy pigment at the end of Michael Angelo's hog-bristle brush, and by the time it has been laid on the stucco, there is something there that all men with eyes recognise as divine. Think of what it means. It is the power of bringing God into the world—making God manifest.

The object of art must be ~~to please or to excite~~; I can't see any other reason for it at all. One is a pretty reason, the other a noble one.

Of 'Expression' in imaginative pictures he said:—

Of course my faces have no expression in the sense in which people use the word. How should they have any? They are portraits of people in paroxysms—paroxysms of terror, hatred, benevolence, desire, avarice, veneration and all the 'passions' and 'emotions' that Le Brun and that kind of person find so *magnifique* in Raphael's later work.... The only expression allowable in great portraiture is the expression of character and moral quality, not of anything temporary, fleeting, accidental. Apart from portraiture you don't want even so much, or very seldom: in fact you want only types, symbols, suggestions. The moment you give what people call expression, you destroy the typical characters of people and degrade them into portraits which stand for nothing.

Common criticism of Indian art is based on a supposed or real limitation of technical attainment in representation, especially of the figure. In part, it may be answered that so little is known in the West of the real achievement of Indian art, that this idea may be allowed to die a natural death in the course of time; and in part that technical attainment is only a means, an end. There is an order of importance in the things

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art means to us—first, what has the artist to say? and second only, is his drawing scientifically accurate? But drawing is certainly not in itself desirable, nor good drawing a misfortune; but strange as it may seem, it has always happened in the history of art, that by the time perfection of technique has been attained, inspiration has declined. It was so in Greece, and in Europe after the Renaissance. It almost seems as if concentration upon technique hindered the free working of the imagination a little; if so, however much we desire both, do not let us make any mistake as to which is first.

Also 'accuracy' is not always even desirable. It has been shown by photography that the galloping horse has never been accurately drawn in art; let us hope it never will be. For art has to make use of abstractions and memory pictures, not of photographs; it is a synthesis, and not an analysis. The whole question of accuracy is relative; and the last word was said by Leonardo da Vinci: "The figure is best, which by its action best expresses the passion that animates it." This is the true impressionism of the East, a very different thing from impressionism as now understood in the West.

This view of art is the natural outcome of the philosophy which regards nature not as revelation, but as a veil of *maya*, illusion, concealing Divinity, Reality, behind. Appearances are at the most thought-forms; art is concerned not with the appearance, but with the Idea (*rupa*) in it. This Idea is attainable only by passing behind the veil of nature. As in religion, the method of attainment is the cultivation of the intuition or imagination, by meditation; for reality is all within. The imager is to visualise his conception, as the Hindu worshipper repeating the short penumonic *mantras* visualises daily the *Ishta Devata*. Truly, success will be in proportion, to meditation and not depend upon seeing the object itself.

Even in decorative art, the same principles hold good. The craftsman does not take a flower, set it before him and deliberately conventionalise, as he is taught to do in Schools of Art; he uses his, or rather the race-memory picture of a familiar flower; and so we see in the representation, not the flower merely, but the man and the people. When the memory is very keen we get a kind of naturalism; yet this is never imitative, but always selective, conventional and rhythmic; it is nature seen in the mirror

of the human mind, not through the lens of the camera or of the eye. In traditional art, we have such memory pictures crystallised into conventional phrases handed on from generation to generation, and these phrases are the language in which the artists of one race or generation speak to another. To an alien the language is sometimes strange; to the child of the country himself, it is a mother-tongue.

Take Indian jewellery as an illustration of idealism in decorative art. The traditional forms have distinctive names, just as a curb-bracelet or a 'gipay ring' may be spoken of in England. In India the names are usually those of special flowers or fruits, or generic terms for flowers or seeds, as 'rui-flower thread,' 'coconut-flower garland,' 'petal garland,' 'string of millet-grass,' 'ear-flower,' 'hair-flower.' These names are reminiscent of the garlands of real flowers, and the flowers in the hair, that play so important a part in Indian festal dress. These, with the flowers and fruits worn as talismans or as religious symbols, are the prototypes of the flowers forms of Indian jewellery, which thus, like all other Indian art, reflects the thought, the life and the history of the people by and for whom it is so beautifully made.

The traditional forms, then, are named after flowers; but it is highly characteristic that the garlands and flowers are in design purely suggestive, not at all imitative of the prototypes. The realism which is so characteristic of nearly all modern Western art, in jewellery producing the unimaginative imitations of flowers, leaves and animals of the school of Lalique, is never found in Indian design.

The passion for imitation may be taken as direct evidence of the lack of true artistic impulse, which is always a desire, conscious or sub-conscious, to express or manifest Idea. Why indeed imitate, where you can never reveal nor is it by a conscious intellectual effort that a flower is to be conventionalised and made into applied ornament. No true Indian craftsman sets a flower before him and worries out of it some sort of ornament by taking thought; his art is more deeply rooted in the national life than that. If the flower has not meant so much to him that he has already a clear memory picture of its essential characters, he may as well ignore it in his decoration; for a decorative art not intimately related to his own experience, and to that of his fellow men, could have no intrinsic vitality, nor meet with that immediate response which rewards

the prophet speaking in a mother-tongue. It is, of course true, that the original memory pictures are limited, and crystallised traditions; yet as long as the art is living, the tradition remains also plastic, and is moulded imperceptibly by successive generations. The force of its appeal is strengthened by the association of ideas—artistic, emotional and religious.

Traditional forms have thus a significance not merely foreign to any imitative art, but dependant on the fact that they represent rather race conceptions, than the ideas of one artist or a single period. They are vital expression of the race mind: to reject them, and expect great art to live on as before, would be to sever the roots of a forest tree, and still look for flowers and fruits upon its branches.

It is the same with the kind of art sometimes called high or fine. Consider for example the well known seated Buddha. Convention and tradition are in such cases held to often fetter artistic imagination. Indian art is sometimes condemned for showing no development, because there is, or is supposed to be, no difference in artistic conception between a Buddha of the first century and one of the nineteenth. It is, of course, not quite true that there is no development, in the sense that the work of each period is altogether uncharacterised; for those who know something of Indian Art are able to estimate with some confidence the century to which a statue belongs. But it is true that the conception is really the same; the mistake lies in thinking this an artistic weakness. It is an expression of the fact that the Indian ideal has not changed. What is that ideal so passionately desired? It is one-pointedness, same-mindedness, control: little by little to control the fickle and unsteady mind; little by little to win stillness, to rein in, not merely the senses, but the mind, that is as hard to the senses as the wind. As a lamp that flickers not in a windless spot, so is the mind to be at rest. Only by constant labour and passionlessness is this peace to be attained. What is the attitude of mind and body of one that seeks it? He shall be seated like the image, for that posture once acquired, is one of perfect bodily equipoise; he shall—

"With thought intent and the working of mind and sense instruments restrained, for purification of spirit labor on the yoga."

"Firm holding body, head, and neck in unmoving equipoise, gazing on the end of his nose, and looking not round about him."

"Calm of spirit, void of fear, abiding

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under the law of causality, with
which we cannot escape, thought set
on Mr. X. shall be put that is under
the law, given over unto Mr.
"In this was the peace that came to the
peace that ends in a round and
that abides in Mr. (Bhagavad
Gita.)

How then should the greatest of India's
teachers be represented in art? How
otherwise than seated in this posture that
is in the heart of India associated with
every striving after the great ideal, and
in which the Buddha himself was seated
on that night when the attacks of Mara
were for ever foiled, and that insight
came at last, to gain which the Buddha
had in countless lives sacrificed his body
'for the sake of creatures.' It was the
greatest moment in India's spiritual history;
and as lives in the race memory,
so is it of necessity presented in the race-art.

Compare the direction in canon (Sari-
putra) :—

I shall now describe *yogasina* images
(of Buddha). The tip of the
nose, the thumb, and the heel
must be visible to the eye of the
image. The image must represent
One with an unfettered, quiescent,
and absolutely pure mind, pre-
eminent from head to foot.

Such then, have been the aims and
method of Indian Art in the past. Two
tendencies are manifested in the Indian Art
of to-day, the one inspired by the technical
achievement of the modern West, the
other by the spiritual idealism of the
East. The former has swept away both
the beauty and the limitation of the old
tradition. The latter has but newly
found expression; yet if the greatest
art is always both National and Reli-
gious (and how empty any other art
must be), it is there alone that we see
the beginnings of a new and greater art,
that shall fulfil and not destroy the past.
When a living Indian culture arises out
of the wreck of the past and the struggle
of the present, a new tradition will
be born, and new vision find expression
in the language of form and colour, no
less than in that of words and rhythm.
The people to whom the great concep-
tions came are still the Indian people,
and when life is strong in them again
strong also will be their art. It may
well be that the fruit of a deeper na-
tional life, a wider culture, and a pro-
founder love, will be an art greater than
any of the past. But this can only be
through growth and development, not
by a sudden rejection of the past. A
particular convention is the character-
istic expression of a period, the pro-
duct of particular conditions; it resumes
the historic evolution of the national
culture. The convention of the future
must be similarly related to the national
life. We stand in relation both to past
and future; in the past we made the
present, the future we are moulding
now, and our duty to the future, is
that we should not destroy the
inheritance that is the basis of the
future, but that we should make it
the basis of the future.

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PAPER-MAKING IN INDIA FROM THE EAST AND WEST

(Continued from the last issue.)

But in China and Japan common paper
is said to be still made by hand. It
would be interesting to know under
what conditions this has so long been
possible, and what the prospects of the
industry may be. It is superfluous to
say that there is a good deal in common
between the industrial conditions of those
countries and India, for instance, the
low wages of labour, the simplicity of
tools, the general absence of the factory
system etc. Some of the students lately
sent to Japan by the Society for the
Industrial and Technical Education of
Indians, might look into the problem.
Government might also obtain a report
from some authoritative agent on the
subject. Poor, ignorant, and broken-
spirited, it is hopeless to expect the Kay-
jias to make any improvements in their
time-honoured ways without some help
from outside. It is impossible to say
without an enquiry abroad whether the
industry has any chance of being saved at
all. The few men who are still engaged
in it will soon disappear and their des-
cendants will be forced to betake them-
selves to other lines of life as best as they
can. And then it will be too late to
make any effort to revive the industry.

V. Indigenous Process of Paper-manufacture BENGAL.

The process of manufacture is as fol-
lows:—Waste paper is mixed with lime
and steeped for a week or ten days in a
large earthen vat. The lime used is at
the rate of three or four seers per maund
of waste paper. When sufficiently soft-
ened, the mass is pounded under a 'dhen-
ki' over a stone mortar. The 'dhenki'
used for this purpose is very much like
that used for husking paddy only some-
what larger and heavier and the head
of the pestle is more strongly bound with
iron. The stone mortar is only slightly
grooved and consists of a large piece of
basaltic stone, some three feet long, one
and a half feet broad and a foot high.

The paste produced after pounding
with the 'dhenki' is next kneaded
thoroughly in another vat by tramping
under feet like potter's clay.

The paste is now washed thoroughly in
water over a piece of cotton cloth till all
impurities are got rid of and a soft
pulp obtained. This is now diluted
with water in a large vat. The contents
of the vat are constantly stirred with
a rod to prevent the pulp settling down
and a little is dipped out at a time in a
rectangular shallow mould, called *decle*,
resting on a low sieve. The sieve is
made of very thin bamboo strips of long
together with the *decle*. The sieve is
known as *chhara*, and is made by thin
and long strips of bamboo of ordi-
nary thickness and width. The strips are
smaller and finer. The bamboo is woven
in a particular way to produce the
sieve.

is held firmly in position by the deele or rectangular mould pressing on its four edges. On withdrawing mould from the vat in a horizontal position the water within the deele drains off leaving the chhapri covered with a thin film of fibres, the operator meanwhile shaking the mould so as to evenly distribute the film.

The chhapri covered with the thin film of paper is now taken off from the frame and inverted over a slanting piece of stone covered with a piece of gunny cloth. The chhapri is now rolled away leaving the film of paper on the stone. The process is repeated and film after film laid down one above another forming a pile. The work is generally done in the morning and the pile is left untouched for the water to drain away till the following day when the sheets still wet are taken up one by one and laid separately on mats to dry in the sun.

After their edges have been trimmed the sheets are next sized or starched one side at a time and again dried. The starch is obtained by boiling sunned rice in water and is applied with the spongy fibrous shell of a "dhundul, nenua" or "vurul" (*Luffa aegyptiana*) with the outer skin removed. Some blue stone or copper sulphate is dissolved in the starch to improve the lasting quality of the paper. The starching being light work is generally done by women.

After the sheets have been dried, they are exposed to the night dew to soften them slightly, and next morning they are passed over a plank with the help of a piece of smooth stone or a conch shell. This, too, is generally done by women. The paper is now ready. The paper produced is generally white, but is sometimes coloured blue or yellow. The blue colour is imparted with indigo dissolved in the pulp vat from which the films are dipped up with the chhapri. The yellow colour is given by dissolving turmeric in the starch. Yellow paper is only produced in the Hooghly district.

The implements used, it will thus be seen, are of the crudest kind possible; they consist of some earthen vats, dhenki for pounding the waste paper, a wooden mould, a bamboo sieve (chhapri), a wooden frame for supporting the chhapri, some mats for drying the sheets, some

dhundul fruits for applying the starch, and a piece of plank and a smooth stone for pressing the paper. The chhapri alone is a rather delicate thing. It is procured from Serampore in the Hooghly district where it is made. It costs from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2, and each piece lasts from 2½ to 3 months.

The dipping up of the pulp with the chhapri is an operation requiring some skill. One man can on an average produce 175 to 200 sheets per day (7 to 8 quires). One woman can size one side of 16 or 20 quires and polish about 12 quires of paper per day. The workmen receive from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 per month according to their skill and out-turn of work.

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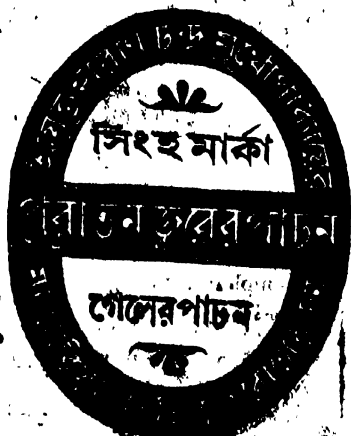
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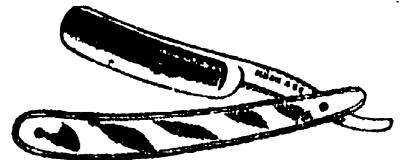
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A WEEKLY REVIEW

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Vol. I. }

19th BHADRA 1316.

No. 11.

FACTS AND COMMENTS.

The Kaul Judgment.

The Kaul Boycott case which has attracted some comment in the Press is one which ought to be drawn more prominently into public notice. The Settlement Patwary of Kaul together with four leading Bonas, two Zemindars and a Brahmin of the place were charged by the police with having held a Boycott meeting which endangered the peace of the town. It is alleged that they agreed to impose a penalty upon all persons using foreign sugar after a certain date and a heavier fine on any one importing the commodity. It does not appear that there was any complaint from a single person in the neighbourhood as to any such meeting being held, still less to their being inconvenienced or stopped in their avocations by any action or threatened action on the part of the defendants. But on the ipse dixit of the complaining constable the defendants were found guilty and bound over to keep the peace. The defendants themselves denied the meeting and alleged that they took no part in politics and were guiltless of any religious objection to foreign sugar. In itself the case appears to be a judicial vagary of the worst kind. But the remarkable pronouncements of the Sub-divisional officer of Kaithal on the juristic aspects of

the case make it of more than local importance. Mr Garret in his judgment starts a very surprising metaphysical argument by drawing a nice distinction between illegal non-legal and wrongful acts. Illegal acts are those against which the law provides a penalty either by criminal or civil action. Non-legal acts are those which are contrary to public policy but are left to social opinion to discourage. Wrongful acts, according to Mr Garrett, are those which, being neither illegal nor nonlegal, are yet abhorrent to the moral sense of men of reason. We do not know if this remarkable definition of wrongful acts will be supported by lawyers. But Mr Garret further improves on these distinctions by assevering on the strength of an Irish judgment that a perfectly legal action becomes illegal when it is done by many persons in combination, provided any one can show that his interests as an individual or as one of a class are aimed at or necessarily injured. In order that we may not be accused of misrepresenting the learned Sub-divisional Officer we quote the words of the judgment. "Without quoting chapter, verse and date I call to mind the judgment of the late Lord Chief Justice of Ireland I believe, Baron Rolleston, in what is known as the Baker's Case. In that case it was held that the baker

had a cause of action against the farmers of the village in which he established a bakery because they combined to boycott his bakery by each establishing a kitchen for the preparation of the bread for themselves and their servants, their motive being simply a difference on political grounds. The Irish farmers did not go so far as the defendants are said to have gone in this case, and they in nowise interfered with the baker personally. The illegality of their action consisted in their combining to do an act which if done separately would have been legal. The learned Judge observed to the effect that, whereas a single man may be left to work out his own salvation when opposed by an individual, he could claim protection from a combination. In that case there were no proposals to inflict fines or outrage, yet the act was held illegal. It is very certain therefore that an act which in violence far outstrips that, is, if not illegal, at least wrongful.

The Implications in the judgment.

That is the judgment. It is obvious that these remarkable dicta have very wide implications and, if upheld, make every combination harmful to personal or class interests impossible under the law. That has been for some time the tendency of magisterial decisions in India. Every action for instance

which may be objectionable to a number of Mahomedans is now liable to be forbidden because it is likely to lead to a breach of the peace, and one is dimly beginning to wonder whether the day may not yet come when worship in Hindu temples may be forbidden on that valid ground. Under Mr. Garrett's dictum it seems to depend purely on the bias of the judge what action will or will not be allowed by the law. A totalitarian judge may easily penalise a party of men going into a public house to drink because it is an action abhorrent to his moral sense as a man of reason. And certainly it would not be unarguable that such a combined action might very easily lead to a breach of the peace, much more easily than the meeting of a few hundred or thousand men on the Boycott day. By his other dictum every caste decision forbidding a breach of caste rules is a punishable act, every trade strike is a punishable act, every National School Committee is liable to an action under the law for injuring the interests of the local Government school, every big concern aiming at the extinction in a locality of the retail shopkeeper and the capture of his business commits a wrongful act, or an illegal act, it is not clear which, all Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education movements are objectionable. The Tariff Reform movement itself is only saved by being directed against men outside the country even if it is so saved, for after all it affects adversely the middlemen who bring in foreign manufactures. Even if, driven beyond endurance by my dhobis delays, I combine with some friends to open and patronise a laundry, I can be stopped by a magisterial sympathiser with the rights of the individual. If this is Irish law, all we can say is that it is very Irish indeed and we do not yearn to have it imported into India. The object of the learned Magistrate was no doubt to aim a blow at the Swadeshi movement which is probably abhorrent to his moral sense as a man of reason. The Sessions Judge has refused to interfere with the discretion of the executive, but there is more here concerned than the discretion of the executive. There is a very original and far-reaching elucidation of the law behind the executive

discretion. We hope that the victimised citizens of Kaul will carry their appeal higher and get a more authoritative pronouncement on the juristic philosophy of the learned Mr. Garret.

The Social Boycott.

The reason why we have drawn so much attention to this case, is its intimate connection with the question of Social Boycott. We are advocates of this weapon not in all cases, but in circumstances where milder expedients are impotent to prevent a wound to the body social or body politic by refractory or conscienceless individuals who wish to enjoy all the benefits of social existence while disregarding the vital necessities of the society. We are aware of the grave consequences of the misuse of the social boycott to prevent the legitimate exercise by the individual of his free reason and honest conviction. We therefore advocate it only in very serious instances where the whole community is attacked in a vital point and is practically at one in resenting the act as fatally injurious to it. For instance when the turbulent Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal made an organised attack on the property of Hindus and on the honour of Hindu women, the Hindu community of East Bengal would have been perfectly justified in boycotting Mahomedans as servants. Similarly, now that the educated classes of the Hindu community are at one in the belief that the Swadeshi movement supported by Boycott is necessary to the economical existence of their community, they are justified in refusing to have any dealings with those who out of personal and selfish motives deal a blow at that movement by persisting in the purchase of foreign articles. The use of this weapon of self-defence by Hindu castes became hurtful because it was applied without discrimination and not always with honesty. Had it been confined to cases of gross moral depravity destructive of social order, there would have been no revolt against it. The penalising of the pursuit of education in foreign countries and similar blunders recoiled on the caste system and it is notable that communities with a strong democratic common-

sense like the Mahrattas have even while adhering to orthodox religion avoided the worst of these errors. But the misuse of a necessary instrument is no argument against its necessary and discriminating use. We hold the use of this instrument, not in all cases but in the most heinous, to be legitimate in protecting the life of the nation.

The Law and the Nationalist.

There are several points connected with the national movement in which the law is in a state of dangerous uncertainty. The exact limit of sedition is one of them, the matter of social boycott is another. We believe that social boycott involving no violence or direct coercion is perfectly legal but it is certain that not only the Anglo-Indian community at large but a portion of the judiciary would be glad to find it illegal. Any doubt on such subjects ought to be removed, for although ignorance is in itself no excuse in law, it ought to be a defence when it is created by the uncertainties of the law itself. We think the Nationalists ought to take every opportunity of testing the extent of the liberties still allowed to us in the ordinary course of the law. We are aware that a section of Nationalist opinion has held that our principle of Swadeshi-Boycott ought to debar us from taking any part in any legal proceedings whatever. While many of us have openly expressed our admiration for the heroic stoicism with which this principle has been adhered to in many cases, we have not held it binding on any except those fine consciences to whom it appealed nor would we allow it to guide our own action. We hold that no Nationalist should resort to the British Courts under the present political conditions as against a brother Nationalist or in any circumstances which give him a real choice. If he is dragged to the criminal or civil courts by others he is entitled to defend himself to the end by all the means that the law provides. If arbitration is refused in a case where his interests are attacked, he is absolved from the self-denying obligation, or if the law of the land compels him as a landholder or propertied or business man to protect himself by certain legal forms, it is obvious that he cannot deny himself that protection without im-

perilling work or wealth necessary to nation. The same overriding rule of necessity which compels us to exclude machinery and other instruments of education, work and production from the Boycott, limits the application of the arbitration principle and the abstention from British Courts. Formerly we were content to go our way in doubtful cases, such as the limits of the law of sedition, putting our own interpretation and taking the consequences of a too elastic reading of the law. We even held ourselves justified in the case of unjust and arbitrary laws in breaking them not by violence but peacefully and passively, as the Dissenters did in England, so as to get them either tested or altered. This we still hold to be morally and politically justifiable. But the outbreak of Terrorism compels us to restrict our circle of passive resistance lest even by the most peaceful rejection of unjust laws we should seem to be encouraging lawlessness and disorder. Still, if we are to observe the law scrupulously, just or unjust, we must know what the law is, and now that there is a man at the head of judicial administration who knows the law and tries to keep to it, we ought to take advantage of this now unusual circumstance and use every opportunity to fix the legal position of our movement and its methods.

THE HUGHLY RESOLUTIONS.

We publish in this issue the draft resolutions of the Hugly Reception Committee which have reached our hands in a printed form. Formerly our information had been that the Committee had based its resolutions on the Pabna Conference resolutions and preserved them in the spirit if not in the letter. We regret to find that this information was erroneous. While appreciating the labours of the Committee we cannot pretend to be satisfied at the result. The letter of the Pabna resolutions has been preserved in a few cases and their manly and dignified character contrasts strangely with the company in which they are found, but for the most part the mass of the resolutions represent an attempt to go back to the tone of appeal, prayer and protest which Bengal had decided to give

up, until the concession of real control should impart to these forms the sense of power which can alone save them from the stamp of a futile mendicancy. The phrasing also of these draft resolutions seems to us to be defective. The pronouncements of opinion of a public assembly of this standing ought to be free from an undignified effusiveness, prolixity or argumentativeness. Whatever argument is needed beyond what is barely necessary for an adequate expression of the assembly's opinion on the subject in hand, should be reserved for the speeches. That too is the proper place for enthusiasm, eloquence and rhetoric. To import those elements into the resolutions themselves is to import into the assembly's pronouncements an appearance of immaturity and inexperienced youthfulness not conducive to its dignity in the eyes of those who are accustomed to the serious handling of weighty affairs. Two of the resolutions, quite apart from other objections, travel beyond the scope of the assembly by their local character. The proper place for such resolutions is the District Conference and the mere fact of the larger assembly being held in a particular district does not change the character of the Conference whose business is to express the opinion and guide the public activities of the people of Bengal in matters affecting the country and the province as a whole. These resolutions deal with particular local interest of the people of Hugly and the riparian towns and districts on the banks of the Ganges. If the Conference is to handle local matters, there is no reason why they should ignore similar wants and necessities in the districts of East Bengal. Finally, there are two questions of national importance in which the Nationalist party holds views connected with a distinct policy and on which it is necessary to know the opinion of the country, and in these two matters the resolutions of the Committee do not satisfy us. The resolution on the Reforms contains a parenthesis which is unwarranted by the facts and will have the effect of committing the people of Bengal to the acceptance of the reforms with all their vital imperfections

and disastrous tendencies. The resolution on the Congress, while unexceptionable in sentiment, has the vital defect of not dealing with the crucial questions at issue or showing a way to the realisation of the desirable consummation advocated. At Pabna there was a distinct means pointed out and, since that has been rendered null and void, the people of Bengal must take other means as definite and more decisive to see that their wishes are no longer ignored. To call on the leaders is to express merely a pious wish and the time has gone by when in this matter the action can be left to the discretion of the leaders. They may ignore the resolution in their action or say that they could find no means of carrying out the wishes of the Conference.

In view of these defects the Nationalist party in Calcutta have drawn up a number of draft resolutions and amendments of the Reception Committee's draft which they propose to bring forward before the Subjects Committee. We hold it imperative that in these matters there should be no unnecessary secrecy or hole and corner action. We have nothing to conceal either from the Government, the people or those whose opinions may differ from ours. Our propaganda is open, frank and democratic. The actual details of action, when action is in our hands, are best discussed in Cabinets and private Committees, but in a people striving to be free and democratic deliberation must be public and policy openly and fully expressed. Unfortunately, the late period at which we were able to procure a copy of the draft resolutions and the necessity of immediate action have made it impossible to circulate the draft in time to receive the opinions of Mofussil Nationalists or even to consult all who are in Calcutta. We have however sent copies to the Mofussil and hope that the delegates will be ready with any suggestions they may have to make when they meet at Hugly. The want of a Nationalist daily at this time is being severely felt; we have to do what we can with the means at our disposal.

The alterations made in the Committee's draft have been dictated by the considerations above stated. We have thought it right

to adhere to the decision arrived at by us at Pabna to clear our politics of all that is low and humiliating in tone and substance and to make self-reliance, self-respect and a manly expression of opinion the cast of our public resolutions. There are certain matters in which the ultimate decision rests with the Government and yet in which the people are bound to express their opinion, but so long as they have no recognised instrument through which they can bring their weight to bear in these matters, all they can do is to place their opinion on record and leave to the Government the responsibility of ignoring the opinion of a whole province. The expression of opinion is addressed to the people of this province and of the whole country; it is their sympathetic and moral support we seek and we do not wish to appeal to an authority which is not bound to listen to or consider our appeals and protests and with whom even the reception of public resolutions by great bodies representing whole populations is a matter of rare condescension and favour. When we have a direct and effective share in administration, then will be the time to submit representation and protest to a Government which will be partly ours. In our draft resolutions everything expressing this attitude of appeal and unavailing objurgation has been rigorously excluded and in only one instance we have followed the precedent of the Pabna Conference in making a demand, not because we expect it to be fruitful but to mark a strong sense of the serious breach of a definite promise with which the authorities have long been charged and the nonfulfilment of an elementary obligation binding on all Governments popular or democratic which ranks along with the preservation of order and the defence of the country from foreign invasion. We were somewhat opposed to the making even of this demand at the time of the Pabna Conference, but now that the authorities profess a willingness to reform the administration and claim co-operation on our part, it is advisable to emphasize the serious failings which make co-operation under present conditions impossible and to indicate the conditions which can alone make co-operation of a real kind possible to the people. The draft resolutions on Councils Reform, local self-government and the improvement of judicial administration have the latter purpose in view. Purely local resolutions we propose to omit. We have restored in our draft the Pabna resolution on the Boycott; we do not see any sufficient reason for departing from the Pabna wording whether to lower the tone or to enter into an unnecessary justification of the legitimate character of the Boycott which a body like the Conference long committed to the movement ought to take for granted. We have omitted the

first clause of the Education Resolution for the same reasons which motivated its exclusion at Pabna and especially because we look with suspicion on mass education entirely under official control. If primary education is placed under free District Boards, there will be no further objection; otherwise we must confine ourselves to the effective extension of National Education to the primary stage. We totally reject the resolution on the Terrorist outrages which no Bengal Conference ought to pass after the speech of the Lieutenant Governor which still stands on record and has not been withdrawn. Sir Edward Baker distinctly declared that the Government has no farther use for mere denunciations of the outrages however fervently worded and he has thrown on the whole country the responsibility for the cessation of the assassinations or their continuance. The suitable course for the Conference is to dissociate itself in a dignified manner from all forms of violence and quietly remind the authorities that the atmosphere in which the worst forms of political crime can alone exist is of their creation and the means of eradicating them in their hands. The people are helpless spectators of this miserable strife and the Conference has no right to pass any resolution which would even by implication admit their responsibility.

There remain the questions of Reform and the Congress. On the former we have already stated the attitude of the Nationalist party which is not irreconcilable on the point but refuses to countenance any reform which does not begin the concession of self-government. Especially is it impossible for us to accept a measure which introduces permanent elements of discord and maims the growing national sentiment by perpetuating divisions, to say nothing of the false and vicious principles, destructive of democratic development on which it is based. The reform ensures us nothing but an increase in the number of nominated and elected members and a non-official, not an elective, majority. It also holds out to us a promise of ampler discussion, interpellation and division. But the rules for formation of electorates, election and the conduct of business as well as the admissibility of particular elections and an unqualified power of veto are all in the hands of the authorities. There might be an increase of moral weight behind a popular opinion or protest, but equally there might be an increase of moral weight behind the Government if they can succeed in passing anti-national measures by a majority of members, official, nominated and elected from convenient electorates, as approved by a majority in a reformed Council. In any case we would not think so doubtful and trivial a concession worth accepting,—for gratitude for concessions implies acceptance of the

concessions,—and when it is practically an inducement for consenting to the permanent mutilation of the body politic and offered without amnesty, cessation of repressive measures or release of the deportees it is binding on the Nationalist delegates to stand or fall by the rejection of the measure.

In the matter of an united Congress we have pointed out that it is imperatively necessary to provide a means by which the desired union can be brought about. The difficulties in the way of union are two, the creed and the Constitution. The Constitution of the body now calling itself the Congress has been framed and imposed on it without consulting even that body and it is well known that many members of the Moderate party refuse to join a body constituted by a means which, even if it were not ultra vires, would be as arbitrary as the most arbitrary action of which even Lord Curzon's Government was ever guilty. The Nationalists on their part insist that they cannot be called on to accept a Constitution of many clauses of which they disapprove and which was imposed on a body from which they were specially excluded. The call on them to join a body which insists on their forswearing their fundamental principles before they enter, is still more absurd. Therefore a freely elected Congress constituted on the old lines is the only solution and the Conference must decide that point if it is serious in its desire. Our draft resolution provides a means by which negotiations can be carried on by Bengal with the other provincial leaders and the organisers of what is called the Lahore Congress and, in case of unanimity proving impossible, for the assembling of a real united Congress on the initiative of Bengal in co-operation with all who desire union. We admit that the success of the plan depends on its acceptance by the Bengal Moderates, but we believe it was substantially this idea which the deported Moderate leader S. Krishna Kumar Mitra was trying to get carried out when he was arrested. We see no reason why Bengal Moderates should object to it. At any rate this is the Nationalist proposal.

In addition to these amendments and substitutions we have appended two additional resolutions to which there ought to be no objection. One of them is in the Pabna list and we do not know why it should be omitted.

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BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

MUGL-1933

Draft Resolutions

I. That this Conference places on record its profound feelings of regret and sorrow at the death of Lord Ripon who has justly been called the father of local self-government in India and whose policy of justice and righteousness will for ever enshrine his memory in the hearts of the people of this country. This Conference also urges that immediate steps should be taken to perpetuate his memory.

II. (a) That this Conference is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India.

(b) That while expressing its gratefulness to the Government for the concessions made in the recent Reform Scheme, this Conference records its firm conviction that no reform will ensure the happiness and contentment of the people unless it gives them a direct control over the finances of the country.

(c) That this Conference is further of opinion that any undue favour in the matter of representation in the Councils which may be shown to any particular community cannot fail to encourage sectarianism in the different communities and to create dissensions and political troubles amongst them.

(d) That this Conference also urges the Government to publish the rules framed in accordance with Lord Morley's Scheme before they are finally adopted.

III. (a) That this Conference declines to accept the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact of question and resolves to continue the agitation against it with a view to its reversal or modification.

(b) That in this connection this Conference appeals to the Government of India to act in the spirit of His Majesty's assurance in his recent message that the rectification of errors has ever been one of the guiding principles of British Government in India.

IV. That this Conference urges the people to continue the boycott of foreign goods which, in its opinion, is perfectly legitimate movement and is calculated to secure the political as well as economic independence of the country.

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

I. That this Conference places on record its sorrow at the death of Lord Ripon who was an earnest and sincere sympathiser with Indian aspirations and did much for the cause of local self-government.

II. (a) As in the Committee's draft.

(b) That this Conference emphatically condemns the principle of separate electorates on sectarian lines and of special privileges for one community which it is intended to introduce into the Reform Scheme and is further of the opinion that no reform will be acceptable to the country which does not concede to the people a direct and substantial control over finance and legislation.

The rest to be omitted.

III. As in the Committee's draft but clause (b) to be omitted.

IV. That this Conference records its fullest support to the Boycott movement and is of opinion that further extension both as a political and economic movement of the people is the only way to secure the political and economic independence of the country.

V. That the Conference urges the people to continue the boycott of foreign goods which, in its opinion, is perfectly legitimate movement and is calculated to secure the political as well as economic independence of the country.

to adhere to the decision arrived at by us at Pabna to clear our politics of all that is low and humiliating in tone and substance and to make self-reliance, self-respect and a manly expression of opinion the east of our public resolutions. There are certain matters in which the ultimate decision rests with the Government and yet in which the people are bound to express their opinion, but so long as they have no recognised instrument through which they can bring their weight to bear in these matters, all they can do is to place their opinion on record and leave to the Government the responsibility of ignoring the opinion of a whole province. The expression of opinion is addressed to the people of this province and of the whole country; it is their sympathy or moral support we seek and we do not wish to appeal to an authority which is not bound to listen, to or consider our appeals and protests and with whom even the reception of public resolutions by great bodies representing whole populations is a matter of rare condescension and favour. When we have a direct and effective share in administration, then will be the time to submit representation and protest to a Government which will be partly ours. In our draft resolutions everything expressing this attitude of appeal and unavailing objurgation has been rigorously excluded and in only one instance we have followed the precedent of the Pabna Conference in making a demand, not because we expect it to be fruitful but to mark a strong sense of the serious breach of a definite promise with which the authorities have long been charged and the nonfulfilment of an elementary obligation binding on all Governments popular or democratic which ranks along with the preservation of order and the defence of the country from foreign invasion. We were somewhat opposed to the making even of this demand at the time of the Pabna Conference, but now that the authorities profess a willingness to reform the administration and claim co-operation on our part, it is advisable to emphasize the serious failings which make co-operation under present conditions impossible and to indicate the conditions which can alone make co-operation of a real kind possible to the people. The draft resolutions on Councils Reform, local self-government and the improvement of judicial administration have the latter purpose in view. Purely local resolutions we propose to omit. We have restored in our draft the Pabna resolution on the Boycott; we do not see any sufficient reason for departing from the Pabna wording whether to lower the tone or to enter into an unnecessary justification of the legitimate character of the Boycott which a body like the Conference long committed to the movement ought to take for granted. We have omitted the

first clause of the Education Resolution for the same reasons which motivated its exclusion at Pabna and especially because we look with suspicion on mass education entirely under official control. If primary education is placed under free District Boards, there will be no further objection; otherwise we must confine ourselves to the effective extension of National Education to the primary stage. We totally reject the resolution on the Terrorist outrages which no Bengal Conference ought to pass after the speech of the Lieutenant Governor which still stands on record and has not been withdrawn. Sir Edward Baker distinctly declared that the Government has no farther use for mere denunciations of the outrages however fervently worded and he has thrown on the whole country the responsibility for the cessation of the assassinations or their continuance. The suitable course for the Conference is to dissociate itself in a dignified manner from all forms of violence and quietly remind the authorities that the atmosphere in which the worst forms of political crime can alone exist is of their creation and the means of eradicating them in their hands. The people are helpless spectators of this miserable strife and the Conference has no right to pass any resolution which would even by implication admit their responsibility.

There remain the questions of Reform and the Congress. On the former we have already stated the attitude of the Nationalist party which is not irreconcilable on the point but refuses to countenance any reform which does not begin the concession of self-government. Especially is it impossible for us to accept a measure which introduces permanent elements of discord and maintains the growing national sentiment by perpetuating divisions, to say nothing of the false and vicious principles, destructive of democratic development on which it is based. The reform ensures us nothing but an increase in the number of nominated and elected members and a non-official, not an elective, majority. It also holds out to us a promise of ampler discussion, interpellation and division. But the rules for formation of electorates, election and the conduct of business as well as the admissibility of particular elections and an unqualified power of veto are all in the hands of the authorities. There might be an increase of moral weight behind a popular opinion or protest, but equally there might be an increase of moral weight behind the Government if they can succeed in passing anti-national measures by a majority of members, official, nominated and elected from convenient electorates, as approved by a majority in a reformed Council. In any case we would not think so doubtful and trivial a concession worth accepting,—for gratitude for concessions implies acceptance of the

concessions,—and when it is practically an inducement for consenting to the permanent mutilation of the body politic and offered without amnesty, cessation of repressive measures or release of the deportees it is binding on the Nationalist delegates to stand or fall by the rejection of the measure.

In the matter of an united Congress we have pointed out that it is imperatively necessary to provide a means by which the desired union can be brought about. The difficulties in the way of union are two, the creed and the Constitution. The Constitution of the body now calling itself the Congress has been framed and imposed on it without consulting even that body and it is well known that many members of the Moderate party refuse to join a body constituted by a means which, even if it were not ultra vires, would be as arbitrary as the most arbitrary action of which even Lord Curzon's Government was ever guilty. The Nationalists on their part insist that they cannot be called on to accept a Constitution of many clauses of which they disapprove and which was imposed on a body from which they were specially excluded. The call on them to join a body which insists on their forswearing their fundamental principles before they enter, is still more absurd. Therefore a freely elected Congress constituted on the old lines is the only solution and the Conference must decide that point if it is serious in its desire. Our draft resolution provides a means by which negotiations can be carried on by Bengal with the other provincial leaders and the organisers of what is called the Lahore Congress and, in case of unanimity proving impossible, for the assembling of a real united Congress on the initiative of Bengal in co-operation with all who desire union. We admit that the success of the plan depends on its acceptance by the Bengal Moderates, but we believe it was substantially this idea which the deported Moderate leader Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra was trying to get carried out when he was arrested. We see no reason why Bengal Moderates should object to it. At any rate this is the Nationalist proposal.

In addition to these amendments and substitutions we have appended two additional resolutions to which there ought to be no objection. One of them is in the Pabna list and we do not know why it should be omitted.

A FRIEND OF THE TIRED.

When you are tired, either mentally or physically, and man have headache, sadness of the mind & you naturally crave for some thing that will cool and refresh you. Here and on many other occasions.

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do an immense benefit by its deliciously refreshing qualities. It is extremely pure and far superior to any foreign and Indian Brands sold at a similar or ever higher price. Put up in large bottle with sprink & Price Annas 14 per Bottle. Small Final Annas 7.

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BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

MUGLY-1909.
Draft Resolutions.

I. That this Conference places on record its profound feelings of regret and sorrow at the death of Lord Ripon who has justly been called the father of local self-government in India and whose policy of justice and righteousness will for ever enshrine his memory in the hearts of the people of this country. This Conference also urges that immediate steps should be taken to perpetuate his memory.

II. (a) That this Conference is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India.

(b) That while expressing its gratefulness to the Government for the concessions made in the recent Reform Scheme, this Conference records its firm conviction that no reform will ensure the happiness and contentment of the people unless it gives them a direct control over the finances of the country.

(c) That this Conference is further of opinion that any undue favour in the matter of representation in the Councils which may be shown to any particular community cannot fail to encourage sectarianism in the different communities and to create dissensions and political troubles amongst them.

(d) That this Conference also urges the Government to publish the rules framed in accordance with Lord Morley's Scheme before they are finally adopted.

III. (a) That this Conference declines to accept the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact or question and resolves to continue the agitation against it with a view to its reversal or modification.

(b) That in this connection this Conference appeals to the Government of India to act in the spirit of His Majesty's assurance in his recent message that the rectification of errors has ever been one of the guiding principles of British Government in India.

IV. That this Conference urges the people to continue the Boycott of foreign goods which is, in its opinion, a perfectly legitimate movement and is calculated to hasten the political as well as industrial and economic welfare of the country.

V. That this Conference urges the Government to take steps to improve the condition of the country.

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

I. That this Conference places on record its sorrow at the death of Lord Ripon who was an earnest and sincere sympathiser with Indian aspirations and did much for the cause of local self-government.

II. (a) As in the Committee's draft.

(b) That this Conference emphatically condemns the principle of separate electorates on sectarian lines, and of special privileges for one community which it is intended to introduce into the Reform Scheme and is further of the opinion that no reform will be acceptable to the country which does not concede to the people a direct and substantial control over finance and legislation.

The rest to be omitted.

III. As in the Committee's draft but clause (b) to be omitted.

IV. That this Conference records its fullest support to the Boycott movement and recommends its further extension both as a political weapon and as a measure of economic protection.

V. This is the Pabna resolution.

VI. As in the Reception Committee's draft.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

HUGLI—1909.

Draft Resolutions.

VI. That this Conference places on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence which have been recently committed and is of opinion that such acts will retard the progress of the country.

VII. (a) That this Conference records its emphatic protest against the repressive measures adopted by the Government and especially against the deportation of nine Bengali gentlemen without trial or charge and further protests against the persistent refusal of the Government to furnish any information regarding the charges against them and to give them an opportunity of exculpating themselves. This Conference considers the immediate release of the deportees as absolutely necessary in the interests of justice and fair-play.

(b) That having regard to the grave risk of injustice involved in Government action based upon *ex parte* and untested informations and to the penal laws of the country, this Conference urges upon the Government the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818.

VIII. That having regard to the prevalence of Cholera, Malaria and Smallpox in the province throughout the year and the abnormal death rate as disclosed in the last Sanitary Report of Bengal, this Conference urges the Government as well as the people to adopt amongst others the following measures:—

(1) The sinking of wells and the excavation and reservation of tanks in the villages for purely drinking purposes.

(2) The draining of the rural areas.

(3) The clearing of jungle in the inhabited areas of towns and villages.

(4) The prevention of noxious discharges from septic tanks into the River Hugli which form the principal cause of Cholera in the riparian towns and villages on both banks of the said river.

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

VI. That this Conference looks with strong disapproval on all methods of violence and holds that the furtherance of the national movement should be effected by peaceful and legitimate means, and it warns the authorities that the policy of repression stimulates terrorist activity and the best way to paralyse it is to restore normal conditions.

VII. That this Conference emphatically condemns the repressive measures adopted by the Government and especially the deportation of nine Bengali gentlemen without trial or charge and considers their immediate release and the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 as the only way to assuage the profound discontent created by these measures.

VIII. That inasmuch as the Government has failed hitherto to redeem its pledges with regard to the application of the Road Cess for the purposes originally intended and has not fulfilled its duties with regard to the improvement of sanitation in rural areas, the Conference demands the fulfilment of this duty and the organisation of adequate measures for the provision of good drinking water, medical aid and proper drainage of the country.

N. B. This is the Panna resolution with some verbal modifications.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

HUGLI—1909.

Draft Resolutions.

IX. That this Conference recommends—

(a) That all local self-governing bodies and Panchayets should, without further delay, be vested with powers to elect their own Chairman.

(b) That the principle of representation should be extended to village Union Committees and Panchayets.

(c) That the Union Committees should be vested with powers to initiate and carry on measures for the sanitary improvement of the areas within their jurisdiction and that grants of money should be made to them for that purpose.

X. (a) That this Conference urges the Government to take immediate action on their circular on free primary education issued about three years ago and invites their attention to the fact that the grant in aid of technical and scientific education are not at all commensurate with the needs of the country.

(b) That in view of the recent educational policy of the Government which has practically closed the doors of the University against many students of the province and the necessity of organising a system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education suited to the requirements of the country, this Conference urges the people to take steps to establish educational institutions throughout the country on national lines and under national control.

XI. (a) That, while recording its satisfaction at the recognition by the Government of India of the principle of separation of Judicial from Executive functions, this Conference regrets that effect has not yet been given to it.

(b) That this Conference is of opinion that the only effective method of reforming the Police is to separate the Judicial from the Executive functions and that no scheme for such separation will be successful unless all the Judicial Officers are placed under the direct control and supervision of the High Court.

(c) That this Conference is further of opinion that for the better administration of Civil and Criminal justice in the country, the District and Sessions Judges should be recruited from among the ranks of the legal profession.

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

IX. That this Conference is of opinion that local self-governing bodies including Panchayets and Village Union Committees should be entirely elected on the principle of popular representation and freed from official control and that Village Union committees should be vested with powers and provided with the necessary funds to carry on sanitary improvements.

X. That in the opinion of this Conference steps should be taken for promoting a system of education literary, technical and scientific suited to the requirements of the country on national lines and under national control and maintaining national schools throughout the country Clause (a) is omitted.

XI. That this Conference is of opinion that the separation of judicial from executive functions, which has been recognised in principle, should be forthwith put into effect and all judicial officers placed under the direct control and supervision of the High Court and that provision should be made in the scheme for the District and Sessions Judges being appointed in future from the ranks of the legal profession in this country.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

PERFNOE

MUGLY—1909.

Draft Resolution.

XII. That this Conference enters a strong protest against the Calcutta Police Bill which is an un-called-for measure of an absolutely retrograde character and which will restrict the freedom of action of the people in Calcutta and will subject them to unscrupulous harassments.

XIII. (a) That in view of the large surplus under the head of Stamp Revenue and the growing poverty of the people, this Conference urges upon the Government the necessity of reducing the Court fees levied for the institution of suits and complaints.

(b) That having regard to the ruinous expenses of litigation in Courts of law, this Conference is of opinion that arbitration Courts should be established throughout the country.

XIV. That with a view to mitigate the hardship arising from chronic high prices of food stuffs, this Conference urges on the District Associations the necessity of establishing Co-operative Banks and Stores with Dharamagolas throughout the country.

XV. That in view of the ravages of wild animals and the frequent dacoities in the towns and villages, this Conference appeals to the Government to repeal the Arms Act.

XVI. That this Conference views with apprehension the decrease in the normal growth of the Bengali Hindu population and hereby appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen to ascertain the causes which have led to this state of things and to suggest what steps should be taken to prevent it.

XVII. That this Conference, while sympathising with the Indian residents of South Africa in their struggle for equal rights and privileges with the White population and admiring their firm attitude, places on record its deep sense of indignation at the gross wrongs inflicted on them and suggests the adoption of Boycott of Colonial and British goods by other Provinces of India by way of protest and retaliation.

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

XII. As in the Committee's draft except that in place of "enters a strong protest against" should be put "strongly condemns"

XIII. Omit clause (a), otherwise as in the Committee's draft.

XIV. As in the Committee's draft

XV. That in view of the ravages of wild animals and frequent dacoities in the towns and villages against which there is no adequate protection, this Conference is of opinion that the Arms Act should be repealed or radically modified.

XVI. As in the Committee's draft.

XVII. As in the Committee's draft, except that after "firm attitude" should be inserted "and heroic sufferings".

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE. HUGLI—1909.

Draft Resolutions.

XVIII. That having regard to the gradual diminution of commons or pasture land for cattle, this Conference urges the Government and the people specially the land-holding classes to adopt measures for the protection and preservation of cows and oxen.

XIX. That this Conference is of opinion that the Government grants of money for drainage and irrigation purposes in Bengal which is essentially an agricultural Province are lamentably inadequate for its needs and urges the Government to take the following steps at an early date:—

1. The dredging of the Bhagirathi.
2. The immediate adoption of the measures recommended by Mr. Horn and other expert engineers for the prevention of the annual floods in the Arambagh Sub-division by the overflow water of the Begua Breach.
3. The draining of the Kadua Math in the Amta basin in the District of Howrah.

XX. That in the present situation of the country united action being highly desirable, this Conference earnestly appeals to the leaders to bring about a compromise between the two wings of the Indian Nationalist party and to arrange for holding a United Congress.

XXI. That with a view to inaugurate a vigorous system of self-help and voluntary work for the redress of their grievances, this Conference urges the people to organise village Committees, Sub-Divisional Associations and District Associations.

NATIONALIST DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

XVIII. As in the Committee's draft, except that the words "the Government and" should be omitted.

XIX. Omit,

XX. That this Conference considers an United Congress imperatively necessary in the interests of the country and believes that the best way to bring about union is to hold a session elected as in all Congresses up to 1906, to which any future arrangements for the procedure of the Congress shall be submitted.

(b) That in this view it appoints the following Committee to confer on behalf of the province with the organisers of the meeting at Lahore and with other provincial leaders for the holding of such a session and it further empowers the Committee in case of necessity to propose and arrange for this session being held in Calcutta in co-operation with all who are desirous of union.

XXI. As in the Committee's draft, omitting only the words "and voluntary work for the redress of their grievances."

Additional Resolutions.

1. That this Conference is of opinion that two of the most necessary and important classes of enterprise from the point of view of our commercial development are (1) Swadeshi Banks and (2) Steam Navigation Companies to control the waterways of Bengal, and urges on the country the necessity of initiating and supporting such enterprises, and it expresses its appreciation of the efforts of those who have already undertaken work of this kind.

2. That the Conference is of opinion that physical training is encouraged by all means to fuse greater manliness in the younger generation and make them able of self-reliance and defence.

Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The Madras Standard seems to think that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has acted neither very discreetly nor very decently by nominating Mr. Surendranath Banerjee for the Presidency of the next Congress to be held at Lahore. This is evidently owing to a misapprehension which needs to be cleared up. When the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was asked in June last to recommend a name for the President of the next Congress this Committee sent up the name of the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahmud of Madras and two other names for the purpose. It soon transpired that the Nawab was reluctant to accept the honour and the other two names were not supported by the other Provincial Committees. The various Provincial Committees having failed to come to an unanimity on the subject, fresh recommendations again became necessary. On this occasion the Committee had not a blank cheque to fill but had to confine its recommendation to a list, circulated by the Lahore Reception Committee, containing names of persons who had been suggested for the Presidency by one or other of the Provincial Committees. The three most eligible names in this list, barring that of the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Madras, stood in the following order:—

1. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.
2. Mr. G. K. Gokhale.
3. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.

Considering the strong prejudice that existed in Bengal against Sir Pherozeshah, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, in spite of pressure from outside, did not venture to put forward his name for the Presidency of the next Congress. Indeed, prejudice still runs so high against Sir Pherozeshah on this side of the country that Bengal may be obliged to keep away from the next Congress in case he is elected its President. As for Mr. Gokhale, his unhappy Poona speech has disappointed all his friends and supporters in these provinces and has brought in a strong reaction against his popularity. The Bengal Committee would have hardly justified its existence as a representative body if it completely ignored or put aside the intensity of public feeling in both parts of Bengal against the nomination of either Sir Pherozeshah or Mr. Gokhale for the Presidency of the next Congress. Putting aside the names, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee's name (which originally came into the list at the instance of some other province) now remained as the only alternative for acceptance by the Bengal Committee, and thus from his laurels in England, he was considered as perhaps the most desirable person to guide the deliberations of the next Congress. It is the nearest equivalent that Banerjee has been able to get for the fact that he has been asked to provide twice over the Congress was considered much of a misfortune. The Bengal Committee could not help these facts and therefore recommended Mr. Banerjee as the only person under the circumstances.—*Madras Fort.*

NEWS.

THE NEWSPAPER "JUSTICE".—

In the House of commons Mr. Borne asked why the newspaper "Justice" published in England was forbidden entry into India. The Master of Elibank replied:—"The Government of India have informed Lord Morley that they regard the articles published in the "Justice" as inflammatory and mischievous. Lord Morely entirely concurs." The Pioneer comments on it as follows. The Master of Elibank has informed Mr. Will Thorne why the circulation of the newspaper *Justice* is prohibited in India. The Under-Secretary might have replied in the words of the Quaker, "Friend, first thee tellest a lie; and then thee askest a question." Copies of *Justice* undoubtedly reached India by the last mail and were duly circulated, though they bore the name of the paper on the wrapper in flaming red letters an inch long."

CONDITION OF INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL.—

Mr. Hart-Davies presented a petition from 8,500 Indians in the Madras Presidency praying that the House of Commons would consider the condition of the Indians in the Transvaal and that the Asiatic Criminal Amendment Act should be repealed.

THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST.—

Mr. Aldred, Printer of the "Indian sociologist" was charged at Bow Street with printing and publishing a scandalous libel concerning the King's Government in India. Mr. Bodkin, K. C. in prosecuting said:—"The prosecution would disclose very serious matters with reference to the dissemination of seditious printing in Great Britain and elsewhere. The defendant was clearly a person of anarchist views. He was known to associate with anarchists in London and had been in communication with Krishna Varma. The paper was published for the express purpose of advocating Indian independence and to further the Indian Nationalist movement. It preached the doctrines intended for the subversion of the Government of India. The accused admitted printing 1,500 copies, one thousand of which were sent to Paris. He was remanded on bail.

PUNJAB HINDU CONFERENCE.—

The following is the list of subjects likely to be laid before the Punjab Hindu

NEWS.

du Conference:—1. The Hindus and the Punjab Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts. 2. The Hindus and Government Service with special reference to the Police Department. 3. The Hindus and the Reform Scheme. 4. The desirability of strengthening the feelings of the Hindu nationality and the Hindu unity. 5. The encouragement of the study of Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabi. 6. The encouragement of Kathas of the Hindu Shastras and literature in towns and villages. 7. The celebration of National festivals. 8. The desirability of writing the true history of the Hindu. 9. Decrease in numerical strength of the Hindus, its causes and remedies. 10. The physical degeneration of the Hindus. 11. Protection of the Hindu widows and orphans. 12. Better treatment of low caste Hindus. 13. The unification of sub-castes. 14. Encouragement of Ayurvedic System of medicine. 15. Encouragement of Technical Education and manual arts among the Hindus. 16. The constitution of the Conference.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

—000—

ABOLITION OF DUTIES IN BARODA STATE.—

With the object of further promoting trade and manufactures within his territories, His Highness Gaekwar has issued an order that all frontier duties on imports be now abolished. The net revenue surrendered by this measure is estimated at over four lakhs of rupees. This order shall not apply to sea-side talukas of Kodinari and Okhamandal or to such duties as are imposed in Poroda, and Ameli districts and are mainly derived from Baroda cotton. His Highness has pleased to abolish all export duties which are estimated to bring revenue of about a lakh and half.

TEA CULTURE IN E. BENGAL.—

From an official report just published on Tea Culture in Eastern Bengal during 1908 we gather that the largest amount of new planting was done in the Jalpaiguri district and the largest area of old tea abandoned was in Cachar. The total area of land comprised within tea estates increased during the year by 33 per cent from 1,35,269 to 1,96,607 acres, of which 30 per cent is actually under tea. Owing to a successful recruiting season, there has been an increase of 5 per cent in the number of labourers employed during the year, against a falling off as noticed in

the report for 1907. The number of permanent labourers rose in all parts of the province, except Kamrup. Although temporary labourers indicate a decline for most tea districts, the total for the province shows an increase.

CATTLE IN BURMA.—

The year ending June 1909 is reported to have been the first in which an effective census of the agricultural stock of Burma was made by the Land Records Department. The year is said to have been very good one for cattle owners the only serious outbreaks of cattle disease having been confined to three or four districts. In the Delta district bullocks are reported to be replacing buffaloes for agricultural purposes.

THE BURMA PONY.—

It is understood that a scheme has been sanctioned for the improvement of the indigenous breed of that interesting and valuable, though lately neglected animal, the Burma pony. The Provincial Veterinary Department will now carefully control operations and the scheme provides for the formation as a nucleus of a small select stud of Shan stallions for breeding purposes, a Special Deputy Superintendent being appointed to the Veterinary Department to directly supervise operations.

PAPER-MAKING IN INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWNWARDS.

(Continued from the last issue.)

VI.

—000—

We cannot here give a detailed account of all these mills, but the following reference to the Lucknow mills which is mainly under Indian management, taken from Mr. A. C. Chatterjee's *Notes* mentioned above, would be of interest to our readers.

"The mill at Lucknow," says Mr. Chatterjee, "affords a striking instance of successful business enterprise on modern lines managed to a large extent by Indians. The paid up capital in 1905-06 was eight lakhs of rupees, and seven hundred daily labourers are employed on the average. The following descriptions of paper were manufactured—printing, brown, coloured blotting, white and buff cartridge, cream and yellow wove, azule and creamed wrappers. The production in 1904 was 5,496 thousand pounds, or roughly, about sixty-seven thousand maunds, valued at six lakhs and eighty-two thousand rupees."

C. RINGER & Co.
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If you want reliable and genuine Homoeopathic medicines, take care that you get them from RINGER'S.

5 Gold & Silver Medals
FOR
ownmake FOOTBALLS.
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SEN & SEN
1, Chowringhee, CALCUTTA.

The mill supplies largely to Government, and from the absence of advertising, one concludes that it experiences no difficulty in the disposal of its produce.

The materials most in use at the Lucknow mills are (1) rags, (2) old paper, (3) *baub* or Bhabar grass from Nepal through Bahraich and Gonda, (4) old hemp cordage collected in Southern Oudh and Benares division. Very little wood pulp is used as its cost (more than £15 to the ton at the mill) is very heavy item. The railway freight from port to mill is a considerable portion of this cost. The mills are beginning to experience difficulties in obtaining an adequate supply of old cordage (new hemp is too stiff and too expensive for the manufacture of paper) and also in securing the desired proportions of white and coloured rags.

Modern Methods : The Latest Standard Works

VII

Some of our correspondents want to know the names of books written by the most modern authors on the subject of paper manufacture. We have made inquiries and the following information regarding the subject has been thankfully received by us from I. H. Burkill Esq., *Official Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India*. The standard books authoritatively mentioned in the list supplied to us are as follow :—

Beadle, C.—*Chapters on Paper-Making*, vols. 1-4, each 5 s. net, London : Crosby Lockwood & Sons.

Chapperton, G.—*A Practical Manual of Paper-Making and Owners and Managers of Paper Mills*, with Illustrations, 1 s. net, London : Crosby Lockwood and Sons.

Watt, A.—*Paper-Making : a practical handbook of the manufacture of paper from rags, esparto, straw and other fibrous materials*, Illustrated, 7s. 6d. net, London : Crosby Lockwood & Sons.

Sindall, R. W.—*Paper Technology*, an elementary manual on the manufacture, physical qualities and Chemical constituents of paper and of paper-making fibres, Illustrated, 12s. 6d. net, London : Chas. Griffith & Co., Ltd.

STRIKING SUCCESS OF THE GROWTH OF SWADESHI IN THE WESTERN PRESIDENCY

I

There has been a steady increase on the output of Bombay yarns and piece-goods during the last few months. Of about

56½ million pounds of yarn produced in the whole of India in the month of June last year Bombay shared about 40 and she produced about 14½ millions of piece-goods during the same month. Since then the manufacture of grey and coloured piece-goods has shown considerable increase with hosiery. We hear that the David Sassoon Mills have attached a Calico-Printing branch to their Mills, and goods, though now inferior to imported articles, sell high enough. A Swadeshi Calico-Printing Company is also said to have been floated by Mr. Joshi, who is a practical calico-printer, though the work is not yet begun owing to want of sufficient capital and proper encouragement. Besides, new spinning and weaving companies such as the Sindh Spinning and Weaving Mills Limited and the Ramkrishna Weaving Mills are going to be or have been started in the Presidency of Bombay. It is also significant that the Bombay goods have got a ready consumption at home, as will be seen from the last "Lucky Day" sales of Bombay piece-goods. Messrs Luxmidas Maraji, sole Agents of Messrs Manickji Patit, Dinshaw Maneckji Patit, Bamanji Patit, Edward Mills, Century Mills and the textile Mills, sold 21,000 bales on the "Lucky Day," and nearly eight to ten thousand bales of goods manufactured by other mills were also sold.

Again, while the home-made piece-goods trade of Bombay is gaining ground day by day, her foreign piece-goods trade is losing its hold there, as will be evident from the following facts. It is a fact that 400 shops dealing in foreign piece-goods trade at Bombay booked only 3,500 packages on the auspicious day of Diwali; while they ought to have booked at least 35,000 in the ordinary course of events with good rains during the season in the country. We further learn that the Port Trust Warehouses are choked with goods and new godowns should have to be constructed for fresh goods imported there. It now seems that 2 million sterling worth of goods is in stock and 1 million sterling is lost in depreciation. We further learn from a Bombay telegram dated the 8th December, 1908, and published in the daily papers that "the Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association have sent a petition to the Viceroy". They are a body formed for purposes (amongst others) of protecting, preserving mutual common interests of native piece-goods merchants of Bombay who chiefly deal in indenting piece-goods from different parts of Europe and America, and

principally from Manchester, Lancashire and Glasgow. In the Association's memorial we read,—

"Owing to unforeseen causes over which the memorialists have no control, the state of foreign piece-goods markets has been most deplorable and disastrous for the last two years which have proved exceptionally bad for memorialists, so much so that the aggregate loss during the current year sustained by the members will be excessively enormous. The continuous fall in the prices of foreign piece-goods has baffled all attempts of piece-goods merchants to make both ends meet, and there is such a considerable, unprecedented collection of stock lying uncleared that almost all the ware-houses in Princes and Victoria Docks in the City of Bombay are full to the brim, not to speak of those lying in individual and private godowns. Comparatively there is very scanty demand for the same. Under these circumstances, they ask for remission of income-tax at least for the current and the next year."

II

This striking success for the textile Swadeshi naturally leads one to enquire whether, in the absence of any State-protection by means of tariff, such success would have been possible if voluntary protection by the people in the shape of industrial boycott did not in part at least act upon the situation. There are many, of course both among Indians and Anglo Indians, who will deny the fact and further argue against any sort of voluntary industrial boycott adopted by the people purely from motives of self-protection and call the same an economic fallacy. But whether this is so and whether protection of any kind (either by the people or by the Government of a country) is necessary for its weak, nascent industries shall have to be judged in the light of responsible opinions of both English and Continental Economists. In a previous issue of this magazine we quoted the opinion of a great German economist Mr List, whose *National System of Economics* has revolutionised the ideas of the world on the matter. We have also quoted other opinions of responsible thinkers on the subject in previous issues; but the latest support comes from an English economist still living Mr. Marshall, Professor of Economics in the University of Cambridge, who is a recognised authority and whose *Principles of Economics* is a standard book adopted by both English and Indian Universities. In his "Memorandum on the Fiscal Policy of International Trade" just published as a *Parliamentary Paper*, Professor Marshall, while discussing the recent remarkable industrial progress of Germany, makes the following noteworthy pronouncement:—

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"MODERATION" AND MADNESS IN INDIAN POLITICS.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—I have read with great interest the summary of Mr. Gokhale's speech at Poona communicated by your Calcutta correspondent and published in the "Manchester Guardian" of July 28. There are two important issues raised in that speech which concern the school of Indian thought which I have the honour to be associated.

The first point is Mr. Gokhale's condemnation not only of all talk but even of all thought of independence as madness. This is a matter of opinion, and it would not have called for any comment if Mr. Gokhale had not brought it into support the present repressive policy of the Indian Government. In this same speech he said is reported by the Indian correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," that the desire for freedom could only be met by Government "by stern and relentless repression." But, in the interests of all concerned, it is necessary that the nature of this madness should be clearly understood. Mr. Gokhale calls it madness. Lord Morley, with greater courtesy, calls it fantastic. But neither abuse nor repression will kill the spirit of freedom in India any more than the bullet and the prisonbar have been able to kill it in other parts of the world. This thought of independence is the natural result of the history of India for the last two hundred years. It is the fruit of English education in the classes. It is the fruit of British laws and methods of administration among the masses. The levelling down process of the British Government was bound to awaken a new spirit of self assertion and independence in the country. This spirit of independence first took shape in a religious revolt—in that large movement of the protest against sacerdotal authority which gave birth to the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal, the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay, and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab. It expressed itself also in the movement of social revolt which is in such favour with Mr. Gokhale himself. You cannot proclaim the gospel of freedom in one department of man's life and thought and counsel bondage in another. This freedom has even underlain the later movements of social and religious reaction in India. The earlier social and religious revolts had been too much influenced and controlled by foreign ideas and ideals. This reaction only represented the protest of the Indian race consciousness against the domination of European thought and culture. The desire for political freedom is only a part of this general awakening of the Indian consciousness. It is the cumulative result of the history of the last two hundred years. It is not a sporadic outburst, but a phase in a consistent course of social evolution. Will the spirit of freedom that has evolved out of such a long course of experience and thought be killed by either loyal or relentless repression?

The talk and thought of independence may, in Mr. Gokhale's opinion, be madness. But even he and his party are not free from the taint of this lunacy. Mr. Gokhale has subscribed to a political creed which proclaims colonial self government as its goal. But what practical difference is there between colonial self government and absolute independence? The school with which I am connected has refused to subscribe to this creed, not because colonial self government is not substantially the same as national autonomy, but because it is an absolutely false ideal, so far as India is concerned. The colonial relation is essentially a racial relation. This is a fundamental fact. There is no racial kinship between England and India. In the Boer colonies there has been some modification of this racial relation. The Boers are racially different from the British. But they are still a white race, of European stock. There is no colour line between the British and the Boer in south Africa or the French and the British in Canada. There is that impassable colour line between the British and the Indian. It is for this reason that the colonial ideal is a false ideal in India. We repudiate it for its untruth, otherwise it is substantially the same as national independence. Those who, like Mr. Gokhale, have proclaimed it as their ultimate ideal in India have either no conception of what the colonial ideal means and how it has developed or they do so simply as a ruse to allay the suspicions of their masters. Yet it is these very gentlemen who accuse others of cherishing a vague idea or seeking to save their skins by speaking of that which they do not believe to be true.

The thought of independence may be madness but the cry of self-government within the Empire on colonial lines is worse. It is dishonest. Colonial self-government means—(1) the right of self-taxation, (2) the right of self-legislation, (3) the right of self-administration. The colonies have a high tariff wall against all outsiders, including the mother country. Would not the right of self-taxation in India mean heavy protective duties against foreign manufactures, including the British? Would it not mean the practical exclusion of the Britishers from the Indian Civil Service? Would it not mean the removal of every form of special privileges enjoyed in India, under the existing laws by the British residents in that country. Would it not mean sure and swift retaliation on the British colonies whose people have now free access to our territories but who refuse us free admittance into their dominions? Nor would the situation be saved by any scheme of preferential relationship, which would mean a reciprocity that would enable the people of India to have the run of the whole Empire. Such preferential relationship would practically make the Empire our own for all commercial and industrial purposes. How Great Britain and her colonies especially, are likely

to agree to such an arrangement is seen in the jealousy with which our people are viewed by them.

Colonial self-government is substantially the same as national independence. To the mere politician it is even preferable to national independence, for it gives all the advantages of independence without a part of its responsibility. It is, however, unthinkable in relation to India. England protects her colonies from outside foes. She is able to do so, first because of her naval supremacy and second because part of this burden and the heavier part is practically borne by India. To give a similar protection to a self-governing India without charging her for it is impossible for England or any other Power. As long as England has to protect India from outside enemies she must have the complete control of the purse there. Babu Surendranath might as well cry for the money for the control of the purse in India under British suzerainty. If England has ever to part with the power of the purse in India she will have also to ask India to arrange for her own defence. Great Britain may some day have India as a friend and ally, but never as a self-governing colony. British politicians understand all this. This is why Lord Morley refuses to entertain for a moment the idea of granting Parliamentary institutions to India. Mr. Gokhale also must know all; but yet he and his friends talk of colonial self-government. It only shows that the thought of independence, whether it is sane or insane, has taken such a strong hold of the articulate populations in India that even those who consider it mere madness have to make room for it in their own programme and propaganda, though under a different name. The madness, at least, is not all on our side.

There are clear indications even in this very speech that Mr. Gokhale, in his heart of hearts, himself cherishes this very madness. Your correspondent reports—

Mr. Gokhale describes all thought or talk of independence as mere madness. He pointed out that such ideas were bound to lead to violence and had as a matter of fact resulted in violence "To speak as if independence could be secured by peaceful means, through general resort to passive resistance, was ridiculous nonsense," and he gave it as his

opinion that those who advocated passive resistance did so "to save their own skins."

The italics are mine. And a little careful analysis of this pronouncement would bring out I think, three distinct propositions—(1) independence cannot be secured by peaceful means, (2) the means that are capable of securing it are not at present at our disposal and (3) that therefore to talk and think of independence which is unattainable, is mere madness. And the logic of it all is that if Mr. Gokhale had a strong and powerful army at his command he would at once march it against the British and send his masters, bag and baggage, out of India. It is only his physical incapacity to do so that leads him to abandon all talk and thought of independence as mere madness. The most important issue raised by Mr. Gokhale, therefore is—can we or can we not organise the physical means necessary for securing our independence. Mr. Gokhale thinks we cannot. Lord Morley's "physical-force extremist" thinks that we can. This is all the difference between Mr. Gokhale and the bomb maker. The political philosophy of both is the same. They differ only in their estimates of the capacity of people to put that philosophy into practice. Like scepticism and credulity, the moderation of Mr. Gokhale and the madness of the bomb-maker are only two ends of the same stick.

There are at present three distinct groups of active politicians in India. The first group is represented by Mr. Gokhale; the second is the school which proclaims Syaraj, or national autonomy, as their ideal and lawful passive resistance as their methods; the third is represented by those who openly advocate resort to physical force, either openly from the safety of a foreign capital or secretly in India or England. The first and third are one, on Mr. Gokhale's own confession, in their want of faith in peaceful methods of securing national independence. The difference between these two in a moral and not an intellectual difference—it is the difference between prudence and recklessness. There is another difference also—one party has no faith in their people or their future, the other has it. It is thus only a question of time and chance whether or when these two parties shall coalesce. It will depend upon the success or failure of

the third party. If they succeed, tell first will join them; if they fail, they will have to join the first.

But the school of Syaraj stands apart. It desires independence. It believes in the possibility of securing it by peaceful means. It advocates passive resistance in which alone lies the possibility of peace. Deny the passive resister his lawful rights, crush him out, and the country will be thrown into the vortex of a revolution. For repression may kill us, but it will not kill the desire of the people of India to be a free nation among the free nations of the world.

It is not true that the talk or thought of independence and the pursuit of passive resistance have resulted in these acts of violence, which none more sincerely regret than the Syarajist passive resister. They are the results of official repression. They are the fruit of the attempt to deny to passive resistance its legitimate scope and play. Not lawful passive resistance but executive lawlessness is the parent of the bomb in Bengal—Yours, &c.,

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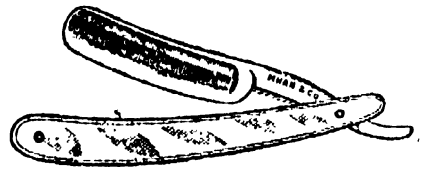
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KARMAYOGIN

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF National Religion, Literature, Science, Philosophy, &c.,

Vol. I. }

26th BHADRA 1396.

{ No. 12.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Impatient Idealists.

The President of the Hugly Conference, in reference to the formal statement by Sj. Aurobindo Ghose of the adherence of the Nationalist party to the policy of self-help and passive resistance in spite of their concessions to the Moderate minority, advised the party of the future under the name of impatient idealists to wait. The reproach of idealism has always been brought against those who work with their eye on the future by the politicians wise in their own estimation who look only to the present. The reproach of impatience is levelled with equal ease and readiness against those who in great and critical times have the strength and skill to build with rapidity the foundations or the structure of the future. The advice to wait is valueless unless we know what it is that we have to wait for and why it is compulsory on us to put off the effort which might be made at the present. If we can progress quickly there must be adequate reasons given us for preferring to progress slowly or to stand still. We have not yet heard those adequate reasons. As far as we have gone, the only reason we have been able to find is that the fears and hesitations of our Moderate countrymen stand in our way. The whole

Asiatic world is moving forward with enormous rapidity. In Persia in Turkey, in Japan the impatient idealists have by means suited to the conditions of the country effected the freedom and are now busy building up the dignity and strength of their motherland. Constitutional Government has been everywhere established or is being prepared for consciously and with a steady eye to its establishment in the immediate future. Even in Russia a Duma has been established with however restricted an electorate. Of all the great nations of the world India alone is bidden to wait. It is bidden by Lord Morley and Anglo-India to wait for ever. It is bidden by its own leaders to wait till the rulers are induced by prayers and petitions to concede a constitutional government and we have been told by those rulers when that will be never. We have been told not by conservative statesmen but by the chief teacher of Radicalism and democracy. Under the circumstances which is the more impractical and idealistic, the impatience of the Nationalist or the supine and trustful patience of the President of the Hugly Conference?

The Question of Fitness.

It is possible the President had his eye on the question of fitness or unfitness which is the stock sophistry of the opponents of pro-

gress. One of the delegates strangely enough selected the occasion of moving the colonial self-government resolution for airing this effete fallacy. The storm of disapprobation which his lapse evoked proves that in Bengal at least that superstition is dead in the minds of the people, and it is well, for no nation can live which at the bidding of foreigners consents to despise itself and distrust its capacities. We freely admit that no nation can be fit for liberty unless it is free, none can be wholly capable of self-government until it governs itself. We freely admit that if we were given self-government we should commit mistakes which we would have to rectify, as has been done even by nations which were old in the exercise of free and self-governing functions. We freely admit that the liberated nation would have to face many and most serious problems even as Turkey and Persia have to face such problems to-day, as Japan had to face them in the period of its own revolution. But to argue from these propositions to the refusal of self-government is to use a sophistry which can only impose on the minds of children. In the nineteenth century owing to a stupefying education we had contracted the truthfulness, naivety and incapacity to think for itself of a child's intellect and we allow a whole

the sophisms which were administered to us. But we have thrown off that spell and if the impatient idealists of the Nationalist party had done nothing else for their country this would be sufficient justification for their existence that they have made a clean sweep of all this garbage and purified the intellect and the morale of the nation. It is enough if the capacity is there in the race and if we can show by our action that it is not dead. This we have shown by organised successful and national action under circumstances of unprecedented difficulty. If the success is now jeopardised, it is because of the temporary revival of the weaknesses of our nineteenth century politics and the desire to fall back into safe and easy methods in spite of their unfruitfulness. That is a weakness which is not shared by the whole nation, but is only temporarily suffered because a situation of unprecedented difficulty has been created in which it was not easy to see our way and in the silence that was unfortunately allowed to fall on the country and deepen the uncertainty, the forces of reaction found their opportunity. In times of difficulty to stop still for a long time is a cardinal error, the best way is to move slowly forward, warily watching each step but never faltering. Action solves the difficulties which action creates. Inaction can only paralyse and slay.

Public Disorder and Unfitness.

A favourite device of the opponents of progress is to point to the frequent ebullitions of tumult and excitement which have recently found their way into our political life and argue from them to our unfitness.

In the mouths of our own countrymen the use of this argument arises partly from political prejudice but still more from inexperience of political life and the unexamined acceptance of Anglo-Indian sophistry. But in the mouths of Englishmen this kind of language cannot be free from the charge of hypocrisy. They know well of the much worse things that are done in political life, in the west and accepted as an inevitable feature of party excitement. The rough horseplay of public meetings which is a familiar feature of excited times in England, would not be tolerated by the more self-disciplined Indian people. As for really serious dis-

turbance the worst things of that kind which have happened in India occurred at Surat when S. J. Surendranath Banerji was refused a hearing and on the next day when Mr Tilak was threatened on the platform by the sticks and chairs of Surat loyalists and the Mahratta delegates charged and after a free fight cleared the platform. The refusal to hear a speaker by dint of continuous clamour, hisses and outcries is of such frequent occurrence in England that it would indeed be a strange argument which would infer from such occurrences the unfitness of the English race for self-government. We may instance the University meeting at which Mr Balfour was once refused a hearing and at the end of an inaudible speech two undergraduates dressed as girls danced up to the platform and gracefully offered the conservative statesman a garland of shoes which was smilingly accepted. As for the storming of platforms and turning out of the speakers and organisers, that also is a recognised and not altogether infrequent possibility of political life in England. A case remarkable for its sequel happened at Edinburgh when a faith-healer attempted to speak against Medicine and the undergraduates forced their way in, attacked and wounded the police, smashed all the chairs, hurled a ruined piano from the platform and hooted the discreetly absent orator in his hotel and challenged him to come out with his speech. On complaint the Chancellor of the University declared his approval of this riot and in a court of law the students were acquitted on the plea of justification. It may well be said that such a view of what is permissible in political life ought not to be introduced into India, but it is the worst hypocrisy for the citizens of a country where such things not only happen but are tolerated and sometimes approved by public opinion, to turn up the whites of their eyes at Indian disorderliness and argue from it to the unfitness of the race for democratic politics. And it must be remembered that worse things happen on the Continent, free fights occurring even in august legislatures, yet it has not been made an argument for the English people going over to the Continent to govern the unfit and inferior European races.

THE HUGHLY CONFERENCE.

The chances of politics are in reality the hidden guidance of a Power whose workings do not reveal themselves easily even to the most practised eye. It is difficult therefore to say whether the successful conclusion of the Provincial Conference at Hughli without the often threatened breach between the parties, will really result in the furtherance of the object for which the Nationalists consented to waive the reaffirmation of the policy formulated at Pabna and refrained from using the preponderance which the general sentiment of the great majority of the delegates gave them at Hughli. If things go by the counting of heads, as is the rule in democratic politics, the Nationalist sentiment commands the greater part of Bengal. But in leaders of recognised weight, established reputation and political standing the party is necessarily inferior to the Moderates, both because it is a younger force very recently emerged and because its leaders have been scattered by a repression which has aimed at the tall heads of the party. There is also a large body of sentiment in the Mofussil which is Nationalist at heart but does not always venture to be Nationalist in action because of the difficulties in the way of the Nationalist programme and the respect due to the elder leaders. On the other hand among the young men who command the future, Moderatism is dead and what takes its place is a Nationalism which loves rather to act than to think, because it has not yet accustomed itself to the atmosphere of strenuous political thought. In fact the spirit of Nationalism and its objects are becoming universal but its methods, though preferred, are not always adhered to and its thought has not everywhere penetrated below the surface.

The possibility or otherwise of united action was the governing thought throughout the Conference. The tendency to break to pieces was very prominent in the first day's proceedings and was fostered by certain incidents slight in themselves but each of which was in the existing state of feeling a quite possible pretext for disruption. It was from an observation of the proceedings

of the first day that either party ford its programme of action for the second. The Nationalist party intended to put forward a formal protest against any acceptance of the reforms in however slight a degree, to press the Pabna resolution on the Boycott and above all to insist on the Conference taking some definite step which would either materialize the chances of an United Congress or once for all show that union was impossible. The Moderate leaders came determined on four things, not to allow any resolution recognising general passive resistance, not to allow any resolution amounting to an absolute refusal of the Reforms, not to allow any resolutions debarring delegates from Bengal from joining the Lahore Convention in case of that body rejecting union and not to consent even to the bringing forward of any amendment or proposal of a pronounced nationalist character in the Conference. On all these points it was made quite evident that if the Nationalists pressed their points the Conference would be broken up by the secession of the Moderate leaders. In all these disputed matters, therefore, the Nationalists gave way and adhered only to their main point of securing some definite step in relation to the holding of an united Congress.

It is necessary to explain this action on the part of our party, for in his speech on the Boycott resolution S. J. Aurobindo Ghose purposely refrained from stating more than the bare fact in order that nothing he might say should lead to excitement or anything which could be an excuse for friction. It is not that the Nationalist party is not willing or able to stand by itself if that proves inevitable and seems the best course in the interests of Nationalism and the future of the country. But it has always been the ideal of the nationalists to make of the Congress a great and living body deliberative in the manner of free assemblies which consider from various points of view what is best for the country and decide by majority or, whenever possible, unanimously, the parties holding together not by identity of views but by one common aim and interest and the combined freedom and restraint of a constitution which provides for the

free expression of opinion under fair and impartial rules. They seek also a centre for the country's strength which can give authority to a network of organisation systematising the work of the nation. They seek in other words a centre of deliberation and a centre of order and authority which can take charge of national progress. To seek this centre outside the long established body to which the nation has looked as the pivot of its political activities would have been a waste of material already half-prepared for the purpose. In attempting to convert this instrument to its proper uses they may have committed errors of over-eagerness and passionate impatience, the ordinary faults of a party of progress still young and energetic, but the errors on the other side were yet greater. The errors of life and progress are more exuberant and striking but less fatal than the errors of decay and reaction. However that be, in the attempt the instrument itself was broken, but it is capable of being mended if the past errors on both sides can be got rid of, and it is the duty of the Nationalist party to give a fair chance to the forces that make for the preservation of this old and honoured institution. This is the more incumbent on them as the sense of the country is in favour of an attempt to restore unity. A democratic party is bound to give the utmost weight to the general sense of the country in a matter of such primary importance.

It remains to be seen whether the great concessions made by the party will bear any fruit. The situation is not wholly encouraging. The position taken by the Moderate leaders that the Nationalists even if they are in a majority, must not try to enforce resolutions which travel beyond the limits of common agreement and unanimity and must allow resolutions to pass which are contrary to their principle and policy on pain of a Moderate secession may be tolerated for some time, but how long can a growing sentiment and ideal representing the future consent to be restrained within such iron limits? And if such be the basis of union proposed, it is obvious that the Congress will be an united Congress only in name and the attendance of the Nationalists perfunctory or useless.

If on the other hand the resolutions of the Congress are recognised as the opinion of the majority leaving the minority perfect freedom to bring in their own resolutions when they have converted the mass of public opinion to their views, the unity will be real and living. We were never in favour of shams. It is only righteousness that exalts a nation and righteousness means going straight; nothing can long endure which is based upon unreality and hollowness. If therefore there is any union it must be one which recognises that there are two parties in the country and that each has a right not only to exist but to make itself felt. This is a right we have not refused to the Moderate party when we were in the majority; if they refuse it to us, then the talk of unity must cease and Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale must have their way.

This is the position from the Nationalist point of view. We hope that the largeness of the sacrifice made will not, in view of the slightness of the chance in favour of which everything else was thrown overboard, create any dissatisfaction in the party. All shades of Nationalist opinion were represented at Hughly and they consented to be guided in the matter by Srijiut Aurobindo Ghose on whom the responsibility of leadership fell in the absence of older colleagues who have been temporarily or permanently removed from the field. The Nationalist party is in practical possession of the heart and mind of Bengal. It is strongly supported in other parts of India and controls Maharashtra. It is growing in strength, energy and wisdom. It surely inherits the future. Under such circumstances it can afford to wait.

THE IDEAL OF THE KSHATRIYA.

As for the past one thousand years the progressive ideal in India has been that of Brahminhood, so in the age upon which we are entering, the progressive ideal will be that of the Kshatriya or knight. Parity will be accepted as implicit and courage will be demanded. The Rajput will be the type of aspiration rather than the saint. The whole preoccupation of society will be with manliness and strength rather than with subtle shades of refinement and social prestige. Criticism will be on the great scale, and the small uneasiness of the village circle will be put on one side as fit only for old wives' gossip.

This will not mean that Hinduism will have changed its goal, but only that the path marked out for the individual will be different. Infinite are the paths that lead to a single centre. Then as now Mukti, Freedom, will be held the supreme good. But heroism, fearlessness and blazing energy will be the forms in which that mukti shall be worshipped. "What is manliness" said the Swami Vivekananda in a private talk, "It is to know instinctively

ively what should be the glory of a man!"

"The manly man knows when to strike. He also knows when to obey. There are times when disobedience is mere insubordination and unfitness for co-operation. There are times when obedience is cringing servitude. No man should be able to count on me to aid him in doing wrong! No man should be able shamelessly to speak of wrong in my presence. Even the Brahmin may have courage to strike the Kshatriya knows also the moment when it comes.

But fearlessness and being feared though essential to the knightly character, is only its foundation, not its crown. The last is found in the hatred of injustice, in the passion of pity and protection, in readiness instantly to give up life for the sake of the right. Herein lies the freedom of the Kshatriya, that he is free from fear for self. His own life is the pawn that he will cheerfully spend for the banner under which he fights. He will die with a shout of triumph. Nothing gloomy or resentful will mar the sun and serenity of his temper.

He is as generous as he is brave. He is as free from suspicion as from faintheartedness. He knows nothing of jealousy, nothing of mean exultation. His greatest joy is in the glory of his comrades. His own modesty protects him from a degrading ambition. Honour is his dharm and the protection of the weak his mukti. Only in the hearts of the sons of kings can the companions of the avatars arise!

The true knight is unflinching in his austerity. Great generals sleep hard and eat sparingly. In armies the common soldiers are first served; their officers last. Even for games and sport the play of knighthood, the body has to be carefully trained. Ease and luxurious living soften the muscles and corrode the will. The Kshatriya keeps his sinews like iron, his armour bright, and his spirit ever tense for the ideal. Even in sleep his hand is on the sword-hilt, and his ear open for the cry that may ring forth at any hour, "Awake! Arise! Fight ye, and cease not till victory is won!" Loyalty to leader and comrade, devotion to banner and cause; the love and expectation of greatness and truth in others; the pride that makes noble; the playfulness of him who can never be selfish and narrow, these are the qualities of the ideal knight.

The Kshatriya looks for strength, and not weakness, in woman. He seeks in her a comrade, not a toy. He reverences her soul, has regard to her highest aspirations, and never degrades her to feebleness or ineffectiveness because she is not man. Yet he worships at no false shrine, accepts no wire-laid subterfuge for greatness. Above all, he knows that woman, like man, has the right to self-sacrifice in some great cause. He looks to her for clear vision of the goal, and makes her free to suffer and be strong. He supports her highest will with his

thought and knowledge. But he offers no homage to mere vanity or weakness. He meets her with no idle flattery or weak indulgence. Hand in hand, he treads with her the roadway of their common labour and common hope, in her eyes a noble sincerity, in his a tender reverence and unfaltering purpose. Highest of all the woman of the past were the *sattis* who eagerly died for the sake of the beloved. Highest of those of the future will they be who live and die for the ideal itself, happy if in this they hold communion with their comrade's soul.

Lifted high above the *maya* of manhood and womanhood is the life of the ideal. Ideals are not accidents. They are the fruit of long *tapas* and of many lives. Human life is made great in proportion to their intensity. Few indeed are the souls who can live for an idea. In the age that is now dawning, the ideals of the past will not be cast aside. On the contrary, they will now, for the first time, find their true fulfilment. It is because of the great purity and sweetness of the Indian home that men can develop the strength and courage its defence requires. Only the perfect man is the true Kshatriya, and the perfect man is priest as well as knight.

Let us think reverently of the task that is before us. Never in history has there been a greater age than now. Nothing in the past is too high for the present. Sannyas was not greater than the public service. No form of *Iswara* could be higher than Bhuma Devi. This Devi we have to realise. Her worship we have to establish. And we may remember that in the form of Gandhari she sings still to the Duryodhanas of this day, as of another long ago. "Yato dharm statu jayah."

YOGA.

Man inherits the precious intellectual legacy of his predecessors and improves it. He takes up the work left to him in an unfinished condition by the pioneers before him. He digs. He cultivates. He sows. He reaps the rich and abundant harvest in the fields of Art, Science, Literature and Religion in which legions of workers have laboured for ages and centuries. Every stripling knows now-a-days, that the Earth move round the sun, and not *Vice Versa*, and that every apple gravitates towards its mother Earth. But he knows not how many, like Galileo have spent, nay sometimes lost their lives to demonstrate what now appear to be patent truths.

Thousands of great Intellectual Yogees have imperilled their precious lives and dived beneath the unfathomable waters of the Ocean of knowledge, to raise jewels that grace and ornament the minds of the enlightened men, women and children of to-day. Hundreds have worked unceasingly, day and night in the mass of Truth, with the help of the dim light of ancient research.

Some have only got the ingots out, others have worked the ingots into the finest filigree.

The Newtons and the Huxleys, the Roys and the Boses, and a host of others have revealed unto our ken the hidden workings of Nature, at her universal Laboratory, completely screened from the unseeing eye of the ignorant. The shining arrows in the quiver of Apollo that visit us from afar are to us now ordinary, humdrum sunlight, and not the weapons of the god Apollo, driving his glowing chariot of burning gold drawn by winged steeds. They have been caught and imprisoned in the Spectrum, and most mercilessly brought under the knife of scientific analysis.

This intellectual Yoga has opened the pages of Nature before us. Nature is no more a sybil's book to us. We have begun to study and understand her riddles. Her enigmas are as endless as the number of atoms in this beautiful universe we inhabit men like Newton, is but gathering pebbles on the Shores of the Infinite. Nevertheless, his knowledge is growing from more to more, as the waves of Time roll into eternity man is not an ephemeron. He is not for the hour for today but for eternity, endless Time. He is not perfect. He is eternally, marching towards progress. He is dragging himself up to the Heights evermore. From the highest steep, he finds a higher and a still higher one and goes on mounting and mounting. He begins the work of Yoga now, but it is an eternally unfolding process, a never ending progression,—an unceasing evolution.

Man is above the animal. Man can help on this evolution. He is not always fettered by bondage of the flesh. He can rise above himself. This is his highest privilege. In that is his glory. He is, therefore, Nature's last and best work of creative Art. He is not mere dust of the Earth and earthy. He can master the flesh. He survives the dissolution of the flesh. It is he, who, of all creatures, can unite his own faculties within himself, and can also unite with others, most beautifully and successfully, in intellectual operations, in order to be able to further the happiness of the greatest number, and thus fulfil his own object in life. Instinct and self are not all his good. He finds self in a better and higher measure in giving away self, for Truth, for humanity. He finds a higher Law in selflessness, in self-sacrifice than in self-seeking,—in self-preservation of viper,—the animal in man mis-called the Devil or Satan by the Jewish Puranas.

HEMENDRA NATH SINHA.

36 Shambazar Street.

THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Brother delegates, Ladies and gentlemen—

PREFATORY REMARKS.

Permit me, in the first instance, to thank you for the honour you have done me in electing me your President. But I must confess my utter unworthiness to fill the chair, specially when the Conference is being held at a time when the political atmosphere is surcharged with elements that may cause grave apprehension and anxiety. I feel my incapacity to discharge the heavy responsibility that lies on one who has to guide the deliberations of a representative assembly like this, which consists of members with political ideas of different shades. In discharging the duties which have devolved on me and in carrying through the proceedings of this Conference in a satisfactory manner, my only hope lies in your kind indulgence and forbearance and above all, in your hearty and earnest co-operation. Permit me again to thank you for the kind, warm and magnificent reception which you have been pleased to accord to me. The Reception Committee are entitled to my thanks for the very kind treatment I am receiving at their hands. I am not going to make this occasion an opportunity for indulging in rhetorical display, even if I were capable of doing so.

REAL OBJECT OF THE CONFERENCE.

But I shall confine myself to the exposition of the real object of the Conference, to relate facts and events to bring the national forces into a focus to concentrate them for the public good, to discuss matters of importance affecting the vital interests, rights and privileges of the people, to criticise measures adopted or acts done by Government, for carrying on the administration with the avowed object of giving protection to person and property and to make suggestions for co-operating with the Government in a way that good and affectionate relations may continue

between the Ruling Power and the ruled and that happiness, prosperity and contentment may prevail throughout the Province.

PRESENT SITUATION IN BENGAL.

Bengal is now in a state of transition; it is passing through an eventful period and God alone knows what is in store for her in the future. Take an extensive view of Bengal in matters connected with general administration, politics, education, economics, industry, arts and every other matter interesting to all concerned; and what would you find? A stupendous change in the course of a few years. Unrest prevails throughout the Province; want of harmony exists among those whose common object is to serve their country owing to differences as to means and methods; political offences including murders and attempt at murder are being committed; state prosecutions against political offenders, real or supposed, are being conducted, in some cases successfully and in others unsuccessfully; deportation without trial or without even giving information as to the nature of the charges of men who are believed by my fellow countrymen to be perfectly innocent and who are loved and respected for their genuine patriotism; quartering of punitive police in some places; house searches are being made by the police according to their whims, drastic repressive legislative measures are being added to the Statute Book. On the other hand, the Government is shewing its magnanimity and liberality in seeking to introduce a scheme of reform which is intended and expected to give the children of the soil a large share in the Government of their motherland. My fellow countrymen, again imbued with new nationalistic ideas and awakened to a sense of duty are exerting themselves for the development of indigenous industries and arts and are seeking to impart education on national principles, without the help or Co-operation of Government. Mills, Factories, and workshops and Colleges and Schools on national basis have come into existence, indicating the awakening of a national life and a desire to develop the natural resources of the country. In thinking over this apparently conflicting and inconsis-

tent state of things, one gets confused, nay, bewildered.

MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION.

Naturally the question arises (1) what has brought about the present situation in Bengal? (2) what is the attitude of the Government? (3) What is the frame of the national mind (4) and what line of action should be now adopted?

WHAT HAS BROUGHT ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN BENGAL?

Political education was almost unknown in India till 1885, when the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in Bombay and a National Conference was held in Calcutta in 1885. The Indian National Congress was from its birth of a peripatetic nature and it went on holding its Sessions from one Province to another. The National Conference, in course of time became metamorphosed into the Provincial Conference and for the last few years it has been holding its Sessions in different Districts, undaunted unthwarted amidst opposition from various quarters, the two National Political Institutions went on doing their good work. In this connection I can't help mentioning the names of Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, late Mr. W. S. Caine and Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji without whose co-operation, help, advice and self-sacrifice the movement could not have achieved the success which it has attained and for which they are entitled to our everlasting gratitude.

The Congress and the Conference succeeded in educating the Indians to a certain extent in politics, and the people of Bengal as it was before partition got impressed with the idea of unity for the formation of a nation, notwithstanding divergence in matters, social and religious—when the feeling in Bengal in its integral state was one of universal brotherhood a proposal was started in 1904 for the Partition of Bengal. That

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proposal was discussed in the Press and on the platform and thousands of meetings were held protesting against the Partition as was then proposed. It is not necessary to enter into further details about the excitement and agitation at the time for it is well known to you all. Then there was a lull for a time after which the Partition in its existing form was declared by the Government of Lord Curzon on the 16th October 1905. This form of Partition was conceived in secret, discussed and formulated *in Camera*, was never placed before the public for criticism or expression of opinion and was hurled down as a bolt from the blue against the emphatic protest and the declared wishes of the people against the originally proposed Partition which was of a less mischievous nature. Every one of you know that the Districts in the Raj Shahu Division were not included in the original proposal but they were also severed from Bengal Proper by the final order for Partition.

This contemptuous and utter disregard of public opinion, the dismembering of the Districts which were considered as component parts of one whole integral Province, the sense of separation amongst people who considered each other as brothers and above all, the introduction of racial feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans gave a rude shock to the people of Bengal, and the Bengalee population in both the Provinces and throughout India took to their heart the measure as inflicting a severe blow and causing injury of the first magnitude to their national cause and to their future progress and development. There are several factors for the present unrest. The contemptuous treatment of Indians by many Europeans, official and non-official; the unfriendly attitude of a powerful section of the Anglo-Indian Press believed to possess great influence with the Government disinclination shown by the Govern-

ment to redeem the solemn pledges given by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the policy of the Government to exclude Indians from higher appointments under Government, the failure to get even handed justice as between Indians and Europeans, specially in Criminal cases had already given birth to a sense of insecurity and unrest and discontentment. The Partition demonstrating utter and contemptuous disregard for public opinion accentuated the feeling already generated and developed a deeper and far reaching sentiment and accelerated the growth of a feeling which is of an universal character and which has affected the classes as well as the masses. The subsequent events and repressive measures have intensified the unrest and the people have become discontented and unhappy and excited to a degree.

The reactionary policy of Lord Curzon gave a severe shock to Bengal and stimulated the national sentiment. Wide-spread excitement and unrest followed when a whole community was in a state of excitement, some were found to lose their heads; and it is the younger and the more impulsive section of the community who are most apt to be carried away by the surging tide of excitement. What has happened in Bengal has happened in every part of the world under similar conditions. This is an explanation and not a justification, for we deplore lawlessness and violence. We condemn it with all the emphasis at our command. Righteousness is the royal road to national re-generation. History says this through every line of her golden record and in the great work of national re-generation let us recognize this truth and scrupulously adhere to it. Let it however be said to the lasting credit of the Indian character that in the midst of all this excitement and unrest, the community as a whole remained steadfast to those

peaceful and constitutional means which alone can bring us nearer to the goal of our aspiration. Self-government on colonial lines under British Government to our goal, and this goal is to be reached by perfectly legal and constitutional means. The new spirit which was evoked gave birth to the Fungal National Council of Education, the Bengal Technical Institute, the Cotton Mills, the factories for manufacturing articles of all sorts and the swadeshi movement, which are giving employment and affording means of livelihood, to millions of artisans and laborers.

SWADESHI BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

As an influential section of the Anglo-Indian Press criticise in very hostile way, in bitter language and condemn in strong terms the Swadeshi Boycott movement and as Government is believed by some not to be with us, I deem it my duty to offer a few remarks and make a few observations in justification of the movement. It was the courage of despair emboldened my countrymen to adopt a resolution on the 7th August, 1905 in consequence of which the people at large have solemnly pledged themselves to use indigenous articles in preference to foreign articles of a similar nature, even at a sacrifice. This movement was never intended to be one of hostility towards Government or of hatred and racial antipathy and I venture to urge and I believe you will agree with me that as a matter of fact it is not so. To those whose mother tongue is English, the expression Boycott conveys with it an idea of hatred and I regret that the expression has been made use of in connection with our Swadeshi movement. What we really mean by Swadeshi is exclusion of Bideshi and use of Swadeshi articles as far as practicable. If you please I would omit the word "Boycott" in connection with the movement, the word has no charm in it and I may say in the words of the poet "what's in a name? The rose will scent as

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sweet if you call it by any other name" and call our movement simply swadeshi and this nomenclature, if adopted, would disarm our hostile critics and I feel confident we shall at once secure the sympathy and co-operation of the Government and without which a complete success of our scheme, within a short space of time can hardly be expected. "Boycott" in its fullest sense can never be accomplished. For instance we cannot boycott foreign machinery, books, scientific instruments and so on. You will no doubt have ample time to consider this question and come to a definite conclusion after mature deliberation.

At the outset when the movement was initiated it may be admitted there was picketing and in some instances perhaps excesses were committed. But the Swadeshi idea having permeated throughout the length and breadth of United Bengal and having filtrated down to the people of the lowest stratum, there is no longer any need of picketing or use of force, in fact the idea has taken such a deep root amongst the classes and the masses that there is hardly any need of external pressure; self interest is the dominating principle now and the ally of swadeshi.

Thousands and thousands of Mahomedan Jollas and Hindu Tantees have been saved from starvation since the swadeshi movement notwithstanding very high prices of staple food.

The movement is a protective measure and not one for attack or by way of retaliation. We have no hand in the Government fiscal system and we have no power to make a protective tariff, but as the human will carries its guiding principle within itself we have erected a protective wall by our own will forces. I do not wish to torment you with figures and statistics to demonstrate the effect of the Swadeshi movement resulting in an appreciable diminution in the imported cotton goods. The fact cannot be denied, but that portion of the Anglo-Indian Press which condemns the movement in a spirit of rancour and hatred and which predicted its failure and abortiveness, has now been laboring, with the assistance of inaccurate figures and illogical deductions, to show that the diminution is attributable to other factors

and causes. There is no practical use in carrying on any discussion in this matter or making it a subject of controversy.

The economic effect and the potentiality of the movement are demonstrated by the rapid developments in industries and arts, the Mill industry, the Handloom industry, the Textile accessories and various indigenous articles of daily use and of which it is unnecessary to give a detailed list all testifying to the development.

I may here profitably quote a passage from the well known speech of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda—"If your Swadeshi movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent; if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labour and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes then the movement, gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy."

The Government has again and again declared its intention to encourage the development of indigenous arts and industries, but unhappily it makes a distinction between true Swadeshi and false Swadeshi and treat the existing movement as not an honest or a true one. I regret and daresay you will join with me in expressing the same regret that the Government in its pronouncement has not thought it fit to point out the difference between the two kinds of Swadeshi. I venture to say the distinction is without a difference. I have no doubt and I hope in the very near future the Government will change its opinion—and if we make only a slight,—a nominal change in our nomenclature and attitude will give its unqualified support to our movement. The recent order for the use of indigenous articles in Government offices, sufficiently indicates how the wind is blowing.

POPLICE AND STATE PROSECUTIONS.

I have already referred to the unrest and the prevailing excitement. At this juncture the activity of the Police was at its zenith and some prosecutions were initiated at their instance of men of high and respectable position in society, men of culture and education, men, whose character was well known

and who are in capable of committing offences and crimes which were imputed to them. Of course in the long run British Justice, in which we have so much faith asserted itself and innocent men after rotting in jail for a long time and undergoing the hardships and sufferings of a prisons life and discipline though only undertrial prisoners and after a great deal of mental anxiety and worry and after considerable expenses, were honorably acquitted. I need only refer by way of illustration to the Midnapore case, the Bighaty case, the Barrah case, I do not mention the Alipur case as it is *subjudice*.

The Government is no doubt primarily responsible for the unjustifiable prosecutions, but the real responsibility attaches to the Police and our complaint and grievance mainly lie in the fact that the Government places undue confidence in and reliance on Police reports. Police reform is absolutely necessary and the necessity has been long recognised by the Government, but there are very great difficulties in attaining success in this direction.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

But the abuses of powers by the Police can be safeguarded by effecting separation of Judicial and Executive functions without further delay. The separation is not a controversial matter, it has long been conceded by different secretaries of state for India and Viceroy and Governors that it is a counsel of perfection. The recent state prosecutions emphasise the immediate separation of the two functions. The question has been discussed threadbare in the Press and from the platform. So further observations are unnecessary.

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H. H. THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ON BENGAL AND POLICE BILL.

It is very gratifying indeed to find that H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has not treated public opinion in respect of the Police Bill, now before the Bengal Legislative Council, with contempt and that the Bill has been recommended to the Select Committee and the opinion of the High Court will be invited. When approval of laws by thoughtful sections of the community has been considered to be a factor in adopting any legislative measures, and when hasty legislation has been deprecated we may congratulate ourselves on having a Governor like Sir Edward Baker under whose control the administrative machinery might be expected to work satisfactorily.

DEPORTATIONS.

While considering these questions, I cannot help noticing the deportations without trial or even without a notice of the charges against them—Babus Aswin Kumar Dutt, Krishna Kumar Mitter and Subodh Chandra Mullick and others. We deplore their deportation, we sympathise with them and thank them for their misfortune and incarceration and while we are grieved at the attitude and action of the Government we consider the Police to be the root cause. In answer to certain questions put in Parliament by some member, he was told in reply that the deportations were the result of Police information, but after the expression of opinion as regards the Police evidence by his Lordship the present Chief Justice of Bengal in the Midnapore case—can the deportations based on Police information and reports be justified? On a repetition of the question in Parliament the Hon'ble Member putting the question was informed that there was credible information—whether credible information and Police information are synonymous or not the public have a right to form their own opinion.

REG III OF 1818.

The deportation of nine gentlemen is not necessary and is not justified. The aid of the fossilised Regulation III of 1818 was invoked and the deportees are rotting in Jail like ordinary prisoners. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India have supported His

Excellency the Viceroy in the exercise of his powers under the Regulation and in ordering deportation. The Regulation ought to have been considered obsolete, out of date, and repealed by implication, but it has been pronounced by the highest administrative authority that the Regulation is alive and operative.

If that be so, the Regulation ought to be relegated to abeyance. Referring to this Regulation of 1818 Lord Morley in one of his speeches in the house of Lords is reported to have said "What is the state of things as they appear to persons of authority and ample knowledge of India? Well, the anarchists are few but, on the other hand, they are apparently prepared to go any length and run any risk. An Indian friend of mine informs me that there is no fear of anything in the nature of a rising; but that if murders continue a general panic may arise and greatly increase the danger of the situation. We cannot hope that any machinery will completely stop the outrage at once but there is a growing indication that the native population itself is alarmed, and that the Government of India will have strong support from native public opinion. In substance, the view of the Government of India is that the position of our Government in India is as sound and well-founded as it has ever been. And I do not ignore the frightful risks involved in transferring what ought to be power under the law into the power of arbitrary personal discretion.

(To be continued.)

NEWS.

SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS AGAINST POLICE SUB-INSPECTORS

A great sensation has been caused in the city of Agartala by a series of complaints that have been made by several Indian residents against a Sub-Inspector of Police named Gajadhar Pereda. The complainants alleged that he severely assaulted them, made them bleed and kept them under wrongful confinement, etc. The district officers have taken prompt action in the matter and the Deputy Superintendent of Police was ordered to proceed to the spot and make enquiries. Meanwhile the complainants have filed cases in the Court of Mr. H. G. Haig, I. C. S., an officer of ripe experience and sound judgment who is holding an enquiry in open court. Another Sub-Inspector of Police belonging to a village police station is also under trial before Mr. Haig.

Mr. H. G. Haig, I. C. S., the Joint Magistrate, after holding a preliminary inquiry, has issued a summons against Sub-Inspector Gajadhar Pereda. Two of the complainants are women. The case excites great interest throughout the city.

FATAL HUNTING ACCIDENT AT OOTACAMUND—

Mr. R. E. Lawley, son of their Excellencies Sir Arthur and Lady Lawley met with his death on a hunting field on Saturday afternoon at Ootacamund. He was out hunting and fell at a jump over a ditch at Chennund Chola. No one witnessed the accident. He was discovered with his mount on the top of him and his neck broken, and he must have lain there at least half an hour before he was discovered. Majors Hinge and Slater were on the Golf links and were summoned. His Excellency was also golfing at the time and the sad news was broken to him by Major Duff, the Military Secretary. The accident occurred at 4.30 and the body was conveyed to Government House by Majors Duff and Hinge at about 7.30 p. m. A stretcher of branches of trees and red coats was improvised to convey the body to the motor car. Her Excellency was not out hunting, but the Misses Lawley were out. Mr. Lawley had returned to Ootacamund from Secunderabad only on Thursday last and was cheerfully looking forward to training his horses for the point to point races. Universal sympathy is being expressed for their Excellencies Sir Arthur and Lady Lawley.

HOUSE SEARCH IN MANIKGANGE—

The house of Babu Harendra Nath Dutt of the village Chabashpur was searched on the 6th September by the Inspector of Police. Nothing incriminating was found. It is not known in what connection the search was made. One of the owners of the house is, I hear, a Mukhtar practising in Rangpur.

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NEWS.

THE FARIDPUR CASE.—

Shanti Mukerjee who was arrested on the 30th May on a charge of attempting to commit dacoity by the District Magistrate of Faridpur and was later on charged under Section 109, C. P. C. was allowed to be let out on two bails of Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 3,000 respectively for the two counts. The offer has been declined.

DINAJPUR CONFERENCE.—

The third anniversary of the Dinajpur Association and District Conference was held yesterday. Eleven resolutions were passed. A new resolution on the desirability of setting on foot a movement with a view to get decisive legislation making the law of transferability of "Jote" rights and occupancy holdings free from custom and local usage and proposing an amendment of the law of ejectment by landlords from homestead lands was passed.

A RAJA'S LOYALTY.—

His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi has issued a notification calling upon his people to abstain from joining any seditious movement and expressing his contempt and hatred for such proceedings and desiring that all State servants and subjects should closely watch such disloyal and wicked persons and arrest those who may be found to have come to the State, to manufacture bombs and deal in explosive articles with a view to destroy life and property and those who will be able to arrest such persons will be duly rewarded by His Highness.

BOMBAY MILL CRISIS.—

The Bombay mill industry is passing through a crisis owing to the abnormal prices of cotton.

Eight thousand employees of the mills managed by Greaves cotton struck work to-day in consequence of the Agent's decision to close the mills three days in the week during September and close them entirely in October. The operatives to-day refused to go to work. They contended that closing the mills three days in the week would give them but starvation wages, that at the utmost the mills might be closed two days in the week or that they might be entirely closed from to-day, and they might be paid off. Through the intervention of Mr. Edwards, acting Police Commis-

sioner, it was decided to quit from to-day and to pay off the workmen on the 10th instant.

TANVANDRUM POLICE CASE.—

One of the several cases, which are all offshoots of the recent riot, was torture by unlawful detention in custody of several people by policemen of whom several were tried, the result being five were convicted and sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment, from two months' to six months' with fine. There are cases of torture and other offences by policemen also pending in which judgments will be pronounced shortly.

ALDRED RELEASED ON BAIL.—

Aldred the printer of "Indian Sociologist," has obtained two sureties and has been released on bail.

KABUL NEWS.—

DR. GHANI'S SUCCESSOR.—

It is reported that Sardar Inayatullah Khan, with a cavalry and infantry escort, will make a prolonged tour in Gardez, Khost and Kandahar. Sardar Nasrullah Khan is now busy attending to military matters and the general training of the Afghan Army.

The Amir has issued orders in all villages in the Jellalabad district to the effect that five rifles with free ammunition will be given to each Malik or headman in each village, which are to be utilised in giving assistance to officials in repressing disorder and killing or capturing offenders.

The Mullah Powindah and other leading Mullahs of Waziristan are said to be proceeding to Kabul.

The Lashkars of the Ali Khel Mamozai and Musazai tribesmen are now reported to be collecting in Tirah.

CALCUTTA HOUSES RAIDED.—

Five young Bengalis, it is alleged, of doubtful antecedents were arrested, on warrants on Thursday by the Calcutta Police. At an early hour on Thursday morning three simultaneous raids were made; one conducted by Inspector Mulchay at 15, Jorabagan Street, another by Inspector Jennings at 168, Ahiritollah Street, and the third by Inspector Ram Gopal Chuckerbutty at 92 Bechu Chatterjee's Street. A strict search was made at each house and as a result, five Bengalis, the names of whom, the police refuse to disclose, were arrested and lodged in jail on charges in connection with the Faridpur dacoity of a

few weeks ago. Several bundles of correspondence and other papers were seized, but the contents of these are not at present known.

A SHERIFF AND MEETING.—

The Government of Bombay has issued the following notice:—The Government regret if any personal inconvenience has been caused by the cancellation of of the Sheriff's notice, convening a public meeting, in regard to the question of the position of Indians in the Transvaal. They have, of course, no objection to the holding of a meeting for this purpose. Their views and those of the Government of India and of the Secretary of state are known; but on the other hand, they consider that the Sheriff as a Government officer should summon and preside over no meetings except such as are non-controversial, non-political, and intended only to give general expression to a universal public feeling. In the present case these conditions are not fulfilled.

"SWARAJ" PROSCRIBED.—

In the Gazette (Commerce and Industry Department), appears the following notification.—

Bringing by sea or land into British India the magazine *Swaraj* or the *Indian Nationalist* is prohibited.—

GANESH MODAK'S CASE.—

The Chief Magistrate, gave his decision in the case in which Ganesh Modak of the Vartman Agency stood charged with disseminating seditious matter. In that he distributed or sold copies of the July number of the "Swaraj," edited by Bepin Chandra Pal in London. It is alleged to be containing seditious matter. His Worship in the course of judgment said that there was no doubt that the article in question was calculated to excite disaffection. The evidence also showed that the accused was not an ordinary agent but the sole agent of the journal in India. It is also to be inferred from the evidence that the accused knew the contents of the journal. His Worship convicted the accused and sentenced him to one month's simple imprisonment.

BOMBAY MILL HANDS.—

Since the closing of the mills in the city, a large number of mill operatives have been left adrift. There has been a panic among boarding-house keepers, grain merchants and landlords, who have in some cases ceased to give credit to unemployed mill hands. Owing to the closing, since last Sunday, of the mills owned by the late Dwarkadas Dharamnagar matters have grown still worse.

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FACING FACTS. —

In the same number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* in which Sir Bampfylde Fuller has shown cause why the demands of the educated Indians should not be listened to, Sir Harry Johnstone has given reasons why they should be listened to. One seldom comes across such refreshing frankness in the general run of contributions on Indian affairs to the British periodical literature, especially from men of distinctly conservative instincts like Sir Harry Johnstone. The notable communication under notice is the more remarkable for this fact. That Sir Harry Johnstone is not a man of Radical principles will be evident from the fact that he cannot sufficiently condemn the missionaries of the Protestant Churches who sowed the "dragon's teeth of education" among the natives of India and Africa. But he does not hold that the original sin would be expiated by committing the further indiscretion of trying to suppress the irresistible crop of yellow, brown and black men asking as a consequence of being as well-educated as the average Englishman, "for the same right to have a voice in the government of their own countries and the disposal of the money raised by their own taxation." The "holding down" policy if it was to be adopted at all as the watchword of the British Empire, should have been nailed to the mast in 1792, before the first educating Missionaries went out to British India. It is now too late to talk of checking the tide that has set in and is lifting the whole continent, as it were, out of itself. The safest course for Imperial England is now to face the facts. The only solution of the problem is to "face, digest and gradually provide for and admit the demands of the black, brown and yellow peoples under our sway for a voice in their own destiny." The die is cast, there is now no withdrawing from the game, even if its results do not exactly suit your wishes.

It is not the fault of the "natives" that affairs in India have taken an inconvenient turn, says Sir Harry Johnstone. It is Englishmen the selves who have created the "Babu" class, who have called into being minds very like their own; personalities who having studied the lessons of European history, having followed the processes by which the Catholics of the United Kingdom, the Jews, the laboring classes (Chartists) have become emancipated and franchised, have very naturally

drawn the deduction that their turn must be at hand; that if a native of India, of no matter what religion or race, paid taxes and obeyed the law, he should have some vote, some power, of control over the Government that taxed him. Sir Harry Johnstone, by the way, forgets the important fact that it was not in the hands of "hold down" Imperialists to hold back the march of Time or the course of civilisation, and that the leaven that is working in other parts of Asia has not had its origin solely in the Indian Universities. The great question is not of the responsibility of this or that people for the evolution of India towards a necessary condition of things demanded by the course of Time and civilisation, but of the unavoidable necessity for those who are at the head of affairs to advance with the times. And Sir Harry Johnstone, we are glad to see, is very explicit on this point.

The writer has given a fine example of the proverbial British love for justice and fairly in taking a strikingly impartial view of things in India in spite of his predominant Conservative instincts which it has at times vainly tried to suppress. His views regarding the genesis of the present situation in India are particularly noteworthy, and will be an eye-opener to the readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* whose hospitable pages have lately been specially devoted to the misrepresentation of India and its affairs. For example:

The natives have no direct voice in the government of their own country, no say as to the amount of taxation which shall be imposed or the manner in which the taxes shall be spent. Neither (it might be said) do the Europeans born or settled in those countries have anything of the kind: but then they are very few in number and no important European interest is unrepresented on the councils of the Viceroy and of the great Indian Governments, while the English Press is practically unfettered, provided it expresses its opinions in the English Language. It can deliver itself of the sharpest criticism of Government and of personalities which just stop short of libel (if it chooses) without incurring penalties. I do not say that the native Press is not free to descend on projected laws and on the actions of officials, but it must accomplish this task so guardedly that its condition is no freer than the Press of Russia as applied to the same purposes.

Sir Harry Johnstone is an Englishman, not professing Radical principles. We give his views as they are. As an additional cause of unrest, he adds to "this felt want of a franchise" the "often tactless and even tyrannical behavior of a small proportion of British in India":

I write these words advisedly and after some personal experience of India. It is better that we should face facts. The Indian Civil Service consists for the most part of the best type of Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman which could be sent out to India to govern and administer... But some of the lesser officials, perhaps of the unconvenanted service-magistrates, justices of the peace, soldiers employed in civilian posts—do not always attain the high standard of excellence. It is known to me as a fact that of late years there have been a sufficient number of harsh and even savage judgments—excessive terms of imprisonment, for example, for relatively small crimes—imposed by hot-tempered urban magistrates, to have caused an extremely bitter feeling to reverberate through Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Bombay Presidency. I know personally several Englishmen in India who yield to no one in their loyalty to the Empire or their enthusiasm for that Empire, but who have felt compelled to draw public attention, through the Press or by personal intervention, to the injustice of certain sentences, and have even succeeded in getting one or two of them revised or reversed. Of course, in consequence, they—the "real" Imperialists—were attacked by the Jingo section in India—the "real" little Englishers—and their lives were made intolerable, perhaps even their business affected and damaged because they had attempted to stand up against errors of justice in the same way in which magistrates are pilloried in the columns of "Truth." Yet I make bold to say that men of this description have done more to mitigate the present feeling of unrest in India than their fellow countrymen of the east of thought satirised by Bernard Shaw in a recent prohibited play.

The solution of the problem, according to the writer, lies, not in a futile bellowing over what should have been but in looking the present and the future in the face, and in the recognition of the fact that there must be "give" and "take" in any earnest attempt to advance with the times, and "gradually to pave the way, from precedent to precedent, towards a more perfectly governed Empire."—*The Panjabee*.

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S. N. BASU,

FORWARD OR BACKWARD ?

Of late English statesmen both in India and in England have been betraying symptoms of impatience which is not consistent with sound statesmanship. They have succumbed to the angry passions of the hour—deluded, on the one hand, by the utterances of the bureaucracy alarmed at the prospect of change and, on the other, by the clamour of a section of their countrymen whose vested interests the changed circumstances in India tend to injure. And they are viewing the trend of events through a somewhat distorting haze.

The question of the conversion of the strong, stolid, practical, invincible Britisher into an emotional, hysterical, excitable and panic-stricken race need not trouble us. What we are concerned with is the attitude of the Englishman towards present-day India struggling to ameliorate her condition.

It was, we believe, the *Times* which—after describing in detail imaginary methods of spreading sedition in India—first brandished the sword, and advanced the effete and foolish opinion that England had conquered India by the sword and would keep it by the sword. The *Times* when it made this ridiculous assertion was evidently ignorant of the real history of the conquest of India and oblivious of the truth that you cannot conquer the heart of a people by fire and steel, and—as an Englishman said more than half a century back, “fleshly arms, and the instruments of war, are but a fragile tenure, and ‘soon to nothing brought,’ ‘when opposed to the interests and the will of an enlightened people.’” The English in India are not numerically stronger than the people of the country, and their position in India must depend not on their military strength, but on the willingness of the people themselves to maintain them in that position of lofty eminence. This has been admitted by all sensible Englishmen who have studied the country and its problems. “The huge mammal, India’s symbol, is a docile beast, and may be ridden by a child. He is sensible, temperate, and easily attached.” But “When he is angered in earnest, his vast bulk alone makes him dangerous, and puts it beyond the strength of the strongest to guide him

or control.” After the *Times* came the Hon. Mr. Baker. During the discussion on the Bill for the Prevention of Seditious Meetings in the Council of the Governor General of India Dr. Rash Behari Ghose called it a “Bill for the Prevention of Seditious Meetings and the Promotion of Secret Sedition.” The Indian members of the Council were of opinion that the measures would drive discontent underground and thereby enhance the chance of volcanic eruptions in the future. The then Finance Member referred to these apprehensions, and openly said, “I am not in the least afraid of driving sedition underground.” This was certainly a bold assertion and not exactly statesmanlike.

But what one could excuse in the Hon. Mr. Baker, the Finance Member—one cannot neglect in Sir Edward Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor of the most advanced province. Yet in spite of the fact that the London Police—an abler and a more scrupulous body than the Police in India—decline to accept the assertion made by stray individuals that the recent murders in London were a part of a huge conspiracy to murder Englishmen without discrimination between the innocent and the guilty, Sir Edward has threatened to punish Bengal for the action of Modan Lal Dingra. He has threatened to bring a resolution which “will not be peaceful” nor “painless,” “and there will be little room at that time for a nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty.” Such a method is nothing if not in direct contravention to the first principles and best traditions of British justice which glories in taking especial care to see that the innocent do not suffer for the guilty. Moreover what does this threat signify? As for the million-patient and law-abiding—they do not deserve it. As for stray fanatics like Dingra who kill innocent Englishmen, and one hanged they are not afraid of any punishment.

Then there are the thousands in which some Indians—renowned more for their religiousness and scrupulous honesty than for their political views—have been condemned unheard. They have been denied the right of an open trial. And though we have been told that the evidence against them was carefully considered by responsible officers, that evidence must have been—in the first instance—secured by the Police so much

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discredited in the law courts of Bengal, Burma, Madras, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. And unless and until the evidence which can bear scrutiny is adduced the people cannot be blamed if they hesitate to be convinced. Then again the condition of confinement is not, in the case of all of them, comfortable. Such, at least, has been the assertion of Sriyat Sukumar Mitra who had an interview with his father Sriyat Krishna Kumar Mitra at Agra, and saw with his own eyes the arrangements that the Government had made for deportees—a gentleman of position and prominence. And—what is more the publication of the letter Sukumar had addressed to the Government on the subject, in the papers seems to have infuriated the responsible authorities so much that they have threatened to deprive the deportees of the doubtful privilege of communicating with their relatives by means of letters—doubtful as every letter is examined by officers before despatch. The publication of such letters is likely to provoke inconvenient and embarrassing questions in the British Parliament, and reveal the real nature of the treatment that these deportees are receiving; but the manner and method of precluding the possibility of their publication—if the rumour can be taken as true—are hardly commendable. It seems English administrators have to be reminded what every English school-boy knows:—

"It is excellent

To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous

To use it like a giant,"

But if the conduct of Anglo-India can be attributed in part to close proximity to the scene of rapid change in India, and—as John Pitt said in 1893—"In part to the heat of the country" which alters European temper—what excuse is there for those who look at Indian affairs through "loopholes of retreat"? Yet they—even they—have not been able to avoid the contagion. Lord Morley has taken Mr. Makerness's Bill about deportations in India as a vote of censure—as if even Englishmen have not the right to criticise the actions of one who has certainly "shelved in certain Indian transactions the principles of a lifetime," and, thereby, lost the little credit he had accumulated in the bank of public opinion.

The other day Lord Morley spoke at Oxford on the situation in India with that garulity which usually characterises post-prandial orations and old age. A large portion of this farrago of fact and fiction was occupied by the deportations—a subject which has embarrassed their author so much. And he said:—"It is said of a man who is arrested, not on a charge, not on a conviction of a Court, 'Oh, he ought not to be harshly treated.' He is not harshly treated.' If he is one of the nine deported men, he is not put into contact with criminal persons. His family are looked after. He subsists under conditions which are to an Indian perfectly comfortable to his social position, and to the ordinary comforts and

convenience of his life." India though within the range of Lord Morley's genius, lies outside the area of his knowledge. And it is—to quote his own words—"a masterpiece of melancholy meanness" to consider Indians members of an inferior race simply because they happen to have been conquered by a people whose ancestors were naked barbarians when their ancestors had elaborated a civilisation which has successfully withstood the corrosive wear and tear of time. Is it much that these deported gentlemen are not herded together with common criminals? The conditions under which they have to live leave much to be desired. And this has been shown in Sriyat Sukumar Mitra's letter as also in the letter written by a deportee from Rawalpindi. The usual style of living of some of these deportees was costlier and their standard of comfort higher than those of Lord Morley who has in the eve of his life turn his back upon himself, and trampled under foot the principles he had preached all his life.

Last—but not least—comes the assertion of the Master of Elibank whom the wine of new-got power seems to have turned giddy. Speaking at Woodford the other day he said, "that Lord Morley would do his duty, undeterred by criticism. He would deal drastically with those who were exciting disloyalty while themselves keeping in the background. It were necessary for the safety of the Empire that those rebellious agitations and waves of feeling should not be permitted to attain maturity." As if feeling can be muzzled, and thought killed.

These assertions and these threats, as we have already said, are not consistent with sound statesmanship. And English statesmen seem to have forgotten what statesmen should not allow sentiments to tinge the colourless light in which their understanding moves. But then—as Burke has put it—"I have known merchants with the sentiments and abilities and of great statesmen; and I have seen persons in the rank of statesmen with the conceptions and character of pedlars." Now whither is England advancing—forward or backward?

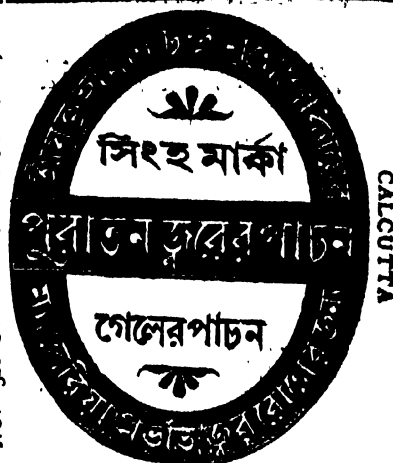
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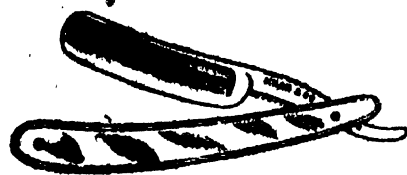
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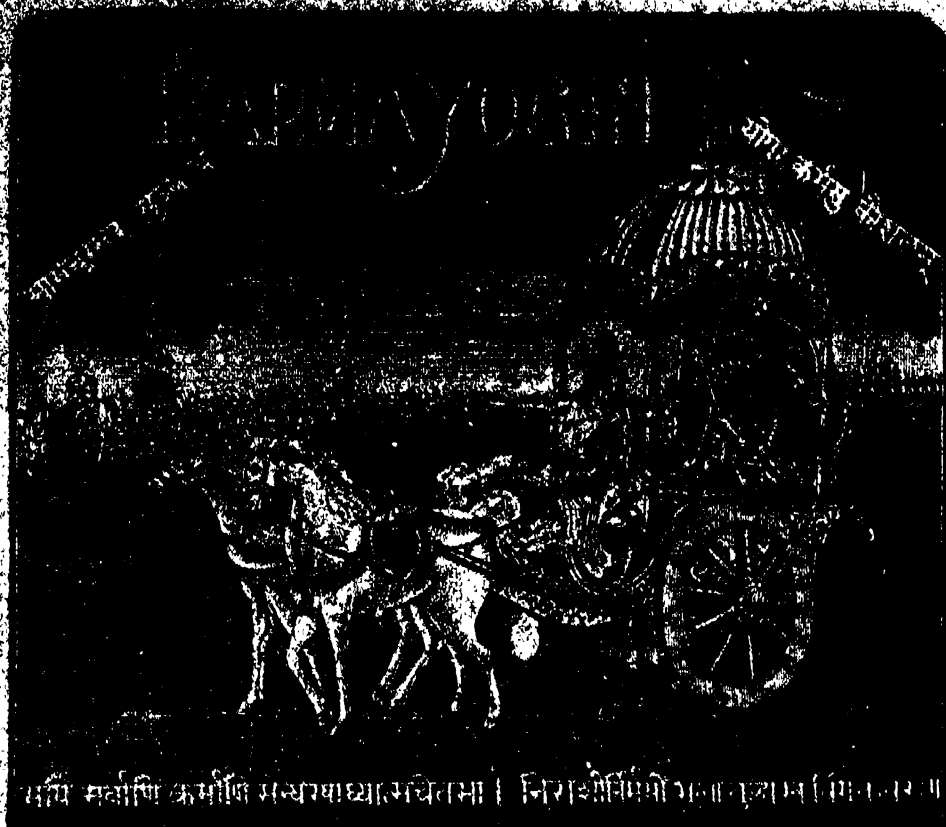
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A WEEKLY REVIEW

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Vol. I. }

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

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The Two Programmes.

There could hardly be a more striking contrast than the pronounced dissimilarity between the resolutions passed at the Hughly Provincial Conference under the pressure of the Moderate leaders' threat to dissociate themselves from the proceedings if the Pabna resolutions were reaffirmed and the resolutions passed at the enthusiastic and successful District Conference held last Saturday and Sunday in the Surma Valley. They are severally the re-affirmation of two different programmes, the advanced Moderate programme of a section of opinion in West Bengal supported by Faridpur in the East and a sprinkling of individuals in some of the large towns and the Nationalist programme as advanced by East Bengal and a great section of opinion in the West. The advanced Moderate programme contemplates Colonial self-government as a distant and ultimate goal, advocates commercial boycott of foreign goods, contemplates National education as an educational experiment supported practically by some, in theory only by others, and regards self-help as a pendant and subordinate to so-called constitutional agitation, in other words, the acceptance of everything the Government does subject to protest, criticism and,

when necessary, invective. This is the theory of co-operation plus opposition, opposition in words, co-operation in practice. It has to be seen how far the reassertion of this policy, for some time discredited, will go in its results and what is the underlying motive of the Moderate leaders in insisting on the reassertion at this particular moment when the Partition, Deportations, coercive laws are in full operation and not a single one of our grievances redressed. The Nationalist programme asserts autonomy as the right of all nations, advocates the use of every legitimate and peaceful means towards its establishment whether swift or gradual, and especially favours the use of self-help to train and organize the nation for self-government and of passive resistance to confirm and defend the measures of self-help and to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to yield a substantial measure of self-government. The defect of the Nationalist party is not in energy or organisation, for it has a superior capacity in these respects to its opponents, but in means and the present weight of its personalities. It is only by effective, persistent and organized work with what means it has at its disposal that the party can make up for this inferiority. That organization must now be taken definitely in hand. It is doubtful whether the frail hope

of an United Congress will ever take shape as a materialised fact, and even if it does, it is likely to be under such circumstances that the Nationalists would be ill-advised to put their main energy into Congress work until they have so all pervading and solid a strength in the country as to make it possible for them to assert themselves without any peril to the united progress of the nation. They must vindicate the superiority of their programme by its effectual execution and result, leaving the Moderates for the present to the raptures of their rapprochement with the bureaucracy.

The Reforms.

An argument advanced in favour of the Reforms is that, however ineffectual and illusory the expansion of the Legislative Councils may be—and the illusory nature of that expansion cannot be seriously denied,—still there is included in the Reform Scheme a measure of local self-government generous, complete and effective, which is well worth acceptance. We are by no means certain how far a substantial measure of local self-government is really contemplated by the Government. It was originally proposed, we believe, to four local self-governing bodies elected by the people and uncontrolled by any official chairman. But many things were originally proposed which com-

to have little chance of taking shape as ultimate actualities. We are not aware how far the measure will be carried out, what limitation may be put upon it or whether the control of the official chairman will not be replaced by a higher and more distant but eventually more effective control. We shall have to be thoroughly assured on these points before we can allow that any measure of local self-government included in the measure can outweigh the nugatory character of the main change in the instruments of government. Unless the local self-government is complete and ungrudging, it may be a convenient measure and to a slight extent strengthen the educated class in the mofussils, but it cannot be a vital measure or even one of the first importance among changes of administrative structure. In any case it cannot outweigh, however full it may be, the disastrous character of the principle of separate electorates introduced by Lord Morley, intentionally or unintentionally, as the thin end of a wedge which, when driven well home, will break our growing nationality into a hundred jarring pieces. Only by standing aloof from the new councils can this destruction be avoided. This is the point on which we feel bound to lay stress again and again because it is the one vital and effective thing in the new measure, all the rest is mere frippery and meaningless decoration. It would be a poor statesmanship which bought a small and temporary gain by throwing away the future of the nation and the hope of an united India, and posterity will have reason to curse the memory of any popular leader who for the sake either of more gilt on the "gilded shams" or even for a real measure of local self-government, induces the nation to accept the reforms with the separate electorate and special privileges for one community as an essential feature.

The Limitations of the Act.

There is another point in this connection which destroys the little value that might possibly have attached to the argument from Lord Morley's intentions about local self-government. One peruses the Act in vain for a guarantee of any measure of reform which may be conceded under it to the people except the number of elected and nominated

members in the Councils. Every thing else, literally everything else, is left to the discretion of Anglo-Indian officialdom. No doubt the present Secretary of State will have the ultimate decision as to the rules of election, nomination, formation of electorates, acceptance or rejection by the Government of elected members, veto, division, interpellation etc., and he may decide to put the felt on thickly and copiously. But even if this be done, not one of these things will be assured to us, not one of them but may be reversed by subsequent Viceroys and Secretaries of State without infringing, the meagre provisions of this Act. As for local self-government we fail to find any guarantee either for its introduction or, if introduced,—as, no doubt, Lord Morley will have some slight respect even yet for his own reputation,—for its retention in the future. What is to prevent a future Alexander Mackenzie in the Viceregal seat from so altering any measure that may be given as to render it nugatory and what is to prevent a future Curzon in the India Office from confirming this step to rearwards? So far as we have been able to find, nothing at all. We are just where we were before, with concessions granted by arbitrary condescension which may be withdrawn at any moment by arbitrary arrogance. Well may Lord Morley say that this is not a measure of self-government and, if he thought it were, he would not concede the measure. The nationalist party is not opposed to all acceptance of reform; it would welcome and support a measure which would really concede even a minimum of control and provide a means for future expansion while perpetually guaranteeing the small amount conceded; but a measure by which no control is given, no step taken is guaranteed as to permanence and no provision is made for future expansion is one which no thinking man would care to have even apart from other defects, and no practical politician will look at for a moment when coupled with provisions disastrous to the future of the nation.

Shall we accept the Partition?

This may sound a startling proposition to a nation which is perpetually reaffirming its decision never to accept the settled fact. But it rises definitely upon the question of accepting the reforms. We cannot conceal from ourselves the staringly

patent fact that if we accept the reforms, we accept the Partition. The new changes are partly meant to confirm the division which every English statesman declares it to be essential to British prestige to perpetuate, and if the older leaders of West Bengal accept the reforms and stand for Sir Edward Baker's Council or allow their followers to stand for it, the sooner the partition resolution is deleted from the proceedings of Provincial and District conferences and the celebration of the 16th October discontinued, the better for our national honesty and sincerity. If the West Bengal leaders, who under the pressure of public opinion gave up their seats on the old Council and the idea of becoming Honourables in future, join the reformed Council in Calcutta, there is nothing to prevent the East Bengal leaders from joining Sir Lancelot Hare's Council in the capital of the New Province. If that happens, where will the Anti-Partition agitation be and where the solemn vow of unity? To solemnly meet once a year and declare that we will never, never accept what we have accepted, would be a farce too hypocritical for the conscience of the most cynical or the intelligence of the most deluded to tolerate. Any revival of the fiction that it is East Bengal which has been partitioned from West Bengal and therefore there is no obligation on the West Bengal leaders to boycott the Councils while the East Bengal leaders are so bound, will not be suffered. But the Moderates have definitely and rigidly excluded political boycott from their programme; yet what is the abstention from the Councils but a political boycott? If they carry this exclusion to its logical result and accept the reformed Councils, that is the end of the Anti-Partition agitation. Lord Morley's policy will be entirely successful and Mr Gokhale may still more loudly acclaim him as the saviour of India from a state of anarchy and chaos.

THE PROCESS OF EVOLUTION.

The end of a stage of evolution is usually marked by a powerful re-ascendence of all that has to go out of the evolution. It is a principle of Nature that in order to get

rid of any powerful tendency or deep-seated association in humanity, whether in the mass or in the individual, it has first to be exhausted by *bhoga* or enjoyment, afterwards to be dominated and weakened by *nigraha* or control and, finally, when it is weak, to be got rid of by *sanyama*, rejection or self-dissociation. The difference between *nigraha* and *sanyama* is that in the first process there is a violent struggle to put down coerce and, if possible, crush the tendency, the reality of which is not questioned, but in the second process it is envisaged as a dead or dying force, its occasional return marked with disgust, then with impatience, finally with indifference as a mere ghost, vestige or faint echo of that which was once real but is now void of significance. Such a return is part of the process of Nature for getting rid of this undesirable and disappearing quantity.

Sanyama is unseasonable and would be fruitless when a force, quality or tendency is in its infancy or vigour, before it has had the enjoyment and full activity which is its due. When once a thing is born it must have its youth, growth, enjoyment, life and final decay and death; when once an impetus has been given by *Prakriti* to her creation, she insists that the velocity shall spend itself by natural exhaustion before it shall cease. To arrest the growth or speed unseasonably by force is *nigraha*, which can be effective for a time but not in perpetuity. It is said in the *Gita* that all things are ruled by their nature, to their nature they return and *nigraha* or repression is fruitless. What happens then is that the thing untimely slain by violence is not really dead, but withdraws for a time into the *Prakriti* which sent it forth, gathers an immense force and returns with extraordinary violence ravening for the rightful enjoyment which it was denied. We see this in the attempts we make to get rid of our evil *sankaras* or associations when we first tread the path of *Yoga*. If anger is a powerful element in our nature, we may put it down for a time by sheer force and call it self-control, but eventually unsatisfied Nature will get the better of us and the passion return upon us with aston-

ishing force at an unexpected moment. There are only two ways by which we can effectively get the better of the passion which seeks to enslave us. One is by substitution, replacing it whenever it rises by the opposite quality, anger by thoughts of forgiveness, love or forbearance, lust by meditation on purity, pride by thoughts of humility and our own defects or nothingness; this is the method of *Rajayoga*, but it is a difficult, slow and uncertain method; for both the ancient traditions and the modern experience of *Yoga* show that men who had attained for long years the highest self-mastery have been suddenly surprised by a violent return of the thing they thought dead or for ever subject. Still this substitution, slow though it be is one of the commonest methods of Nature and it is largely by this means, often unconsciously or half consciously used, that the character of a man changes and develops from life to life or even in the bounds of a single lifetime. It does not destroy things in their seed and the seed which is not reduced to ashes by *Yoga* is always capable of sprouting again and growing into the complete and mighty tree. The second method is to give *bhoga* or enjoyment to the passion so as to get rid of it quickly. When it is satiated and sarfeited by excessive enjoyment, it becomes weak and spent and a reaction ensues which establishes for a time the opposite force, tendency or quality. If that moment is seized by the *Yogin* for *nigraha*, the *nigraha* so repeated at every suitable opportunity becomes so far effective as to reduce the strength and vitality of the *vritti* sufficiently for the application of the final *Sanyama*. This method of enjoyment and reaction is also a favourite and universal method of Nature, but it is never complete in itself and, if applied to permanent forces or qualities, tends to establish a *saṁ* of opposite tendencies, extremely useful to the operations of *Prakriti* but from the point of view of self-mastery useless and inconclusive. It is only when this method is followed up by the use of *sanyama* that it becomes effective. The *Yogin* regards the *vritti* merely as a play of Nature with which he is not concerned and of which he is merely the spectator;

the anger, lust or pride is not his, it is the universal Mother's and she works it and stills it for her own purposes. When, however, the *vritti* is strong, mastering and unspent, this attitude cannot be maintained in sincerity and to try to hold it intellectually without sincerely feeling it is *mithyachara*, false discipline or hypocrisy. It is only when it is somewhat exhausted by repeated enjoyment and coercion that *Prakriti* or Nature at the command of the soul or *Purusha* can really deal with her own creation. She deals with it first by *vainagya* in its crudest form of disgust, but this is too violent a feeling to be permanent; yet it leaves its mark behind in a deep-seated wish to be rid of its cause, which survives the return and temporary reign of the passion. Afterwards its return is viewed with impatience but without any acute feeling of intolerance. Finally supreme indifference or *udasinata* is gained and the final going out of the tendency by the ordinary process of Nature is watched in the true spirit of the *sanyami* who has the knowledge that he is the witnessing soul and has only to dissociate himself from a phenomenon for it to cease. The highest stage leads either to *mukti* in the form of *laya* or disappearance, the *vritti* vanishing altogether and for good, or else in another kind of freedom when the Soul knows that it is God's *lila* and leaves it to Him whether He shall throw out the tendency or use it for His own purposes. This is the attitude of the *Karmayogin* who puts himself in God's hands and does work for His sake only, knowing that it is God's force that works in him. The result of that attitude of self-surrender is that the Lord of all takes charge and according to the promise of the *Gita* delivers his servant and lover from all sin and evil, the *vrittis* working in the bodily machine without affecting the soul and working only when He raises them up for His purposes. This is *nirliptata*, the state of absolute freedom within the *lila*.

The law is the same for the mass as for the individual. The process of human evolution has been seen by the eye of inspired observation to be that of working out the tiger and the ape. The forces of cruelty, lust, mischievous destruction, pain-giving, folly, brutality, ignorance were once rampant in humanity

they had full enjoyment; then by the growth of religion and philosophy they began in periods of satiety such as the beginning of the christian era in Europe to be partly replaced, partly put under Control. As is the law of such things, they have always reverted again with greater or less violence and sought with more or less success to reestablish themselves. Finally in the nineteenth century it seemed for a time as if some of these forces had, for a time at least, exhausted themselves and the hour for sanyama and gradual dismissal from the evolution had really arrived. Such hopes always-dear and in the end they are likely to bring about their own fulfillment, but before that happens another recoil is inevitable. We see plenty of signs of it in the falling back into the beast which is in progress in Europe and America behind the fair outside of Science, progress, civilisation and humanitarianism, and we are likely to see more signs of it in the era that is coming upon us. A similar law holds in politics and society. The political evolution of the human race follows certain lines of which the most recent formula has been given in the watchwords of the French Revolution, freedom, equality and brotherhood. But the forces of the old world, the forces of despotism, the forces of traditional privilege and selfish exploitation, the forces of unfertile strife and passionate self-regarding competition are always struggling to reseat themselves on the thrones of the earth. A determined movement of reaction is evident in many parts of the world and nowhere perhaps more than in England which was once one of the self-styled champions of progress and liberty. The attempt to go back to the old spirit is one of those necessary returns without which it cannot be so utterly exhausted as to be blotted out from the evolution. It is only to be defeated and crushed again. On the other hand the force of the democratic tendency is not a force which is spent but one which has not yet arrived, not a force which has had the greater part of its enjoyment but one which is still vigorous, unsatisfied and eager for fulfilment. Every attempt to coerce it in the past reacted eventually on the coercing force and brought back the democratic spirit fierce, hungry and unsatisfied, going to its fair motto "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" with the terrible addition "or Death." It is not likely that the immediate future of the democratic tendency will satisfy the utmost dreams of the lover of liberty who seeks an anarchist freedom, or of the lover of equality who tries to establish a socialistic dead level or of the lover of fraternity who dreams of a world-embracing communism. But some harmonisation of this great ideal is undoubtedly the immediate future of the human race. On the old forces of despotism, inequality and unbridled competition, after they have been once more overthrown, a process of gradual sanyama will be performed

ed by which what has to remain of them will be regarded as the disappearing vestiges of a dead reality and without any further violent coercion be transformed slowly and steadily out of existence.

AFFRAY IN CALCUTTA.

Three Men Stabbed.

A riot of a most serious character broke out on Wednesday night in Burtollah Street, resulting in three up-country men being seriously wounded and they are reported to be in a dying condition. The riot took place between two factions. The leader of one of which is Heera Gowallah of Burtollah Street, and the leader of the other is Bilatoo of Machua Bazar street. For years past ill-feeling had existed between the members of the two factions who, it is said, were constantly quarrelling among themselves. The strained relationship between the two factions culminated on Wednesday night in a fight of a most sanguinary character. About 10-30 p. m. the Machua Bazar Street faction, headed by Bilatoo, armed with various weapons including large knives and "daos" marched to Burtollah street and provoked a quarrel with the Heera Gowallah faction. In a few minutes the two factions each numbering about fifteen men, began attacking each other in a savage manner with their knives and "daos." A man named Baijor, belonging to Bilatoo's faction, had his right hand completely cut away besides sustaining other severe wounds about his body and legs. The local Police on receipt of the news hastened to the scene which was also visited by Superintendent Creagan and Mr. Tegart, Deputy Commissioner of Police. The fight lasted about twenty minutes. The mob then dispersed though not before several arrests had been made by the Police.

The wounded man, Bijpath, charged one Hurria and his father Sew Pal, with wounding him with knives and "daos" while Hurria, who was wounded severely, complained against Bilatoo and his brother, Fazeh. Bijpath, it is said had previously committed a violent assault upon a member of another faction for which he was convicted and sent to jail. During the height of the riot an Indian passer-by being mistaken for one of the gang, was severely stabbed, necessitating his removal to the Medical College Hospital, where the other two wounded men were also admitted. All the three men are reported to be in a dying condition. The Police are making further enquiries with a view to arresting the other men implicated in the riot.

A GREAT MARATHI INVENTOR AND HIS EPOCH-MAKING INVENTION.

Professor S. A. Bhisey of Bombay who had been carrying on his mechanical experiments and original researches in London for some years past has returned to his mother-country with the world-wide renown of the inventor of a type-casting

machine which bids fair to revolutionise the initial stages of printing processes hitherto known to the best mechanical engineers of the world. The machine, called the "Bhisotype" after his name, not only casts type at a far greater rate than any existing machine, but produces finished type, which requires no after-trimming. While an ordinary type-casting machine casts about 80 to 100 types a minute and a power-driven machine, about 800 to 1,000 per minute, the "Bhisotype" casts 2,400 types per minute. The types, turned out by the "Bhisotype," are cast in hard metal and, as delivered from the machine, are as we have said, a finished product, requiring no subsequent trimming. They are of excellent quality, and are suitable for high class book-printing, or news-paper work. Moreover, the machine being exceedingly compact and simple in its constructional details, occupies the smallest amount of floor space, and can be worked both by hand and by power as the case may be. Professor Bhisey has further added to the utility of the Type-casting machine by connecting with it a battery of type-composing machines, and he has succeeded in effecting such smooth working of the two that the compositor at each of the eight or ten connected machines will receive type at the rate of 150 to 200 per minute.

Professor Bhisey has also invented among other things an advertising lamp, which only add to the glory of his inventive genius. Further, some ten years ago he competed against European inventors for a prize offered by an English paper for an original weighing and delivering machine suitable for sugar, rice, coffee, etc., and won the prize, being the first Indian to succeed as a modern prize-taker in the West. But to trace the progress of his inventive genius, it is his extraordinary keenness for mechanical work from a school-boy and his independence of character (as is evident from the means he adopted from his boyhood to support himself and as is essential to the free culture of genius) that have made him a world-renowned inventor. His work is not only appreciated in Europe, but in India also we have the warm appreciation of his worth in the following lines from the Presidential Address of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar at the last Industrial Conference held at Madras. Mr. Mudholkar said, "We have a J. C. Bose and a T. K. Gajjar, men, of whom the scientific world must feel proud. But we want more Boses and more Gajjars. And here, gentlemen, I would on behalf of you all offer congratulations to a countryman—Professor Bhisey of Bombay, who has just returned from England after having perfected a new machine which promises to revolutionise the art of printing through the novel and original processes invented by him in regard to type-casting and type-setting."

THE DAWN,

THE CO-OPERATIVE HINDUSTHAN BANK.

—000—

We have received a General Circular giving the rules of business and a statement of the achievements of the Bank during the half year ending 30th June. The Bank has paid dividend at the rate of six per cent. on Preference and Deferred Shares and at the rate of seven and a half per cent. on Ordinary Shares. It has opened agencies at over half-a-hundred centres and is working well. Bengal can congratulate herself at the signal success of her banking enterprises. Two previous attempts ending in disaster had made her shy capital extremely reluctant to come out of the strong room. But as trade expands into commerce it becomes necessary to work on the Joint Stock system by which—to quote Davenant—"the wealth and strength of many are guided by the care and wisdom of a few." And for the working of Joint Stock Companies the establishment of Banks is essential. To meet this demand two Banks were projected and established with the growth of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. And there was room for more. Both, we are glad, are in existence. But while one made the initial mistake of placing on the committee for management men who not ought to have been there and began by appointing a European manager the other clearly avoided these rocks-a-head and is now prospering. We hope and trust it will prove a pillar of strength for the Swadeshi movement and open out a new path for the prosperous progress of Indian capital in Indian enterprises

THE "YOUNG MUSLIM."

The *Young Muslim*, which is started in London (236 Grog's Inn, London W. C.) since May last and is conducted by Mr. Saiyad Haidar Riza, is a monthly record of the new Mahomedan Thought. It represents the nationalist school of Indian Mahomedans, and the ideal of the organ is "the development of true manhood in all its spheres of activity, social, political, religious, and industrial, for the benefit of oneself and one's country." It is the firm belief of the school the paper represents that "the good of the Muslim community, possessing as it does a dis-

inct individuality of its own, can be best served only through the good of the Indian nation as a whole." The paper is priced so as to be within the easy reach of all (Rs. 1-8-0) and we hope it will meet with wide circulation. The spirited manner and the logical nature of the organ may be gathered from the following passage from the issue of the paper for June and July:—

"The birth of Islam did not take place in the land of the Fire-worshippers or the land of the Pharaohs, The Mother-country, Arabia, sent her branches off to the distant fields, and there they took root. If the Mahomedans can regard Morocco and Egypt as their own lands, if the Mahomedans can shed their blood for the soil of Persia, we shall judge the Mahomedans of India to be a standing shame to the name of Islam if they swerve from allegiance to the luxuriant and exuberant banks of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. Nay, we shall say more. India has the largest population of Mahomedans in the world. China, with its teeming millions sprinkled over far and wide with Islamic elements, Russia with all its vast lands of Siberia and the pure Islamic countries of Turkestan and Caucasus tracts, Turkey with her immense Mahomedan Empire, Egypt with her vigorous and progressive followers of the Prophet, Persia with her mujtahids and strong orthodoxy nay even Arabia, the root of our holy religion, fall far behind the fertile soils of India in the population of the Mussulmans they contain. India was the seat of the biggest Mahomedan Empire, India produced some of the best of Mahomedan statesmen and Emperors, India reared some of the bravest Mahomedan generals and soldiers, India gave to the Muslim world the most learned Mujtahids whose superiority of intellect, learning and divinity was acknowledged in Persia, Turkey and Arabia, whose Decrees of Religion (Fatwas) were obeyed in Mecca, Medina, Karbala and Najaf, and who are regarded second to prophets only in the Muslim religion. We maintain that if the Muslims have no interest in India, if they have no stake in the plains of the Indus and the valleys of the Himalaya, if they can bear no love to

the holy tombs of the Muslim Saints at Ajmere and Delhi, if they cannot regard with affection the stones erected over the sacred bowers of their sturdy and warlike fathers, then they have no stake in any part of the world; then the feelings and sentiments of patriotism and devotion to the land cannot be roused in their breasts, reside in whatever part of the world they may; then they cannot call Persia Turkey, Egypt and Arabia their own; then they may proudly come before the world and say they are homeless like the Jews. In fact he will be the greatest benefactor of India in particular, and Muslim world in general, who could deepen the sense of devotion to India in the mind of the Indian Moslems, and who can prove to them that India is their own land--the land of their hearth and home."—*Maharata*.

A NEWSPAPER SUBSCRIBER HARRASSED.

The *Swaraj* of Allahabad publishes the following from one of its subscribers at Pasrur:—

On 17th August last, the Sub-Inspector of Pasrur sent for me and asked me to give him my copy of the paper (*Swaraj*) as he wanted to see it.

Subscriber—I have not got the paper with me at present.

Sub-Inspector—I order you to bring it at once.

S.—Had I got the paper, I would have at once brought it.

S. I.—You don't lose anything in it, you bring me the paper.

S.—As soon as I receive the paper I read it and pass it on to others to read. I can not get it back now.

S. I.—Our Sahib wants to see the paper, you bring it.

S.—I say I have not the paper with me. If the Sahib is so fond of seeing it, I can get you a piece post card, you may write to the *Swaraj* office and the Sahib Bahadur will directly get the paper.

S. I.—We had written to the *Swaraj* office. We have received a reply from them that at Pasrur one Tara Chand gets the paper. And as you have got the paper it is advisable that you bring any issue of it.

S.—At present I have no issue with me. You can search my house if you like. If you are so

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

fond of seeing the paper, you write to the *Nuaraj* office and you are sure to get the paper. You may return it or not, as you like.

S. I.—Very well. You may go now. There would have been no harm if you had given me the paper. *But now I shall report against you.*

S.—Sir! I am not a *badmash*, I am not a thief. What report will you make against me?

S. I.—Impertinent Fellow! You are a great rebel. The report I will make against you will be that you are a rebel. You subscribe for political papers and give them to the people to read.

I saluted the Thanedar Sahib and returned home. I am at a loss to understand what fault I have committed. If I am a rebel or a *badmash* because I subscribe a political paper, it is desirable that the publication of all papers be stopped so that people may not read them. I have given a true account, without any addition or subtraction, of the conversation, I had with the Sub-Inspector, Pasrur, on Friday, 17th.

The *Jhang Syal* writes that most probably the Sub-Inspector has not got a promotion for a long time and he wants to "score" something to deserve it.

POLICEMEN CONVICTED.

AN ECHO OF THE TRIVANDRUM RIOTS.

A Trivandrum correspondent states that soon after the riots last June Jupesa Iyer, who was alleged to be a Swadeshi preacher, was arrested kept in Police custody, and it is alleged, severely tortured and let off after more than one day. He preferred a complaint for unlawful detention torture by the Police, etc. In disposing of the case the Magistrate has convicted five out of the seven policemen charged

and made strong remarks. The Magistrate says: "That the complainant was taken to the Cantonment station at noon on the 27th and detained there till the evening of the 28th is not seriously disputed by the defence. This fact is abundantly proved by the evidence of the prosecution witnesses 4, 6, 13, 15, and 17. The 15th witness is Mr. Ananda Row, head sircar wakil. He was accompanied to the Cantonment station by the fourth prosecution witness. Mr. Ananda Row found that this complainant with other persons was being starved in the lock-up and he remonstrated with the Inspector of Police, Cantonment station, the 17th witness for the prosecution, and owing to his good offices the Inspector got some cakes for the men in the lock-up, who had been without any food ever since their incarceration there the previous day. . . . The complainant appears to have been detained in the Cantonment station for a period of more than 24 hours since he was arrested first by the police and put in the fort lock-up. There is no record to show that he was ever detained in the lock-up of that station, and but for the adventitious circumstance of Mr. Ananda Row having seen the prisoner, the detention would never have come to light at all."

Regarding the Police methods the Magistrate says: "The complainant was detained beyond the period allowed by the law, and in letting him off without complying with the requirements of the law the policemen appear to have acted beyond their powers. No arrest report to the District Magistrate, no entry of the names in any book no "kychit" or recognizance bond was taken when he was let off. Nothing whatever, not a scrap of paper, to show that he was even arrested, confined or let off—a very extraordinary procedure.

"There is not a title of evidence to show that the complainant was a Swadeshi lecturer, and I am not aware of any law in Travancore which authorises the arrest by the police in the first instance of Swadeshi lecturers. The Superintendent of Police says he used the term Swadeshi lecturer in this statement to mean a propagator of seditious sentiments regarding the Government, British and Travancore. Even granting the use of that term in that extended sense I can see no reasonable ground for the arrest of the complainants. There is no regular report of the substance of any Swadeshi lecture."

NEWS.

PROHIBITION OF "JUSTICE."

In the Commons, Mr. W. Thorne asked the Under Secretary for India whether *Justice* had been absolutely prohibited from being taken into India, and if so on what ground this action against the liberty of the Press had been taken?

The Master of Elibank: The Government of India represented to the Secretary of State that they regarded the articles in *Justice* directed against British rule in India as inflammatory and mischievous in their effects on certain sections of Indian opinion. The Secretary of State entirely concurred, and has sanctioned the exercise of statutory powers of prohibition which they have already enforced in the case of Krishnavarma's publication, the *Indian Sociologist*.

Mr. W. Thorne: Can the honourable gentleman state how it is that *Justice*, which is the only one of the Socialistic papers circulating in India, should be refused, while similar articles appear in other Socialistic papers which have not been prohibited?

The Master of Elibank: If the Honourable Member will bring before me any other Socialistic papers, I should be glad to consider the matter (laughter).

Mr. W. Thorne: Surely you don't think I am so foolish as that (laughter).

SJ. TILAK.

Sj. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who had been removed to Meiktila Jail as a temporary measure owing to the prevalence of cholera was brought back to the Mandalay (Central Jail) the other day under a strong police guard.

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NEWS.

POLICE TORTURE.

The Sessions Judge of Godavari has delivered judgement in the case of police torture against Sub-Inspector Mahomed Khyrati, a head constable and two constables attached to Jagannpet Police Station for wrongful confinement and culpable homicide not amounting to murder. The Sub-Inspector was sentenced to five years the head constable to seven years and the constables to four years' imprisonment. The facts of the case were that while eliciting information they thrashed and beat the accused in Jagannpet severely. One died and the other attempted suicide.

AN INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

At a meeting of some two hundred Indian merchants, of Rangoon, held on the 13th September at the Victoria Hall, there was established a Chamber of Commerce under the name of the "Rangoon Indian Chamber of Commerce." Committee members were appointed and some fifty merchants and firms joined the new Chamber as members.

SEARCH IN JESSORE.

A correspondent writes under date the 10th:—Yesterday the *Jessore Patrika* office was searched with a view, it is alleged, to obtain some clue with regard to the Sataushia dacoity case. Nothing incriminating, however, was found. Two letters and a *Jama Kharach* were seized and taken possession of by the over-zealous police officers.

DHINGRA'S CRIME EXTOLLED.

Most of the London newspaper, as well as a number of private individuals, received this week an anonymous document dealing with Dhingra affair. The pamphlets were sent from Paris. On the cover is a small photograph of Dhingra and a reproduction of the statement he made in court, at the trial. The rest of the document is a wild attack on the British and the Government. All Indians are exhorted to follow Dhingra's example, and the writer holds assassination to be an act of heroism. Lord Ampthill, in a letter to the press, refers to the assertion of the *Daily News* that the alleged statement of Dhingra had been for some time in the possession of certain of his compatriots. It seems impossible, says Lord Ampthill, that those compatriots should have obtained a copy after Dhingra's arrest and if so it shows that there are some who knew of the murderer's intention before he committed the ghastly crime.

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NEWS.

THE DEPORTEES.—

Mr. O'Grady asked the Under Secretary whether the Government had yet received any report as to whether the cases of the nine gentlemen who were arrested and deported in December had been reconsidered.

The Master of Elibank: The Secretary of State has not received any report from the Government of India.

In reply to further questions he said he had made it clear that the report to be supplied every six months had reference to the question of the health, comfort and conduct of the prisoners. If the Honourable Member pressed the point of his question too closely, it would be impossible for the Government of India to consider the case of these prisoners except as specified by the Regulation on two specified occasions in each year. The Secretary of State had the question of the deportees constantly in mind, and he had not the slightest doubt that he would release those prisoners at the moment when the Government of India considered it would be in the public interest.

Mr. Mackarness asked whether the words were not perfectly clear that the Government of India were to consider whether the orders for detention were to continue in force, and whether the prisoners were to be further detained?

The Master of Elibank said it was a question of policy which had been decided by the House. The Prime Minister recently made a very emphatic declaration on the subject, and it was not competent for him to argue a question of policy on which the Cabinet had formed a decision which had been confirmed by the House.

THE "INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST."

Aldred the Printer of the "Indian sociologist" was charged at old Baley on Sept. 10. The Attorney General in reciting objects of the publication of the "Indian Sociologist" declared that it aimed at the destruction of Indian Government mainly by murder of Englishmen and women. The publication was in no way a political but a criminal offence and was an attempt to influence the naturally susceptible class of fellow subjects coming to England to learn professions which they intended to practise in India. Aldred has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the First Division. Addressing the jury, he declared that the prosecution was a malicious one. He had never advocated political assassination.

NEWS.

KRISHNAVARMAN'S PAPER.

Krishnavarma has found another printer for the *Indian Sociologist* in the shape of a Mr. Guy Aldred, who says "I am not personally concerned with any propaganda Mr. Krishnavarma may see fit to use. My reason for publishing the paper is my desire to vindicate the absolute freedom of the press. If I am proceeded against I intend to raise the point that absolute liberty of the press is granted by the British Constitution. I shall not plead ignorance or pretend that I do not know the risks I am running. I am championing the right to publish what is called seditious literature not in this case so much because it is seditious, but because the prohibition of Krishnavarma's publications would be the thin end of the wedge. It would be the beginning of a course which might end in the refusal of the right of Sir Henry Cotton or Mr. Hyndman to publish their political views.

ALDRED AT BOW STREET.

At Bow Street Guy Alfred Aldred, of the Bakunin Press, Stanlake Road Shepherd's Bush, was charged on a warrant with printing and publishing a seditious libel in the *Sociologist*.

Mr. A.H. Bodkin prosecuted on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions. He said it was a prosecution which would disclose some very serious matters in regard to the dissemination of seditious printing in this country and elsewhere. The offence was done deliberately by the defendant, after a warning not only as a printer but as a writer. Aldred held anarchistic views. He was known as an associate of anarchists in London, and he for six months had been in correspondence with Krishnavarma. In the autumn of 1908 there were outrages in India which resulted in the death of an Englishman, and four Indians were tried convicted and executed for wilful murder. The December number of the *Indian Sociologist* published an article headed the "Indian Martyrs' Memorial" and proposing a monument to those four men. Krishnavarma from his safe place in Paris, appealed to his fellow-countrymen to subscribe to these objects. That was referred to in the August number, for which Aldred was responsible. The first column, although not signed was by Krishnavarma. The article introduced Dhingra's crime in such a way as to put it in the light of an example to others and to who might read the particular publication. "The name of Madan Lal Dhingra,"

stated the article, "will go down to posterity as that of one who sacrificed his life on the altar of an ideal. His statement and conduct which are conspicuous for courage, truth and patriotism, put him on the very highest plane of the heroes of the world's struggle for freedom. Standing alone and defying the tyranny of tyrannical Britain, Dhingra appeals to us as one of the most remarkable figures in Indian history."

A paragraph over the initials of the prisoner stated:—I have undertaken the printing and publication of the paper in defence of a free press. Prisoner was remanded, on bail of £300.

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NEWS.

MALARIA MORTALITY.—

Although Bengal did not suffer to the same extent from malaria last autumn, as the United Provinces and the Punjab, the mortality from fever was 1,184,700, a figure which is higher than the quinquennial average. Patna and Gaya were most afflicted. The usually water-logged areas such as Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore and Purnea, being healthier owing to a deficiency of the rainfall. In Gaya, according to the local official report, the severe prevalence of malaria is due in the western part of the district to canal irrigation, and in other parts to the breeding ground afforded to the anopheles mosquito by large catchment basins and everywhere to retain the scanty rainfall. The people are, therefore, in an awkward predicament: they must have water to irrigate their crops and yet this brings fever in its train. The only means by which their health can be preserved would seem to be the prophylactic use of quinine. But in 1903 the abnormally small quantity of 13,307 parcels of the drug (each parcel containing 102 seven-grain pipe packets) were sold in all Bengal, a decrease of 9,000 parcels as compared with the sales of the preceding year. There must be more energy shown in pushing the sale of quinine in malarious districts if any great effect is to be secured; and it is satisfactory to learn that this year measures have been taken to popularise its use by reducing the price and by issuing it in tablet form. The local Government should now have before it the report of Captain Forster, I. M. S., who made a special enquiry into the prevalence of malaria in the Purnea and Murshidabad districts. This might well be submitted to the Malaria Conference at Simla, as it should contain the latest information on the subject of high mortality from fever. *Proctor*

THE JESSORE TRAGEDY.—

The District Magistrate of Jessore, Mr. S. K. Augusty, has just concluded the preliminary enquiries into the case in which, as already reported, Sarajit Chandra Mukerjee, *Khas Munshi*, and Bhuban Mohan Mukerjee, Overseer, attached to the Naldanga Raj Estate, and Madhusudan Sen, a local Sub-Inspector of Police, were charged in connection with the death of Hindoy Nath Bosa, who, it will be remembered, died in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital making serious allegations against certain persons with reference to the injuries he received and from the effects of which he died. The evidence against the second accused having been found weak, the Magistrate has discharged him, while the first and the third accused have been committed to the Session Court under sections 325 and 330 of the Indian Penal Code.

NASIK SEDITION CASE.

Mr. Jackson, District Magistrate, Nasik, delivered judgment on the case in Mr. Barve's (Jagirdar of Kothara) case. The accused was convicted under section 124A, I. P. C. and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. The Magistrate held that the seditious leaflets in Tamil were sent by Mr. Barve for distribution to excite disaffection. Mr. Barve knew their meaning in general. The expert's opinion about the identity of the accused's handwriting was correct.

NEWS.

A SWADESHI STEAMER.

A Swadeshi steamer has been plying for some months from Jhikargacha to Kopilmony in spite of the vast competition of the foreign company which has fixed its fare at 1 anna only for 32 miles, whereas it was full 16 annas formerly. The above company is up and doing in beating down the Swadeshi one which has yet sustained its existence in the struggle by the munificent patronage and sacrifice of the gentry. The Pujas are coming and we have every reason to hope that the gentlemen along the *Kapatakshi* will not fail to take the pride of travelling by their own Swadeshi steamer while going to visit their homes.

HOUSE SEARCH AT PAUNA.—

A correspondent writes:—The house of Babu Dinanath Biswas, a leading pleader of the local Bar, was surrounded on the 12th instant at about 11-30 a. m. by the police who commenced search immediately, which lasted for about half-an-hour. It was conducted by the local Inspector of Police accompanied by almost all the officers available in the Sudder and a Sub-Inspector from Tangail. Dina Babu was away at the time on a professional call at Tangail. The search was made with a view to arrest a relation of his, named Surendra Nath Roy, who came once to visit him about 3 weeks ago. The said Surendra Nath is said to be implicated in a "Swadeshi" case at Tangail and was absconding. But the attempt of the Police was fruitless and they went away without being able to find out the alleged absconder.

MEMORIAL TO KANAILAL DUTT.]

It is alleged that Mr. Shyamaji Krishna Varma is sending to India a bust of Kanailal Dutt who murdered the approver Gossain. It will be installed in Chandernagore, the house of Kanailal.

NEWS.

POLICE SEARCH AT DACCA.—

The Binapani Students' mess was searched on the 14th instant in connection with the Naranganj revolver find. Sitanath Das, elder brother of Brojaballav Das, who is a second year student of the Dacca College, lives in this mess. The police were not allowed to enter till Mr. Turner, Principal, Dacca College, arrived who was present for the most of the time. Nothing incriminating was found among the belongings of Sitanath. In course of searching the boxes of other inmates the police seized some private letters containing national poems, a diary of a student written in 1905 in which the writer says he took active part in Sankirtan party held on the 30th Aswin, a copy of the "Karmajogin", photos of Babu Bepin Pal, Lakat Hossain and a book named "Bandava" containing a collection of national songs. The police behaved courteously throughout the search.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE.—

It is a sad misfortune that we have to announce the sudden death of Mr. Keshavnrao Gokhale M. A. B. L. of Nagpur. Mr. Gokhale was a leading member of the Nagpur Bar, and one of the foremost Nationalist public workers in that province. In all the recent state prosecutions against the *Deshasevak* he worked disinterestedly for the accused in the law Courts, and it is too well-known how ably he conducted the defence. It was only a short while after he concluded his work as a defence-counsel in the last *Deshasevak* prosecution that he fell an unexpected victim to plague. In him the Central Provinces have lost a distinguished member of the bar, an ardent Nationalist, and a young and enthusiastic public worker. We tender our condolence to his bereaved relatives and to the afflicted people of the Province; and hope that the lamentable loss of a public leader like Mr. Gokhale, instead of disheartening the public workers will only stimulate them the more in their work and add to their earnestness.—*Mahratta*.

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

—000—

I do not forget the tremendous price we pay, on all operations of this sort in the reaction and excitement which they provoke. But there are situations in which a responsible Government is bound to run these risks and pay this possible price. It is like war a hateful thing. The only question for us is whether there is such a situation in India today to justify the passing of this Act of the other day, and to justify a resort to 1818. I cannot imagine that any one reading the list of crimes given the other day, and remembering all that they stand for, can have any doubt that summary procedure is justified and called for. . . . And we must protect the peaceful inhabitants both Indian and European from bloodshed." His Lordship was content with remarking that the anarchists are few but what if the anarchists be only a dozen then about the "list of crimes? I only wish his Lordship would revise the list, now that the state trials are almost over. I venture to think that the conclusion arrived at by His Lordship is not a sound one and it is based simply on a very strong desire for not weakening the hands of H. E. the Viceroy. When along with repressive measures certain important reforms are going to be introduced, we may fairly indulge in the hope that the retention of the regulation is attributable to the excitement which prevails in the higher circles of Government and no sooner equanimity is restored the laudable efforts of friends and sympathisers like the Hon'ble Mr. Mackerness M. P. will meet with success. It is extremely to be regretted and is a matter of great surprise that in consequence of a few assassinations by some youths of unbalanced mind and the manufacture of a few bombs the Government should have got so much excited and there should have been such a panic amongst some officials. This reminds me of a couplet from our well known poet.

"একনিমি আন্দোলিত শুভক কুংকারে
নগরে ভয় কল্প পতন বিশ্বাসে"

LONDON ASSASSINATION.

A portion of the Anglo-Indian Press is chiefly responsible for the panic and

excitement, and it is no wonder that the recent assassination in England by an Indian (not a Bengali) was sought to have been connected with the agitation which is going on in British India though as you all know the suggestion or rather the insinuation has been officially and authoritatively negatived.

DEPORTEES

Now let us consider about the necessity of the deportation. Are the deportees rebels—seditionists? Did they by their conduct or act or speeches or writings furnish reasons to suspect that they were doing anything to disseminate revolutionary or anarchical ideas, or to create or encourage disloyalty or disaffection to Government or anything else for the subversion of Government or can anything be imputed to them as having brought into existence the unrest that prevails in United Bengal? Can the Government on reasonable grounds fairly conceive for a moment that the deportees had it in their power, even if they were so inclined, to bring about a revolution or a rebellion? Who does not know that Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt is an well educated pious gentleman of high moral character, who is the proprietor of an efficient College, affiliated to the Calcutta University, for giving high education to his fellow countrymen and which he maintained at a considerable personal sacrifice? Who does not know that he was the life and soul of every public movement in Barisal? And who does not know that when only the other day famine appeared in Barisal, without getting any financial aid from the Government he moved about the whole District and raised a sufficiently large fund, I believe, over a lac of rupees, for relieving thousands of famine-stricken people, Hindus and Mahomedans alike, from their distress, nay saved many lives from death from starvation?

Who does not know that Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter the well-known Editor of the "Sanjibani" from the very first time that unrest made its appearance in United Bengal advocated and preached loyalty to the throne, respect for law and order, and an abhorrence of disloyalty and lawlessness? In his speeches also he emphasised what appeared in his paper and he like Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt was respected and loved by all law abiding subjects. Babu Subodh Chandra Mullick who does not appear to have taken any prominent part in any political meeting or agitation, is the donor of the princely sum of a lac of rupees which has been endowed for the

benefit of the National Council of Education at Calcutta. The country has such high regard and attachment for him that he is popularly called Rajah Subodh Chandra Mullick. Let every man, Hindu, Mussalman or belonging to any other creed in Bengal and East Bengal and Assam be examined he is sure to speak in one voice of the innocence of the deportees, who have got a very large credit in the bank of public opinion. After the deportation and with facts which the Government must now be in possession of, how can the further detention and incarceration of the deportees be justified? It is to be gathered from answers given to Hon'ble member of the British Parliament by the Secretary of State or the Master of Elibank on his behalf, that the matter has been left entirely in the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy who is to report every six month, about the deportees. What despatch His Excellency sends is not known to the public and we are quite in the dark as to the future of our beloved and respected deportees. If His Excellency the Viceroy now shows his magnanimity by ordering the restoration of liberty to the deportees, he would be doing a bare act of justice and would rise high in the estimation of the public and earn the affection and gratitude of the whole of the Bengalee speaking population of the two provinces.

HIS MAJESTY KING EMPEROR'S MESSAGE.

Amidst the turmoils, troubles, crimes of heinous nature, murders, attempts at murder, prosecution of Criminals and innocent deportations without trial, in our hour of affliction, misery, dejection and shame, comes from his Majesty the King Emperor a message of sympathy, kindness and good will, re-affirming in a clear and solemn way the proclamation of 1858 of our late beloved Queen Victoria our Magna Charta. The message gave a forecast of reforms intended to be introduced.

REFORM SCHEME.

Then under the shadow of regrettable events and unrest in India a Reform Scheme was announced by Lord Morley when making a statement in the house of Lords on Indian Policy. He said "Now the first important question that arises is that of reform and I would ask your Lordships to give close attention to it for a moment because I am sure that here and elsewhere it will be argued that the necessity and the facts that cause strong repressive measures should arrest our policy of reform. That has already been stated, and many people agree that the Government of India and myself have, from the beginning, never varied in our determination to persevere in our policy of reform."

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Perseverance in our plan of reform is not a concession to violence. Reforms we have publicly adopted and worked out for more than two years. It is no concession now too violence to proceed with those reforms. It is simply standing to our guns, and is no weakness."

TWO-FOLD POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

Thus a two-fold policy is being followed by Government—drastic repressive measures for suppression of crime and sedition (supposed or real) on the one hand and proposals for reforming the administrative machinery on the other hand. The introduction of the reforms has however been preceded by a most liberal and generous act on the part of Government.

INDIAN MEMBER OF THE Viceroy's

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

I mean the appointment of our respected and beloved fellow subject the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha of Bengal, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The High office has been filled by an Indian for the first time and while we are, under a deep sense of gratitude to the Government for the appointment, we are justified in indulging in the hope that in the near future a much larger share would be given to the children of the soil in all departments of Government, and the financial control would be one of our rights.

APPOINTMENT OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT.

His Majesty the King Emperor's appointment of the present Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, shows with what anxiety His Majesty and the Secretary of State for India are watching the situation in Bengal and are willing to remove the unrest which now prevails and to see restored the confidence in British justice. His Lordship the Chief Justice has by the administration of even-handed Justice, in utter disregard of persons and departmental interests, had already brought into existence a sense of security a full confidence in the High Court and in British Justice—one or two measures like these go a greater way to restore tranquility and peace than many repressive and drastic laws and order. Although we are now under a cloud, in view of the two-fold policy of Government we need not be pessimists or or despondents. It is indeed very gratifying to us that a worthy son of Bengal will now have a voice in the deliberations of all important questions from all departments for discussion in the Council, besides the special Department of which he may be in charge.

REFORM SCHEME.

It is not my object to enter fully into the Reforms proposed or to criticise in detail the different subjects covered by the scheme. Of course, the scheme is not up to our expectations and do not go far enough but we must admit that it is a good beginning and we must accept it with gratitude and good grace. The proposals no doubt bear the impress of thought and statesmanship but there are one or two matters connected with the Reform scheme which require our consideration and demand an expression of opinion by this Conference. I would only refer to those matters briefly giving an indication of my personal views and asking you to form your opinion and come to a resolution after due deliberation and discussion.

The main features of the Reform scheme consist of:—

- (1) Re-constitution and expansion of the Imperial Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Council.
- (2) Formation of Executive Councils in the larger Provinces with one or more Indian members.
- (3) Enlarged powers for Provincial Legislative Councils respecting the settlement of the Budget.
- (4) Non-official majority in the Provincial Legislative councils.
- (5) Larger powers of Provincial Legislative councils to interpellate and to discuss important and interesting questions in relation to executive administration and if necessary to move resolutions and divide the council on administrative questions of public and general interest.
- (6) Development of the principle of local self-Government by insisting on full effect being given to Lord Ripon's Local self-Government scheme of 1882.

Mentioning Lord Ripon's name I make a little pardonable digression for expressing our great grief at the death of his Lordship. We deplore his death for many reasons which I need not given in detail. He was known as the Father of Local Self-Government and even after his retirement he did what he could in Parliament for the benefit of India.

We find the Scheme as is formulated in the Despatches of the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy in Council with the Commentaries of Lord Morley in his speeches in the house of Lords and elsewhere. Association of Indians not only in the work of occasional legislation or debate on Budget, but real and effective Co-operation in every day administration must be treated as a substantial privilege.

It would be premature to express any opinion as to the actual working of the Scheme. Time alone will show to what extent and in what spirit allegiance would be shown to give full effect to the proposed reforms by those who would be entrusted with the carrying out of the scheme.

The scheme we must acknowledge to be the product of a policy which has been formulated for a long time by Statesmen like Mr. Bright, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Ripon, Lord Lansdowne and others. But it was left to Lord Morley and to His Excellency Lord Minto to give a tangible shape to the policy and announce a concrete scheme. The gift is a spontaneous one and not intended to purchase peace or to remove the unrest which prevails in the Empire.

The agitation against the partition of Bengal which still continues and which retains its original strength I venture to urge, will not subside or diminish by the introduction of the Reform Scheme. And here again I take the liberty to observe that not to speak of the Indian subjects of his Majesty, the King Emperor, what would the whole world have thought of Lord Morley if in his proposed scheme he had provided for a Governor with a Council for a province consisting of all Bengalee speaking population of Bengal and East Bengal and Assam? Such a measure would have brought about a modification of partition which would have satisfied the whole of United Bengal and would have removed the unrest and restored contentment. The partition of Bengal, as it is, has been declared by Lord Morley himself as a blunder but he declines to interfere as it is a 'settled fact.' From the spirit of the debate in the two Houses of British Parliament it can be easily seen that the British nation does not approve of the Partition. Lord Mc. Donnell has characterised it as the greatest blunder committed since the days of Plasy. Even Lord Curzon, as is well known to you, refused to admit the fatherhood on the occasion of a debate in the House of Lords. There is time yet before the actual introduction and operation of the Reform Scheme, for the Secretary of State for India, the wise Philosopher, historian, politician and statesman Lord Morley to reconsider the matter and modify the scheme in such a way that divided Bengal might be reunited, and in that case the reform scheme notwithstanding its inadequate nature would be hailed and accepted with joy, the repressive acts and uncalled for punishments forgotten and rest and contentment visible throughout the Province.

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It is a matter rather of surprise that Lord Morley with his wisdom, erudition, experience and statesmanship and life-long liberal principles is not taking advantage of a golden opportunity for conferring an everlasting benefit on a Province, the destiny of which it has pleased Providence to place in the hands of England and British Government of which he is a responsible Minister. These are our expectations but I regret to find on the other hand two matters in connection with the reforms, which give a rude shock to our sentiments and aspirations. We have been aiming at self-Government on Colonial lines that is our goal and that is what is meant by "Swaraj." But Lord Morley in his speech delivered at Arbroath to "his constituency on 21st October 1907, is reported, to have said, that many people have said, "that whatever is good in the way of self-Government for Canada must be good for India. In my view that is the most concise statement that I can imagine and the grossest fallacy in all politics. I think it is a most dangerous, I think it is the hollowest and, I am sorry to say, the commonest of all the fallacies in the history of the world in all stages of civilisation. Because a particular policy or principle is true and expedient and vital in certain definite circumstances, therefore it is equally true and vital in a completely different of circumstances—a very dangerous and gross fallacy. You might just as well say that because a furcoat in Canada at certain times of the year is a most comfortable garment therefore a furcoat in the Dacca of India is a sort of handy garment which you might be very happy to wear. You might say, "oh, but a form of Government is one thing and a coat is another." I only throw it out to you as an example and an illustration. Where the historical traditions the religious beliefs, the racial conditions are all different—I do not want to be arrogant or insolent, but I say that to transfer by more logic all the conclusion that you apply to one case to the other is the highest of political folly, and I for one, will never lend myself to that doctrine."

The conclusion arrived at by his Lordship for maintaining the policy of non-extension to India of self-Government

on colonial lines is based upon general grounds of difference in historical traditions, religious beliefs and racial conditions. These differences do not, in my humble opinion present insurmountable difficulties and then again can continuity in the existing differences be asserted logically? Will not the world move will not there be changes and progress in India in connection with matters, social religious and everything else? If Lord Morley would be pleased to reconsider the question in a dispassionate way, I have no doubt, with his liberal ideas, he would have to change his opinion and remove the disappointment which has been caused by his utterances.

We regret to understand that Lord Morley in connection with the representation in Council has shown an inclination to favour a particular community on religious grounds. It would, I am afraid, be a sad mistake to make religion a factor for determining an electorate. Its effect would be to give permanency to racial religious conditions and to bring into existence and emphasise inharmonious relations which have shown signs of abatement and disappearance. Many Hindoo and Mahomedan leaders are persevering to the best of their abilities to work in a harmonious way forgetting differences in religious faiths.

Protection of minority is needed, but that protection can very easily be given by the judicious exercise of the power which will be retained by Government. A separate electorate at all stages for the Mahomedan community would make unity amongst Hindoos and Mahomedans an impossibility. The subject is one of vital interest and of very great importance and is receiving due attention and consideration from the Government. Let us hope that the Government will solve the problem in a way which may be satisfactory to both Hindoos and Mahomedans. It would be premature to say anything more on this subject.

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the British public against India. Some retired Anglo-Indian High Officials also mislead the British public by the assertion of untrue and incorrect facts, while some few Anglo-Indians real and genuine friends of India, men like Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton and some others try their best to disabuse the public of erroneous impressions and conclusions by their writings, speeches and questions in Parliament.

BABU S. N. BANERJEE.

In view of the gravity of our present situation it was an advantage of no small magnitude to find our esteemed friend, noble son of Bengal, life-long worker in the field of politics, the life and soul of the Swadeshi movement and much abused genuine patriot and the leader of the Bengal Moderate Party, Babu Surendranath Banerjee in England only a short time ago rendering signal and magnificent service to his mother country and his fellow-countrymen. The other day there was a public meeting at Calcutta in the Town Hall to express gratitude to him for the invaluable services rendered and the success achieved by him in England in fully representing our present situation, our grievances and our aspirations and in suggesting measures and remedies which alone would restore peace and rest in India generally and in Bengal particularly. I take advantage of this opportunity of offering him personally and on behalf of the whole Province as President of the Conference our sincere thanks and expressing our deep gratitude to him for the noble, magnificent, solid work he has done and the signal services he has rendered to his country in a most unselfish way and at great personal sacrifice. I am confident you all share the same feelings with me and you all join me in offering our thanks to him for the deep debt of obligation and gratitude under which he has placed not only the Provinces of Bengal taken as a whole but the whole of British India.

WHAT OUGHT WE TO DO NOW?

Now comes the question what ought we to do now? What should be our line of action? The answer may briefly be given in a few words in an abstract form. Obey the laws of God and man, march on in the path of rectitude; try to do your duties to your God, to your king, to your fellow countrymen, to your motherland, to yourself, unmindful of fear or favour. To be more specific and suggest in a concrete form I should like to say that we should show the highest regard for law and order and that for that purpose we should co-operate with the Government in eradicating the roots of anarchical movements and try to find out those spots where revolutionary seeds have been shown and the hands that have sown them. I admit it is very difficult for us to do so, when the Government, too powerful and with so vast agencies for the detection of crimes are making so serious blunders in discovering the culprits and the seats of crimes. But I venture to think that if the Government will take the real leaders of the community into its confidence, the situation will be greatly improved.

(2) In the second place it should be our chief object to improve our industries and arts and impart education, general technical and national principles relying on our own resources and not wholly calculating upon state help. We should accept at starting more mills and factories and we should encourage the opening of small industries and the hand looms especially.

(3) In the third place we should attempt to adopt measures for the supply of good drinking water to our fellow-countrymen and devise measures for the Sanitary improvement of not only urban tract, but of villages in the interior inhabited mostly by agriculturists. Difficulties in sanitary improvement of urban and suburban areas are very great and our efforts may not be very successful, in the near future, but I venture to think that by the joint efforts and the combined action for the Sanitary improvement of agricultural villages success can be easily achieved, if the landholding

class would only join hands with the intellectual section of the community and make a little sacrifice. How the adequate growth of population in Bengal has been checked by its unsanitary condition is well known to you and it is therefore the duty of every son of Bengal—according to his own means and powers—to help the cause of sanitary improvement. I regret to say I cannot congratulate the Government on its success in this direction. Though there is a machinery at the disposal of Government consisting of a large establishment composed of many highly paid English officers, yet the work done for the improvement of sanitation is inappreciable and the money spent on this head is not at all commensurate with the magnitude of the work. The best way for the supply of good drinking water to agricultural villages would be to sink wells and to reserve some tanks where they exist for drinking purpose only.

(4) In the fourth place we must stand to our post and stick to our guns. We must work soul and heart for our Swadeshi movement. The spirit which has been already created, and which has taken a deep root, needs no outside influence for its existence or continuance. All that we have to do is to remember the solemn pledge which we have taken to use indigenous articles in preference to foreign articles of a similar nature and to fulfill the pledge even at a sacrifice where necessary.

(5) In the last place I would urge that we should live harmoniously with our Mahomedan brothers and try to act hand in all matters of reform and improvement. Perhaps the time has come when in connection with separate electorates for the election of members for the Provincial Councils, the attitude of our Mahomedan brethren may not be what may be desired, but I should remind my Mahomedan brother-delegates and Mahomedan gentlemen present that their leaders do not agree amongst themselves as to the nature of electorates and they must not allow themselves to be carried away by the idea of a separate electorate of their own consisting of people of their own faith and creed: they should think over the matter carefully and consider the disastrous effects of the proposal even on their own community. We should now merge ourselves into a common fraternity and serve the country as a loyal and patriotic spirit.

CONCLUSION.

I do not wish to detain you longer. I have the greatest faith in the dispensation of Divine Providence. I have the greatest faith in the justice of our cause, and I see the hand of Providence in the creation of the Swadeshi spirit, which alone by united effort and action will bring about the regeneration of our mother land, and I am therefore inclined to take the optimistic view that if we carry on our constitutional agitation with due regard to law and order we are bound to succeed. I now invoke the aid of Providence so that He may guide us in our deliberation and bless us with the capacity and the strength which may enable us to arrive at correct conclusions, and to adopt right measures and methods. I further pray that His Excellency the Viceroy may be pleased to order the restoration of liberty to the Political prisoners.

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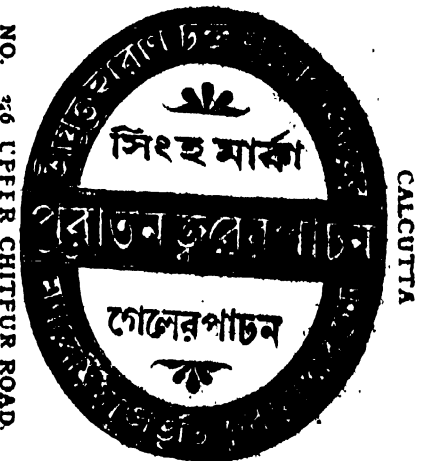
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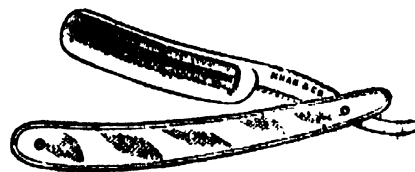
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অতিপ্রসিদ্ধ পুস্তক, উহার আর নতুন পরিচয়
নিম্নরোজন। এই দুই পুস্তক যে সকলেরই
অগুপ্য তাহাতে আর সন্দেহ নাই। একে
প্রতিফলিতবর্ণে বিশেষ প্রয়োজনীয়।

পারব্রাহ্মকের গীতা।

(নূতন বা তৃতীয় সংস্করণ)

স্বপ্রসিদ্ধ পরিব্রাজক শ্রীমৎ শ্রীকৃষ্ণানন্দ
ব্রাহ্মীর "গীতাথ সন্দীপনী" নাম্নী বিচিত্র ও
বিশদ অপূর্ণ বাঙ্গালী ব্যাখ্যাসহ শ্রীমদ্ভগবদ্গীতা
পুনর্মুদ্রিত হইয়াছে এই সংস্করণে শাক্তভাষ্য,
শ্রীধরস্বামীকৃত টীকা এবং প্রত্যেক সংস্কৃত
শব্দের অর্থ দেওয়া হইয়াছে। গীতাখানি
করল ৮ পেজী প্রায় ৮০০ পৃষ্ঠায় সম্পূর্ণ হই-
য়াছে। একপ হুন্দর ও সুবহু এবং বিশেষ-
রূপে সংশোধিত বিত্তময় সংস্করণের গীতা এ পর্যন্ত
বঙ্গদেশে প্রকাশিত হয় নাই। মূল্য কাগজের
মলাটে বাধান ৩০ কাগজে বাধান ও সোনার
জলে অঙ্কিত ৪২। ডাক মাণ্ডলারি স্বতন্ত্র।

ফিলান থ্রুফিক সোসাইটী।

২ নং ছুতার পাড়া লেন বহুবাজার, পোঃ কলি:

VARTAMAN AGENCY

OF

GIRGAON

BOMBAY.

IS

THE SOLE AGENT

OF

KARMAYOGIN

FOR

BOMBAY CITY.

KARMAYOGIN

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No. 14.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Convention President.

The nomination of Sir Pherozshah Mehta as the President of the three men's Convention at Lahore is not an event that is of any direct interest to Nationalists. Just as the three tailors of Tooley Street represented themselves as the British public, so the three egregious mediocrities of the Punjab pose as the people of their province and, in defiance of the great weight of opinion among the leading men and the still stronger force of feeling among the people against the holding of a Convention Congress at Lahore, are inviting the representatives of the Moderate party to a session of what is still called, even under these discouraging circumstances, the Indian National Congress. It is of small importance to us whom these three gentlemen elect as their President. The nomination was indeed a foregone conclusion. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, having got rid of his Nationalist adversaries, now rules the Convention with as absolute a sway as he ruled the Corporation before the European element combined against him and showed that, servile as Bombay respectability might be to the Corporation lion, it was still more servile to the ruling class. Indirectly, however, the election

is of some importance to Bengal owing to the desire of the people of this province for an United Congress. It is no longer a secret that in Bengal Moderate circles the feeling against Sir Pherozshah is almost as strong as it is in the Nationalist party. It has even been threatened that, if Sir Pherozshah becomes the President, Bengal will not attend the session at Lahore. This has since been qualified by the proviso that Bengal as a province will not attend, although some individuals may overcome their feelings or their scruples. Bengal as a province would in no case attend the sittings of a mutilated Congress. Even the whole Moderate party were not likely to attend unless their objections on the score of constitutional procedure were properly considered. All that the threat can mean is that, even of those would otherwise have gone, most will not attend. This is, after all, a feeble menace. Neither Sj. Surendranath nor Sj. Bhupendranath nor the Chaudhuri brothers are likely to forego attendance, and, for all practical purposes, these gentlemen are the Moderate party in Bengal. If the Bengal leaders do go to Lahore, they are certain to obey meekly the dictates of Sir Pherozshah Mehta; for there is not one of them who has sufficient strength of character to stand up to the roarings of the Bombay

lion. They were in the habit of obeying him even when he had no official authority, and it can well be imagined how the strong, arrogant and overbearing man will demean himself as President, and how utterly impossible it will be even to suggest, either in Subjects Committee or in full meeting, any idea which will not be wholly palatable to the autocrat. Sj. Surendranath Banerji at Hughly advanced the strangely reactionary conception of the President of a Congress or Conference as by right not less absolute than the Czar of all the Russias, bound by no law and no principle and entitled to exact from the Conference or Congress implicit obedience to his most arbitrary and unconstitutional whims and caprices. This absolutist conception is likely to be carried out to the letter at the Lahore Convention. If ever there was any hope that the Lahore session of the Convention might be utilised for bringing about an United Congress, that has now disappeared. The hope was cherished by some, but it was from the first an idle expectation. A firm combination of all, whether Moderates or Nationalists, who are in favour of union, and the holding of a freely elected Congress at Calcutta was all along the only chance of bringing about union.

Presidential Autocracy.

The conception of the President as a Russian autocrat and the

assembly as the slave of his whims is one which is foreign to free and democratic institutions, and would, if enforced, make all true discussion impossible and put in the hands of the party in possession of the official machinery an irresistible weapon for stifling the opinions of its opponents. It is a conception against which the Nationalist party have struggled from the beginning and will struggle to the end. The ruling of the President is final on all points of order, but only so long as he governs the proceedings of the body according to the recognised rules of debate. He cannot dictate the exclusion of resolutions or amendments which do not seem to him rational or expedient, but must always base his action on reasons of procedure and not on reasons of state. The moment he asserts his individual caprice or predilection, he lays himself open to an appeal to the whole assembly or even, in very extreme cases, to an impeachment of his action by a vote of censure from the delegates. It has been erroneously alleged that the Speaker of the House of Commons sways the House with an absolute control. The Speaker is as much bound by the rules of the House as any member; he is the repository of the rules and administers an old and recognised procedure, elaborate and rigid in detail, which he cannot transgress, nor has any Speaker been known to transgress it. Some have been suspected of administering the rules, wherever they left discretion to the Speaker, with a partiality for one party, but even this has been rare, and it was always the rules of procedure that were administered, not personal whim or caprice. As the present Speaker pointed out recently in his evidence before a public Commission, there is a recognised means by which the conduct of the Speaker can be called in question by the House. It would be strange if it were otherwise. The framers of the British Constitution, who so jealously guarded every loophole by which autocracy might creep into any part of the system, were not likely to leave such a glaring defect of freedom uncorrected, if it had ever existed.

Mr Lal Mohun Ghose.

The death of Mr Lal Mohun Ghose removes from the scene a distinguished figure commemorative of the

past rather than representative of any living force in the present. His interventions in politics have for many years past been of great rarity and, since the Calcutta Congress, had entirely ceased. It cannot therefore be said that his demise leaves a gap in the ranks of our active workers. He was the survivor of a generation talented in politics rather than great, and, among them, he was one of the few who could lay claim to the possession of real genius. That genius was literary, oratorical and forensic rather than political but as these were gifts the which then commanded success in the political arena, he ought to have stood forward far ahead of the mass of his contemporaries. It was the lack of steadiness and persistence common enough in men of brilliant gifts, which kept him back in the race. His brother Mr. Manmohan Ghose, a much less variously and richly gifted intellect but a stronger character, commanded by the possession of these very qualities a much weightier influence and a more highly and widely honoured name. In eloquence we doubt whether any orator of the past or present generation has possessed the same felicity of style and charm of manner and elocution. Mr. Gokhale has something of the same debating gift, but it is marred by the dryness of his delivery and the colourlessness of his manner. Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose possessed the requisite warmth, glow and agreeableness of speech and manner without those defects of excess and exaggeration which sometimes mar Bengali oratory. We hope that his literary remains will be published, especially the translation of the Meghnad Badh, which, from such capable hands, ought to introduce favourably a Bengali masterpiece to a wider than Indian audience.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

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Our contemporary, the *Statesman*, notices in an unusually self-restrained article the recent brochure republished by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy from the *Modern Review* under the title, "The Message of the East." We have not the work before us but, from our memory of the articles and our knowledge of our distinguished

countryman's views, we do not think the *Statesman* has quite caught the spirit of the writer. Dr. Coomaraswamy is above all a lover of art and beauty and the ancient thought and greatness of India, but he is also, and as a result of this deep love and appreciation, an ardent Nationalist. Writing as an artist, he calls attention to the debased aesthetic ideas and tastes which the ugly and sordid commercialism of the West has introduced into the mind of a nation once distinguished for its superior beauty and grandeur of conception and for the extent to which it suffused the whole of life with the forces of the intellect and the spirit. He laments the persistence of a servile imitation of English ideas, English methods, English machinery and production even in the new Nationalism. And he reminds his readers that nations cannot be made by politics and economics alone, but that art also has a great and still unrecognised claim. The main drift of his writing is to censure the low imitative un-Indian and bourgeois ideals of our national activity in the nineteenth century and to recall our minds to the cardinal fact that, if India is to arise and be great as a nation, it is not by imitating the methods and institutions of English politics and commerce, but by carrying her own civilisation, purified of the weaknesses that have overtaken it, to a much higher and mightier fulfilment than any that it has reached in the past. Our mission is to outdistance, lead and instruct Europe, not merely to imitate and learn from her. Dr. Coomaraswamy speaks of art, but it is certain that a man of his wide culture would not exclude, and we know he does not exclude, thought, literature and religion from the forces that must uplift our nation and are necessary to its future. To recover Indian thought, Indian character, Indian perceptions, Indian energy, Indian greatness, and to solve the problems that perplex the world in an Indian spirit and from the Indian standpoint, this, in our view, is the mission of Nationalism. We agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy that an exclusive preoccupation with politics and economics is likely to dwarf our growth and prevent the flowering of originality and energy. We have to return to the fountain-

heads of our ancient religion, philosophy, art and literature and pour the revivifying influences of our immemorial Aryan spirit and ideals into our political and economic development. This is the ideal the Karmayogin holds before it, and our outlook and Dr Coomaraswamy's do not substantially differ. But in judging our present activities we cannot look, as he does, from a purely artistic and idealistic standpoint, but must act and write in the spirit of a practical idealism.

The debasement of our mind, character and tastes by a grossly commercial, materialistic and insufficient European education is a fact on which the young Nationalism has always insisted. The practical destruction of our artistic perceptions and the plastic skill and fineness of eye and hand which once gave our productions pre-eminence, distinction and mastery of the European markets, is also a thing accomplished. Most vital of all, the spiritual and intellectual divorce from the past which the present schools and universities have effected, has beggared the nation of the originality, high aspiration and forceful energy which can alone make a nation free and great. To reverse the process and recover what we have lost, is undoubtedly the first object to which we ought to devote ourselves. And as the loss of originality, aspiration and energy was the most vital of all these losses, so their recovery should be our first and most important objective. The primary aim of the prophets of Nationalism was to rid the nation of the idea that the future was limited by the circumstances of the present, that because temporary causes had brought us low and made us weak, low therefore must be our aims and weak our methods. They pointed the mind of the people to a great and splendid destiny, not in some distant millennium but in the comparatively near future, and fired the hearts of the young men with a burning desire to realise the apocalyptic vision. As a justification of what might otherwise have seemed a dream and as an inexhaustible source of energy and inspiration, they pointed persistently to the great achievements and grandiose civilisation of our forefathers and called on the

rising generation to recover their lost spiritual and intellectual heritage. It cannot be denied that this double effort to realise the past and the future has been the distinguishing temperament and the chief uplifting force in the movement, and it cannot be denied that it is bringing back to our young men originality, aspiration and energy. By this force the character, temper and action of the Bengali has been altered beyond recognition in a few years. To raise the mind, character and tastes of the people, to recover the ancient nobility of temper, the strong Aryan character and the high Aryan outlook, the perceptions which made earthly life beautiful and wonderful, and the magnificent spiritual experiences, realisations and aspirations which made us the deepest-hearted, deepest-thoughted and most delicately profound in life of all the peoples of the earth, is the task next in importance and urgency. We had hoped by means of National Education to affect this great object as well as to restore to our youth the intellectual heritage of the nation and build up on that basis a yet greater culture in the future. We must admit that the instrument which we cherished and for which such sacrifices were made, has proved insufficient and threatens, in unfit hands, to lose its promise of fulfilment and be diverted to lower ends. But the movement is greater than its instruments. We must strive to prevent the destruction of that which we have created and, in the meanwhile, build up a centre of culture, freer and more perfect, which will either permeate the other with itself or replace it if destroyed. Finally, the artistic awakening has been commenced by that young, living and energetic school which has gathered round the Master and originator, Sri Abanindranath Tagore. The impulse which this school is giving, its inspired artistic recovery of the past, its intuitive anticipations of the future, have to be popularised and made a national possession.

Dr. Coomaraswamy complains of the survivals of the past in the preparations for the future. But no movement, however vigorous, can throw off in a few years the effects of a whole century. We must remember also why the degradation and denationalisation, "the mighty

evil in our souls," of which the writer complains, came into being. A painful but necessary work had to be done, and because the English nation were the fittest instrument for his purpose, God led them all over those thousands of miles of alien Ocean, gave strength to their hearts and subtlety to their brains, and set them up in India to do His work, which they have been doing faithfully, if blindly, ever since and are doing at the present moment. The spirit and ideals of India had come to be confined in a mould which, however beautiful, was too narrow and slender to bear the mighty burden of our future. When that happens, the mould has to be broken and even the ideal lost for a while, in order to be recovered free of constraint and limitation. We have to recover the Aryan spirit and ideal and keep it intact but enshrined in new forms and more expansive institutions. We have to treasure jealously everything in our social structure, manners, institutions, which is of permanent value, essential to our spirit or helpful to the future; but we must not cabin the expanding and aggressive spirit of India in temporary forms which are the creation of the last few hundred years. That would be a vain and disastrous endeavour. The mould is broken; we must remould in larger outlines and with a richer content. For the work of destruction England was best fitted by her stubborn individuality and by that very commercialism and materialism which made her the anti-type in temper and culture of the race she governed. She was chosen too for the unrivalled efficiency and skill with which she has organised an individualistic and materialistic democracy. We had to come to close quarters with that democratic organisation, draw it into ourselves and absorb the democratic spirit and methods so that we might rise beyond them. Our half-aristocratic half-theocratic feudalism had to be broken in order that the democratic spirit of the Vedanta might be released and, by absorbing all that is needed of the aristocratic and theocratic culture, create for the Indian race a new and powerful political and social organisation. We have to learn and use the democratic principle and methods of Europe, in

order that hereafter we may build up something more suited to our past and to the future of humanity. We have to throw away the individualism and materialism and keep the democracy. We have to solve for the human race the problem of harmonising and spiritualising its impulses towards liberty, equality and fraternity. In order that we may fulfil our mission we must be masters in our own home. It is out of no hostility to the English people, no race hatred that we seek absolute autonomy, but because it is the first condition of our developing our nation's self and realising our destiny. It is for this reason that the engineering political preoccupation came upon us and we cannot give up or tone down our political movement until the lesson of democratic self-government is learned and the first condition of national self-fulfilment realised. For another reason also England was chosen, because she had organised the commerce of the world of commerce, with its fierce and continuous struggle for existence in the most skillful, disorganised and successful fashion. We had to fight in the light of that system and learn the liberal meaning of the industrial revolution of Darwinism. It has been written large for us in the ghastly letters of famine, depopulation and misery and a decreasing population. We have risen at last, entered into the battle and with the British for a weapon, are fighting at the direct of British commerce, even as we struck them first by protection and then by free trade. Again it is not one of hatred that we strike, but one of self preservation. We must conquer in that battle if we are to live. We cannot grant our development of industry and commerce while waiting for a new commercial system to develop for beauty and art to conquer the world. As a people so in commerce we must conquer and master the European system in order that we may overcome and replace them. The crude commercial system which has so disgusted and disappointed us is an integral part of the national development as the movement of the new School of Art. If this crude Shodshi were

ed so highly, would wither and sink with the drying up of the soil in which it was planted. A nation need not be luxuriously wealthy in order to be profoundly artistic, but it must have a certain amount of well-being, a rich culture and above all heart and ardour, if it is to create a national art based on a well-developed development of artistic perception and faculty. Moreover, our arts and crafts cannot live against the onrush of cheap and vulgar manufactures under the conditions of the modern social structure. Industry can only become again beautiful if poverty and the struggle for life are eliminated from society and the co-operative State and economic organised as the fruit of a great moral and spiritual uplifting of humanity. We hold such an uplifting and reorganisation as part of India's mission. But to do her work she must live. Therefore the economical preoccupation has been added to the political. We perceive the salvation of the country not in parting with either of these, but in adding to them a religious and moral preoccupation, on the basis of that religious and moral awakening the preoccupation of art and fine culture will be added and firmly based. There are many who perceive the necessity of the religious and moral regeneration, who are inclined to turn from the prosaic details of politics and commerce and regret that any guide and teacher of the nation should stoop to mingle in them. That is a grievous error. The men who would lead India must be catholic and many-sided. When the Vedic conception like to hold that he who has not only the will to conquer, but the political leadership, the moralist, the regenerate of society, the captain of co-operative industry, with the soul of a poet, scholar and artist. He will be in short the summary and grand type of the future Indian nation which is rising to reshape and lead the world.

THE MAHOMEDAN ESSENTIAL TO THE HINDU.

(Continued)

The conception of unity can only arise in the mind as a reaction against an obnoxious duality or dualities. The conception of the unity of the world is a paradox to

which we are provoked by too monotonous or too uniform a vision. One in many and diversity in unity are statements of which each half is necessary to the other. National unity demands diversity of elements; without these, the conception has no vigour or vitality. Physiologically, the body of a lobster is a unit. But it is not so high, because it is not so complex a unit, as the body of a man. In the lobster twenty-one different segments repeat each other, in man not even the right and left sides are strictly alike. Yet the man-mind, holding together and directing all this number of unlikes, is infinitely greater, stronger and more effective than the lobster-mind with its smaller number of component variations. This is the difference between a mechanical and an organic unity. A nation is an organic unity. It rises in rank amongst nations in proportion to its complexity. Its power to discover the laws of national well-being will be determined, amongst other things, by its recognition within itself of various equally important, strongly contrasted elements. Only by the progressive assertion of that which constitutes the common good of all these, can it be increasingly nationalised. For the term nationality is relative not absolute. No people are so possessed of it that they could not be more so; no people, having a country of their own at all, have so little that they might not have less. When a nation has made itself recognised in the comity of nations, it has still to carry out, in the highest and best ways, the task of promoting its own nationality. Nationality consists in the accentuating and development of that which is common to all the components of the nation. Its immutable foundation is based in the sentiment of the common home. Thus, the credit of having created a certain type of architecture belongs to the Mahomedan. But the beauty of such buildings, worn like jewels on the neck of the motherland, gives as much joy to the Hindu. The existence of the Taj-mahal in India is a glory to all her children alike; the Hindu would die as readily as the Mahomedan in its defence. The rights and duties of the civic life are common to the two great sections of the people. The ideals of nationality

are common also. Its sacrifices and achievements will also be common.

It was said that it is actually necessary to the national idea that it should take its birth from elements in strong mutual opposition. The higher the contrast, the greater the strength of the nationality created. This is well seen in English history. Spain, as the waymaker of Catholicism, was defeated by an English navy under a Catholic admiral in the time of Elizabeth. The Englishman's sense of nationality was so strong, that he never thought apparently of his church. The political parties, of which today one sings tweedledum to the other's tweedledee, were once the Cavaliers and Roundheads who made war on one another, fought pitched battles and beheaded a king. The common home and the common cause have only to be felt, in order to drive all other considerations into the background. He who says that more is necessary to nation-making, is but a poor builder. If the common language were essential, could the Swiss be a nation? If common religion were essential, could the Germans be a nation? If a common history were essential, could England herself, built up of warring factions, be a nation? If any thing more than the common home and common future were required, what hope would there be for America today? An aggregation of villages forms a district, not a country. The language of a province need not be interprovincial. A nation can assimilate any number of unlike units, provided only there be the common home.

In India, as a matter of fact, national greatness has always occurred as a resultant of two opposed ideas. The Empire of Pataliputra was made popular and democratic under Asoka, when acted on by the ideas of Buddhism. Buddhism was neither more nor less, at that period than the democratising of the highest Aryan culture. Here we have two forces acting at right angles to one another—the Vedic, intensifying knowledge, on the forest ashrams and at universities like Sarnath and the influence of the Buddhist orders, calling all men to share the life; thus

gathered. Later these became the opposing forces of Hinduism with its ever-increasing subjection to the Brahmin, and the Sannyasin with his unbelief in a destiny imposed by birth,—caste and democracy, culture and social equality side by side. Under Mahomedanism again, the idea of human equality and fraternity, the idea that nothing depends on birth and all on individuality, again finds witness. Akbar is a Mahomedan deeply tinged with Hindu culture. Each of the great Moguls has his share of both.

To-day, if we had all been Hindus or all Mahomedans, we could not hope to have made an Indian nation. It is because we are both, that we shall swerve neither to the right hand nor the left, but create that body of thought, feeling and discipline which is yet to restore our Motherland to her ancient place. All men have certain characteristic ideas and intuitions which are apt to run to superstitions. All men are liable to mistake the superstition of a truth for the truth itself. The English are great in that power of organisation which rises out of commerce. But they have an idea that everything in the world must be subordinated to commerce. The one thing is a truth, the other a superstition. Only by the presence of a strongly contrasted faction, free from the spell of the given prepossession, can the line be safely drawn between truth and falsehood. The English cannot emancipate themselves from their own delusion, though it is easy enough for us to see and smile at it. Similarly we have to cancel out of the national culture all that is merely sectarian or mutually exclusive. Such things are to be relegated to the sphere of personal opinion or ecclesiastical practice. Only that which is to the honour and advantage of both Hindu and Mahomedan, may be spoken by either within the circle of the national life.

Let us look for a moment at how much this covers. First, food-supply and wealth. It needs no argument to prove that abundance of rice or wheat, abundance of wealth is as much to the good of Mahomedan as of Hindu. The one has as much to gain as the other from social stability, from a widespread amelioration of man-

ners, from industrial revival, from increase of education, from the recovery of national prestige, the establishment of national universities and centres of learning, and from the recapture and development of the Aryan culture. Whether a man buttons his coat to right or to left and bathes at dawn or midday, are not matters that concern his nationality. But the increase of learning and power of self-direction amongst his own people will benefit the son of Islam as much as the children of the Sanatan Dharma, and what is gained for one is gained for both.

Mahomedans are related to Arabia by their whole past. That tie they need do nothing to strengthen, since their fathers have done it for them. What the Mahomedan has to do today, and what he knows he has to do and will not be prevented from doing, is to relate himself to India, the soil and the People. His own and his children's future depends on his doing this. Islam is no longer to be reckoned as a backward faith. The Caliph himself is the representative of progress and enlightenment, and it is not to be expected that the Mahomedans of India will be contented to lag behind their brethren in Turkey and in Persia.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER IV

The darkness of the wood was very deep and Kalyani could not find her way. In the thickly woven entanglement of trees, creepers and thorns there was no path at the best of times and on that there came this impenetrable darkness. Separating the branches and creepers, pushing through thorn and briar Kalyani began to make her way into the thickness of the wood. The thorns pierced the child's skin and she cried from time to time; and at that the shouts of the pursuing robbers rose higher. In this way with torn and bleeding body, Kalyani made far progress into the woodland. After a little while the moon rose. Until then there was some slight confidence in Kalyani's mind that in the darkness the robbers would not be able to find her and after a brief and fruitless search would desert from the pursuit, but, now

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

order that hereafter we may build up something more suited to our past and to the future of humanity. We have to throw away the individualism and materialism and keep the democracy. We have to solve for the human race the problem of harmonising and spiritualising its impulses towards liberty, equality and fraternity. In order that we may fulfil our mission we must be masters in our own home. It is out of no hostility to the English people, no race hatred that we seek absolute autonomy, but because it is the first condition of our developing our national self and realising our destiny. It is for this reason that the engrossing political preoccupation came upon us; and we cannot give up or tone down our political movement until the lesson of democratic self-government is learned and the first condition of national self-fulfilment realised. For another reason also England was chosen, because she had organised the competitive system of commerce, with its bitter and murderous struggle for existence in the most skilful, disinterested and successful fashion. We had to feel the full weight of that system and learn the literal meaning of this industrial realisation of Darwinism. It has been written large for us in ghastly letters of famine, chronic starvation and misery and a decreasing population. We have risen at last, entered into the battle and with the Bayonet for a weapon, are striking at the throat of British commerce even as it struck at ours, first by protection and then by free trade. Again it is not out of hatred that we strike, but out of self-preservation. We must conquer in that battle if we are to live. We cannot arrest our development in industry and commerce while waiting for a new commercial system to develop or for beauty and art to reconquer the world. As in politics so in commerce, we must force and master the European method, in order that we may eventually transcend them. The crude commercial system, which the Chomaraswamy finds so distasteful and disappointing, is an integral part of the nation, awakening as the movement towards Swaraj or as the new School of Art. If this crude Swadishi were

ed so highly, would wither and sink with the drying up of the soil in which it was planted. A nation need not be luxuriously wealthy in order to be profoundly artistic, but it must have a certain amount of well-being, a national culture and, above all, heart and ardour, if it is to maintain a national art based on a well rounded development of artistic perception and faculty. Moreover, the fine arts and crafts cannot live against the onrush of cheap and vulgar manufactures under the conditions of the modern social structure. Industry can only become again beautiful if poverty and the struggle for life are eliminated from society and the co-operative State and commerce organised as the fruit of a great moral and spiritual uplifting of humanity. We hold such an uplifting and reorganisation as part of India's mission. But to do her work she must live. Therefore the economical preoccupation has been added to the political. We perceive the salvation of the country not in parting with either of these, but in adding to them a religious and moral preoccupation. On the basis of that religious and moral awakening the preoccupation of art and fine culture will be added and firmly based. There are many who perceive the necessity of the religious and moral regeneration, who are inclined to turn from the prosaic details of politics and commerce and regret that any guide and teacher of the nation should stoop to mingle in them. That is a grievous error. The men who would lead India must be catholic and unbigoted. When the Avatar comes, we like to believe that he will be not only the religious guide, but the political, forerunner the great educator, the regenerator of society, the captain of co-operative industry, with the soul of the poet, scholar and artist. He will be in short the summary and grand type of the future Indian nation which is rising to reshape and lead the world.

THE MAHOMEDAN ESSENTIAL TO THE HINDU.

(Continued)

The conception of unity can only arise in the mind as a reaction against an obvious duality or multiplicity. The conception of the unity, similarly, is a paradox to

which we are provoked by too monotonous or too uniform a vision. One in many and diversity in unity are statements of which each half is necessary to the other. National unity demands diversity of elements; without these, the conception has no vigour or vitality. Physiologically, the body of a lobster is a unit. But it is not so high, because it is not so complex a unit, as the body of a man. In the lobster twenty-one different segments repeat each other, in man not even the right and left sides are strictly alike. Yet the man-mind, holding together and directing all this number of unlikes, is infinitely greater, stronger and more effective than the lobster-mind with its smaller number of component variations. This is the difference between a mechanical and an organic unity. A nation is an organic unity. It rises in rank amongst nations in proportion to its complexity. Its power to discover the laws of national well-being will be determined, amongst other things, by its recognition within itself of various equally important, strongly contrasted elements. Only by the progressive assertion of that which constitutes the common good of all these, can it be increasingly nationalised. For the term nationality is relative not absolute. No people are so possessed of it that they could not be more so; no people, having a country of their own at all, have so little that they might not have less. When a nation has made itself recognised in the comity of nations, it has still to carry out, in the highest and best ways, the task of promoting its own nationality. Nationality consists in the accentuating and development of that which is common to all the components of the nation. Its immutable foundation is based in the sentiment of the common home. Thus, the credit of having created a certain type of architecture belongs to the Mahomedan. But the beauty of such buildings, worn like jewels on the neck of the motherland, gives as much joy to the Hindu. The existence of the Taj-mahal in India is a glory to all her children alike; the Hindu would die as readily as the Mahomedan in its defence. The rights and duties of the civic life are common to the two great sections of the people. The ideals of nationality

are common also. Its sacrifices and achievements will also be common.

It was said that it is actually necessary to the national idea that it should take its birth from elements in strong mutual opposition. The higher the contrast, the greater the strength of the nationality created. This is well seen in English history. Spain, as the waymaker of Catholicism, was defeated by an English navy under a Catholic admiral in the time of Elizabeth. The Englishman's sense of nationality was so strong, that he never thought apparently of his church. The political parties, of which today one sings tweedledum to the other's tweedledee, were once the Cavaliers and Roundheads who made war on one another, fought pitched battles and beheaded a king. The common home and the common cause have only to be felt, in order to drive all other considerations into the background. He who says that more is necessary to nation-making, is but a poor builder. If the common language were essential, could the Swiss be a nation? If common religion were essential, could the Germans be a nation? If a common history were essential, could England herself, built up of warring factions, be a nation? If any thing more than the common home and common future were required, what hope would there be for America today? An aggregation of villages forms a district, not a country. The language of a province need not be interprovincial. A nation can assimilate any number of unlike units, provided only there be the common home.

In India, as a matter of fact, national greatness has always occurred as a resultant of two opposed ideas. The Empire of Pataliputra was made popular and democratic under Asoka, when acted on by the ideas of Buddhism. Buddhism was neither more nor less, at that period, than the democratising of the highest Aryan culture. Here we have two forces acting at right angles to one another—the Vedic, intensifying knowledge, in the forest ashramas and at universities like Sarnath, and the influence of the Buddhist orders, calling *lal men* to share the honey thus

gathered. Later these became the opposing forces of Hinduism with its ever-increasing subjection to the Brahmin, and the Sannyasin with his unbelief in a destiny imposed by birth,—caste and democracy, culture and social equality side by side. Under Mahomedanism again, the idea of human equality and fraternity, the idea that nothing depends on birth and all on individuality, again finds witness. Akbar is a Mahomedan deeply tinged with Hindu culture. Each of the great Moguls has his share of both.

To-day, if we had all been Hindus or all Mahomedans, we could not hope to have made an Indian nation. It is because we are both, that we shall swerve neither to the right hand nor the left, but create that body of thought, feeling and discipline which is yet to restore our Motherland to her ancient place. All men have certain characteristic ideas and intuitions which are apt to run to superstitions. All men are liable to mistake the superstition of a truth for the truth itself. The English are great in that power of organisation which rises out of commerce. But they have an idea that everything in the world must be subordinated to commerce. The one thing is a truth, the other a superstition. Only by the presence of a strongly contrasted faction, free from the spell of the given prepossession, can the line be safely drawn between truth and falsehood. The English cannot emancipate themselves from their own delusion, though it is easy enough for us to see and smile at it. Similarly we have to cancel out of the national culture all that is merely sectarian or mutually exclusive. Such things are to be relegated to the sphere of personal opinion or ecclesiastical practice. Only that which is to the honour and advantage of both Hindu and Mahomedan, may be spoken by either within the circle of the national life.

Let us look for a moment at how much this covers. First, food-supply and wealth. It needs no argument to prove that abundance of rice, or wheat, abundance of wealth is as much to the good of Mahomedan as of Hindu. The one has as much to gain as the other from social stability, from a widespread amelioration of man-

ners, from industrial revival, from increase of education, from the recovery of national prestige, the establishment of national universities and centres of learning, and from the recapture and development of the Asiatic culture. Whether a man buttons his coat to right or to left and bathes at dawn, or midday, are not matters that concern his nationality. But the increase of learning and power of self-direction amongst his own people will benefit the son of Islam as much as the children of the Sanatan Dharma, and what is gained for one is gained for both.

Mahomedans are related to Arabia by their whole past. That tie they need do nothing to strengthen, since their fathers have done it for them. What the Mahomedan has to do today, and what he knows he has to do and will not be prevented from doing, is to relate himself to India, the soil and the People. His own and his children's future depends on his doing this. Islam is no longer to be reckoned as a backward faith. The Caliph himself is the representative of progress and enlightenment, and it is not to be expected that the Mahomedans of India will be contented to lag behind their brethren in Turkey and in Persia.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER IV

The darkness of the wood was very deep and Kalyani could not find her way. In the thickly woven entanglement of trees, creepers and thorns there was no path at the best of times and on that there came this impenetrable darkness. Separating the branches and creepers, pushing through thorn and briar Kalyani began to make her way into the thickness of the wood. The thorns pierced the child's skin and she cried from time to time; and at that the shouts of the pursuing robbers rose higher. In this way with torn and bleeding body, Kalyani made far progress into the woodland. After a little while the moon rose. Until then there was some slight confidence in Kalyani's mind that in the darkness the robbers would not be able to find her and after a brief and fruitless search would desist from the pursuit, but, now

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that the moon had risen, that confidence left her. The moon, as it mounted into the sky, shed its light on the woodland tops and the darkness within was suffused with it. The darkness brightened, and here and there, through gaps, the outer luminousness found its way inside and peeped into the thickets. The higher the moon mounted, the more the light penetrated into the reaches of foliage, the deeper all the shadows took refuge in the thicker parts of the forest. Kalyani too with her child hid herself farther and farther in where the shadows retreated. And now the robbers shouted higher and began to come running from all sides, and the child in her terror wept louder. Kalyani then gave up the struggle and made no farther attempt to escape. She sat down with the girl on her lap on a grassy thornless spot at the foot of a great tree and called repeatedly "Where art Thou? Thou whom I worship daily, to whom daily I bow down, in reliance on whom I had the strength to penetrate into this forest where art Thou, O Madhusudan?" At this time, what with fear, the deep emotion of spiritual love and worship and the lassitude of hunger and thirst, Kalyani gradually lost sense of her outward surroundings and became full of an inward consciousness in which she was aware of a heavenly voice singing in mid-air,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!
O Gopal, O Govinda, O Mukunda, O Shauri!
O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Kalyani had heard from her childhood, in the recitation of the Puranas, that the sages of Paradise roam the world on the paths of the sky, crying aloud to the music of the harp the name of Hari. That

imagination took shape in her mind and she began to see with the inner vision a mighty ascetic, harp in hand, whitebodied, whitehaired, whitebearded, whiterobed, tall of stature, singing in the path of the azure heavens,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Gradually the song grew nearer, louder she heard the words,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then still nearer, still clearer,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!"

At last over Kalyani's head the chant rang echoing in the woodland,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of
Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then Kalyani opened her eyes. In the half-lustrous moonbeams suffused and shadowed with the darkness of the forest, she saw in front of her that whitebodied, whitehaired, whitebearded, whiterobed image of a sage. Dreamily all her consciousness centred on the vision. Kalyani thought to bow down to it, but she could not perform the salutation; even as she bent her head, all consciousness left her and she lay fallen supine on the ground.

AUROBINDO GHOSE

THE SITUATION II. (BY SJ. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL.)

—ooo—

In my last letter I discussed the present situation at some length, and tried to indicate what seems to be the line of work we should follow at the present juncture. This work, as I said, will have to follow two parallel lines, one in India and the other in England.

As regards the work in India, there will not be any difference of opinion among the general body of Nationalists in the country. It is,

in fact, being done so far as existing conditions allow, by Nationalist workers, more or less in every province. I do not know how far it is feasible, but an attempt should be made, in any case to organise an all India Nationalist Association, with the object of consolidating the party of peaceful and lawful self-reliant activities in the country. The decisions of such a body will be accepted as binding on them by the Nationalists all over India, and it will be able to exercise some amount of disciplinary control on the impatient and impulsive workers in the Nationalist Cause. Such an organisation will save us from being mixed up with either of the two schools of physical force in the country, one advocating its application from the side of the Government, and the other preaching it from the side of the people. It will openly differentiate the lawful and peaceful passive resister from the party of political violence on either side. This differentiation is of the utmost importance at the present moment. It alone will be able, if anything can, to put a check on the suicidal propaganda of political violence, which is finding such ready excuses to the Government to continue and strengthen their present repressive policy. Indeed, nothing else will be able to check it. Mr. Gokhale's recepe will, if anything, strengthen anarchy by increasing repression. Mr. Shyamji Krishna-varma actually wants repression, and is distinctly finding the justification for Mr. Gokhale's policy of stern and relentless repression which the Nationalist leaders always refused to furnish. By a strange irony of fate Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Krishna-varma have found in each other exceedingly useful allies in helping forward the propaganda of political violence in India. Both in their own way are rendering incalculable service to the Indian Bureaucrat

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worried to death by the patient and plodding ways of the implacable passive resister, and eager to get through the whole business as quickly as possible. And we want a strong organisation to fight this strange dual alliance.

But there is an internal need of it also. Without an organisation able to guide and control the general body of Nationalist in the country, and lead all our activities along peaceful and lawful lines, the whole movement will inevitably split up into small and eccentric groups working frequently at cross purposes.

How to bring about such an organisation, is not, perhaps a very easy question now. But we are in a difficult position, and we shall have to work against terrible odds, whatever we may have to do. Nor is it necessary to have an elaborate organisation. All that is needed now, is have a Register of all nationalists who are willing to pledge themselves to the line of lawful activities laid down in Srijiut Aurovinda Ghosh's Open Letter, and submit to the discipline of their own men, elected by them, to form a Central Executive Committee. No itenary, no meetings, no public demonstrations, nothing of an elaborate nature is necessary to complete such a Register and elect such a Committee. We know who are the leading Nationalists in different centres, and they may well collect the names of the Nationalists in their own localities. The organisation of the Central Committee also will not be difficult after those registers are collected. All that is needed is for two or three men, commanding the confidence of the people, to set to work about it, to draw up a well-considered Memorandum of Association, and then circulate it among leading Nationalists

in the different provinces. When these are collected, we shall have the Register we want, and the Register will practically form our Association. All that will be necessary after this, will be for the Executive Committee to send out Circulars pointing out the duty of the party, in reference to particular measures or situation, as these arise from time to time. This is, it seems to me, our immediate work at home.

The second part of our work as suggested in my last letter should be the organisation of a Bureau authorised to represent our Party in England. At present we are not a party, but only a school of thought. The compilation of the Register suggested above will give us the status of a party; and then our British Bureau will have authority of our party behind it. Till then it must content to speak and act on behalf of the Nationalist School only. There is at present, I am afraid, a considerable amount of silent opposition among our people, to any work of this kind. It is largely due to a very natural reaction against the mendicant policy of the old Congress school, and people do not seem to understand how our work can be different from that of the British Congress Committee. At one time we had an excessive and unreasonnable faith in British character; we honestly believed that England was in India primarily for our and not for her own good. That idea has been completely killed now. Even Englishmen themselves do no longer profess any such altruistic motives. And the pendulum has consequently swung to the other extreme. A deep and unreasonnable distrust has replaced the old unquestioning trust in British character and policy, in the popular mind in India. This distrust has not only affected people's estimates of the British people, but

really of modern culture and humanity. This distrust is not only characteristic of those that are called Extremists, but equally also of those that are landed as moderates. Mr. Gokhale and his party have no more confidence in the larger humanity and civilisation of our time, than the crude politician who calls political murder as natural justice. It is therefore that both these classes are equally ranged against the real Nationalist programme of peaceful and lawful self-reliant activities.

The truth however lies between the old unreasonnable trust and the present equally unreasonnable distrust. The appeal of old Congress was to what they called the British Conscience. Unfortunately however, the British conscience to which our Moderate friends have so long appeared is not the real thing, but, only an abstraction borrowed from school-standards on Ethics. They ignored the real British Conscience, and wanted really, to create one for England,—endow the British people, through the magic of their speeches, with a new organ, that coming into being or consciousness, would give them, like a fairy God Mother, all they longed for—high appointments enlarged Councils, Colonial Institutions and all. This was their mistake. But because the British have not exact organ that would suit us most, it is not reasonable to think that they are entirely devoid of the moral faculty.

(b centre non T)

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EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

The more we feel that our women must be educated, the more convinced we become that this must be done by ourselves. We cannot longer submit to the disgrace of depending on the missionaries for so essential a service. That it is essential, all are agreed. Without some preparation in reading and writing, how are our wives and sisters to enter into the new ideas with which Bengal to-day is seething? Without some new training of faculty, some fresh development of executive ability, how are they to meet all those new demands with which each year of their lives is likely to confront them?

Very simple schools will do, however. Only to read and write, and know how to sew and count, and acquire the habits and instincts of a gentlewoman are accomplishments sufficient for a girl of twelve. If she has these elements, added to the sound qualifications of a good Hindu home, there is nothing that the husband cannot do, with a little labour and sympathy, after marriage. The material is then ready. He has only to apply the light of ideas, and the torch at once flames up.

What we need is to institute on behalf of our girls something like our old *pathshala* system. We ought to have little neighbourhood-schools in every direction, where women of good birth and antecedents, who need an income, will teach the little girls of their *para* the necessary elements. It is important that these Schoolmistresses should themselves be well-born and bred, for we cannot afford to let our children learn to read and write, at cost of becoming vulgarised in thought and manner, or losing the ancient idealism of our race.

The school kept by Nagendra Nandini Devi, at 14 Kartik Boses Lane, is an instance in point. Forty little girls attend this school and receive the rudiments of an education there, at the same time that they enter into a strong living tradition, with regard to all that is highest and best in the life of our motherland. For the last eighteen months, this school has been maintained as a branch, by Sister Christina of the Vivekananda School. Allowing the modest sum of fifteen rupees a month for the head-mistress, herself, the expenses amount to thirty rupees per month. This output can no longer be borne by the Vivekananda School, since its own expenses are constantly increasing. It has carried the undertaking through the purely experimental stage, and enabled Nagendra Nandini Devi to prove her value to her neighbourhood. Is it possible, now, to find those who will contribute to prolong the life of this school for girls, as a first step in a wide-spread movement of the kind?

Contributions to the work of Nagendra Nandini Devi, may be

sent to the Sister Christina,—17 Bose Para Lane, Bagh Bazar—by whom they will be gratefully acknowledged.

NEWS.

THE CONVENTION CONGRESS.

A meeting of the Reception Committee took place at Lahore on the 20th September to elect the President of the Congress. The Hon'ble Mr. Harkishen Lal, presiding. The Secretary explained that all Provincial Committees, except Bengal and Burma, nominated Sir Pherozshah. Burma recommended Hon'ble Mr. Khare while Bengal recommended Nawab Mahomed who has expressed his unwillingness. Subsequently they found it stated in news-papers that Bengal recommended Babu Surendranath Banerjee and he received a private letter from the Bengal Provincial Committee intimating its nomination of Babu Surendranath Banerjee as President of the Congress.

The recommendations of the Provincial Committees were considered. The Punjab, Madras, the United Provinces, Berar and Bombay recommended Sir Pherozshah's election. The Central Provinces and Behar gave his name first in alternative groups. The Reception Committee resolved that the recommendation of the Majority of the Provincial Committees be adopted and elected Sir Pherozshah Mehta, President of this year's Congress.

SWADESHI MEETING AT BARISAL.

On the 20th September a big Swadeshi meeting was held in Raja Bahadur's Haveli under the presidency of Babu Upendra Nath Sen Rai-Chowdhuri, Zemindar. The proceedings commenced with the song *Mayer daw mota Kapur matha toly nere bhai*. Then Babu Baroda Kanto Banerjee, B. L. gave his impressions of the Hugly Provincial Conference, specially, emphasizing the need for union amongst the parties and the use of Swadeshi cloth manufactured at the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills, even when made of comber yarn. Next Babu Sricharan Sen pleader, spoke feelingly on the Swadeshi movement and urged the audience to keep up the movement and use only the Banga Lakshmi Mill cloths. Dilating on the demoralisation that has set on amongst the shopkeepers and the false notion about the Swadeshi by using English yarn made cloth. In conclusion he appealed in the name of Babu Aswini Kumar and Satish Chandra to remain firm to the vow for which they are suffering so much in silence. The audience accepted this portion of the speech with expressions of assurance. The president spoke in the same strain and made a pathetic appeal. The proceedings closed with the song *nijna se Brata palane birata hayo nabhojo Jananabazhi gon*, and loud shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

THE HOUSE SEARCHES.

A correspondent writes:—At Sherpur, a village under the Rayna Thana, in the Burdwan District on the 10th September two house searches were made—one in the house of Babu Karali Charan Daw and the other in the house of Babu Bama Charan Daw by the Police Sub-Inspector of Rayna with two constables having search warrants issued by the District Magistrate. Nothing incriminating was found.

NEWS.

BHOGESWAR DACOITY CASE.

Bail application was made on the 24th September before the Magistrate of Lachimpur Mr. Donald on behalf of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Birendra Chatterjee, two young boys of Fatejangpur, who are brothers, and who were arrested in Calcutta over a fortnight ago for their alleged complicity in the contemplated Bhogeswar Dacoity on the statement of Gobesh Chatterjee the informer in the Dacca Snatching case. The Magistrate rejected the application and said that the case would be tried under the new Crimes Act by a special Bench of the High Court.

BAIRA RIOT CASE.

The supplementary trial of the Baira riot case came on for hearing on the 21st instant before the Sub-Divisional Officer. Four witnesses were examined for the defence, on the first day.

JAIPUR DARBAR.

In continuation of the notice in the Jaipur Gazette of June 9th, 1909, the Jaipur State Gazette of September 15th has published another Darbar proclamation which runs thus:—That it is the duty of all Jaipur subjects to at once give information to the nearest Darbar official should they become aware of the presence in Jaipur territory of any person who has in his possession any seditious paper, picture or photograph, any explosive substance or any article described in the notice of June 9th or who joins any meeting assembled for seditious purposes or who engages in any seditious practice directed against the Government of India, and failure to give such information in the absence of reasonable excuse, the burden of proving which shall be upon the person or persons so aware, render them liable to severe punishment. His Highness further orders that any Jaipur subject, who commits any of the offences enumerated in the notice of June 9th last with intent that any injury, damage or mischief shall be caused in British India, on conviction be punished in the same manner as if such act had been confined to Jaipur territory.

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প্রাপ্তিস্থান—

কলকাতার এমেলি

১১ নং কামাক্ষী রোড কলিকাতা।

NEWS.

COTTON EXPERIMENTS.—

The experiments made in Sind with American cotton have turned out exceedingly well. These experiments are not to be confounded with the efforts to acclimatise Egyptian cotton, the American variety being much finer.

REAPPEARANCE OF THE "BANDE MATARAM."

The "Bande Mataram" has reappeared in a new form in Geneva. It contains a bitter attack on Messrs. Banerjee and Gokhale and other prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress.

MIDNAPUR BOMB OFFSHOOT.

The "Patrika" understands that Babu Peary Mohan Dass of Midnapur who was arrested and put into hafiz in connection with the Bomb case, has served notices on Mr. Weston, Mouvi Mazhar-ul-Huk Deputy Superintendent and Inspector Lal Mohan Guha, intimating his intention of bringing suits for damages against them, claiming Rs. 10,000 from each. Babu Peary Mohan is the father of Santosh Dass, and is a retired Sub-Registrar.

AN IRISH PLACARD.—

Captain Craig, an Ulster Unionist, asked Mr. Burrell in the British House of Commons whether his attention had been drawn to the fact that placards had been extensively posted throughout certain parts of Ireland to the effect that Ireland honoured Dillingham who was proud to lay down his life for the cause of his country, and whether the police had discovered the authors of the placards praising a murderer, and if so had any arrests been made.

The Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Cherry, in reply said:—I am informed by the police authorities that a number of such placards were found posted in various parts of Ireland and were at once torn down by the police. The authors have not so far been discovered nor have any arrests been made.

Captain Craig: Has the right hon. gentleman seen one of these placards himself.

Mr. Cherry: No, sir I have not. Captain Craig amid cries of "Order," here held up a placard with a deep black border and handed it to the Front Opposition bench where it was examined by several members.

Mr. Macveagh asked whether the right hon. gentleman had heard that these placards were posted by an organization which printed placards on Grievances from Ireland.

Mr. Macneill. The Orange Society.

NEWS.

THE PAKHJUNGPOUR SENSATION.—

Two brothers, Sarat Chandra and Dharendra Chandra Chatterjee of Patejurgpur, aged 15 and 17, were arrested in connection with the alleged contemplated dacoity at Bhojeshwar in September, 1908. This fresh wild goose chase is evidently started on the statement that Chandra Chatterjee of Surat far who has turned an approver in the Dacca Stabbling Case, and is now the guest of the Government at Dacca, enjoying a monthly allowance of Rs. 65, with a launch and green boat for river trips. Two witnesses were produced yesterday. They failed to identify either of the accused. The Public have great confidence in Mr. Donald, who is not likely to be easily duped.

MR. GOKHALE ON THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLE.—

At the meeting to protest against the treatment of the Transvaal Indians held at Bombay on the 14th September Mr. Gokhale, proposing the first resolution, outlined the principal facts of the struggle in South Africa. He said that in the circumstances of the Transvaal passive resistance such as that organised by Mr. Ghandi was not only legitimate but was a duty resting on all self-respecting persons. He said "If we strongly and clearly and conscientiously feel the grave injustice of a law and there is no other way to obtain redress, I think refusal to acquiesce in it, and taking the consequence of such refusal, is the only course left to those who place conscience and self-respect above their material or immediate interests." He urged that the Government of India should retaliate by withdrawing authority for recruitment of indentured labour for Natal which colony is a vulnerable point of union from the Indian standpoint. He concluded by saying: "The root of our present troubles in the colonies really lies in the fact that our status is not what it should be in our own country. Men who have no satisfactory status in their own land cannot expect to have a satisfactory status elsewhere. Our struggle for equal treatment with Englishmen in the Empire must, therefore, be mainly carried on in India itself. Then, again, we must remember that it is bound to be a long and weary struggle. It will require again and again sacrifices and sufferings such as those of our Transvaal brethren, and it will bring us repeated failures before we achieve final success. But suffering or no suffering, failure or success, we owe it to our motherland to carry on this struggle with stout hearts and full faith in the justice of our cause."

NEWS.

NEW COMPANIES.—

Except for the formation of the Bombay Merchants' Bank with a nominal capital of one crore of rupees company promoting was rather slack during last July, the figures of which are now available. Dividing the new companies according to provinces they show:—

Province	No. of Cos.	Capital in lakhs.
Bombay	... 3	1,01.10
Burma	... 4	37.70
Punjab	... 5	9.20
Bengal	... 3	2.20
E. B. and A.	... 1	1.50
U. P.	... 1	1.00
C. P.	... 1	.20

Grand Total ... 18 1,52.90

Classifying them according to business proposed to be undertaken they show:—

Rs.	
2 Banking and Loan Companies	... 1,60,50,000
1 Insurance Company	... 20,000
1 Railways and Tramways	5,00,000
3 Co-operative Associations	2,80,000
3 Printing, Publishing and Stationery	... 3,50,000
4 Trading Companies (other than those specified	... 1,80,000
1 Cotton Mill Company	... 20,00,000
1 Rice Mill Company	... 15,00,000
1 Tea and Other Planting Company	... 1,50,000
1 Mining Company	... 2,60,000

18 Grand Total ... 1,52,90,000

In Bengal the Caledonian Printing Co. was capitalised at a lakh and-a-half of rupees. In the New Province the Ramjhora Tea Co. starts with a similar capital Rangoon Mahomedans started the Molla Dawood Cotton Mills (Rs. 20 lakhs), and a Rice Mill (Rs. 15 lakhs) in Burma, while also in that province the Rangoon Mining Co., was started with Rs. 2.60 lakhs. Allahabad and Amritsar each show a one-lakh Printing Company, while Ahmedabad floated the Aniline and Alizarine Trading Co., also on a lakh.

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NEWS.

AN INDUSTRIAL CONCERN.—

A general meeting of the share-holders of the Jessore Comb, Button and Mat Manufacturing Co. Ltd., was held in the registered office of the Company on the 12th last when office-bearers for the current year were appointed:—

It was decided in that meeting to erect a shed for the factory and to begin work on a regular scale before the ensuing puja holidays. The work of the factory has already been commenced in a hired house with one complete set of comb-making machinery and 4 set of looms for manufacturing ornamented mats. The expert of the Company brought these machineries along with others from Japan. Mr. Ghose who had been in Japan for three years and studied the above manufactures, made a special study of managing factories there. He has begun work here strictly on Japanese principles, i. e., the principles of co-operation. In order to make the work interesting and attractive to the operatives Mr. Ghose has set aside certain number of shares of the Company exclusively for the officers and operatives.

TRANSVAAL INDIANS.—

A public meeting was held at Bombay on the 14th September to consider the question of the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and to appeal once again to His Majesty's Ministers and the British Parliament to do all in their power to prevent the continued injustice and ill-treatment to His Majesty's Indian subject in the Transvaal. For several days past appeals have been made to the public to attend the meeting in large numbers so as to make an effective demonstration. In consequence the Town Hall was crowded in all parts, including the verandah, which was thronged by a large concourse of people.

Speakers had been chosen to represent the various communities of the city, while several Indians who have resided in South Africa spoke from their own experience of the condition of affairs. The proceedings were conducted with great enthusiasm, and lasted for about two hours. Sir Kamubhoy Ibrahim presided and in the course of his speech said:—You are aware of the circumstances under which the meeting called by the Sheriff on the 31st August last was cancelled. The abrupt cancellation called forth a display of feeling which has happily been allayed by a Press communique in which the Government have,

with a candour and promptitude which deserve our acknowledgement, expressed their regret for the inconvenience caused to the public. Nothing more need be said, therefore on that point. As regards the larger question of the Sheriff's position and the duties with which the communique deals, I am sure that the Government view is correct. I believe that there are precedents which conflict with the Government view. However, this is not proper occasion to enter into that question which needs to be examined and dealt with separately.

A SUB-INSPECTOR CENSURED.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asked the following question at the last meeting of the U. P. Council at Nainital: "Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the conduct of the sub-Inspector of Police who insisted on being present at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tax-payer's Association which was going to be held at the Christ Church College, at Cawnpore, and who did not leave the premises on being asked to do so? Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken in the matter?" The Hon. Mr. Holmes replied:—"The attention of the Government has been drawn to the matter. The Sub-Inspector was not acting under the authority of any superior officer, and the District Magistrate of Cawnpore at the time expressed his regret for the ill-considered action of the sub-Inspector to the Vice-Chairman of the Tax payer's Association. The sub-Inspector has been censured."

POLICE ESPIONAGE.

At the last meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya asked: "Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the complaints that have been published in the papers regarding the action of the police in watching the house of Dr. Tej. Bahadur Sapru. Advocate, High Court, at Allahabad, during the time when Mr. Devadhar, of the Servants of India Society, was putting up with him and also of their action in subjecting Mr. Devadhar in many places to a close and irritating espionage during his tour in these provinces? Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken in the matter?" The Hon. Mr. Holmes replied: "The attention of the Government has been drawn to the complaints referred to. The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that the police exceeded their duties in the instance in

question, and steps have been taken by the Government in order to prevent similar excesses in future."

A KRISHNAVARMA LETTER.

The "Daily Express" publishes a letter from Mr. Krishnavarma replying to the statement that he composed the alleged statement by Dhingra. Krishnavarma asks if the "Daily Express" can produce an iota of evidence to show that he had anything to do with either the composition or the publication of that document. "It is," he says, preposterous to father on me the publication of every so-called seditious leaflet referring to India which emanates from Paris or which finds its way into England or other parts of the British Empire." He described as "scurrilous the imputation of the 'Daily Express' that Indian seditious are beginning to regard him as nothing more than a spy."

"THE NEW AGE."

In the British Houses of Commons Earl Winterton asked the Attorney General if this attention had been called to an article in the "New Age," for Aug. 26, in which the murder of Sir Curzon-Wyllie was partially condoned and in which an Indian Lieutenant-Governor was accused of deliberately carrying out an illegal execution, and if he proposed to take any proceedings. The Attorney-General: I have seen the article in question and I do not propose to take any proceedings.

Earl Winterton: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that the article suggested that a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal carried out an illegal execution?

The Attorney-General; I do not think the suggestion is as explicit as the noble Lord puts it.

Mr. Macneill: Is the right hon. gentleman in want of an amateur Crown Prosecutor?

RAILWAY CASE AT SEALDAH.

On Monday before Mr. N. L. Bagchi, Deputy Magistrate of Sealdah, an up-countryman, named Chunilal Khetri, was charged as a suspicious character. The prosecution alleged that the accused had just been released from gaol and was found travelling in an Up train to Goalando station with a bag. The accused who was known to a constable was suspected at the Dum-Dum station and was arrested. The Court thereupon inquired and was apprised of that the accused had been arrested under section 187 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Magistrate on reading the section said:—"I must have the law strictly followed where are the corrus of the entries in the diary?" What are your grounds for suspecting the accused? Simply because he was released just then from jail and was travelling in a train? The accused might have been looking for a job you ought to have given him time." The Inspector informed the Court that nothing further incriminating evidence was found against the man, and he was unable to furnish the Court with the copies of entries at present. The court thereupon remarked saying:—"Well I am afraid I shall have to refer the matter to the Inspector-General of Police and will tell him that the copies of entries were not produced before me." Inspector: We beg to apply for a remand, sir, as the inquiries are not yet complete. Court:—Well, you have already kept the man for three days in custody;

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BENGAL SWADESHI: A REVIVAL OF INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

EARLY in the year 1906 we noticed in the whole of Bengal only 10 Cotton Mills, four of which alone belonged to Indian Capitalists, namely, (1) Luxmi Tulsii Mills, Serampore, (2) Ramdayal Cotton Mills, (3) Empress India Cotton Mills Company and (4) Victoria Cotton Mills. But since the inauguration of the Swadeshi Movement some four Cotton Mills Companies have been or are going to be started, of which the first and foremost is (1) The Bengal Luxmi Cotton Mills Ltd., the old Tulsii Mills reorganised and extended under Bengali management, which has a paid-up Capital of rupees 18 lakhs and which paid a dividend of 5 per cent. last year. The other Cotton Mills are (2) the Mohini Mills Limited, established at Kushtia with a Capital of a lakh and a half, (3) The Ganesh Cloth Mills Co. Ltd., very shortly to be established near the railway station of Lilloah, with a Capital of 5 lakhs of rupees and (4) The Oriental Jute and Cotton Mills Co. Ltd. formed with a Capital of 20 lakhs of rupees to start and conduct jute and Cotton Mills in or outside Calcutta.

The woven goods produced in Bengal during the last three years are as follows:—25 million yards, in 1906-06, 5.8 million yards in 1906-07, and 7.9 million yards in 1907-08. The first figure is for greys alone, the latter two are for all woven goods. This shows there has been a marvellous development in the output of woven goods and here we have the opinion of Mr J. G. Cumming, B. A. I. C. S., at present Commissioner of the Presidency Division, who had been appointed "On Special Duty, Industrial Inquiries" of the province. On page 7, part II of his valuable Report Mr. Cumming says "As for factory weaving it has received an impetus from the Swadeshi movement."

COTTAGE WEAVING

It is now admitted almost on all hands that since the days of the East India

Company, the weaving class, the Tantia (Hindu), Jugis (Hindu) and the Jolaha (Mahomedan) had been turning to day-labourers day by day, first, on account of the repression at the hands of the early rulers followed by free influx of British-made cloths, and secondly, owing to the consequent want of demand for their manufactures. From the census report of 1901 it would appear that the total number of the weaving population of United Bengal still engaged in the industry was 1, 124, 870, and this again considerably decreased in the years following. But since the inauguration of the Swadeshi Movement these helpless people have found an opening for their livelihood and have been induced to return to their old hereditary profession.

The opinion of Mr. Cumming on hand-weaving are as follows:—

" * * * By 1901 it was started that the competition of European piece-goods was lowering the indigenous in the Burdwan Presidency and the Patna Division, but that the fly-shuttle loom was coming into use in the two former areas. . . . By 1906-07, the industry had recovered. In Burdwan District there was an increase in outturn of one-half over that of the previous year. From Bankura there was an export trade. At Bolpur in Beerbhoom there was considerable manufacture. In Hooghly district the manufactures in Arambagh sub-division rose from 11 lakhs to 14 lakhs. In Howrah the mill outturn decreased, and the hand outturn increased. In Midnapore, Ghatal was the centre of weaving. In the 24-Parganas the mill market was dull; the hand outturn shortened in Basirhat subdivision. In Jessore there was a considerable manufacture in both coarse and fine cloth; so also in Khulna. In Nadia coarse cloths, bed-sheets and towels were made at Santipur for export. In Patna, both cotton and mixed fabrics were manufactured in Bihar. In Saran district, the Jolahas wove a coarse cloth for winter use. There was some spinning in the Gopalganj sub-division. In Gaya, there was coarse cloth manufacture. In Darbhanga district there was the special *kolti* cloth woven near Madhubani, and *kani* cloth at Bhagalpur, coarse cloth was made but an

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improvement in texture was made; so also in Monghyr. In the Sonthal Parganas, both *jalahas*, *tantis* and aboriginals did coarse weaving. At Kishanganj in Purnea district, *lungis* and *patanis* were made. Throughout Orissa and Chota-Nagpur Divisions coarse cloths were woven, practically for local consumption. A comparison between this account and the earlier accounts show what a revolution for the time being has been made in the industry by the new factor of an increased local demand.

The following lines from the recent Report of Mr. J. N. Gupta who was put on special duty to inquire into the present condition of the indigenous industries in Eastern Bengal and Assam throw the same light on the subject.

"It looks, however," goes on Mr. Gupta to say, "as if the downward course taken by this, the most important indigenous industry of the province, has at last been checked, and a slow but perceptible improvement is visible everywhere. Mr. Cumming, in his recent report remarks, 'The Swadeshi movement of the last two years is a new factor stimulating production and creating a demand. I find that this has led to the improvement of the weavers in parts of the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, that is to say, many weavers who had given up their caste occupation have returned to it.' The same phenomenon has also been noticed in Madras by Mr. Chatterton, who says, 'The interest in hand-weaving is mainly due to the Swadeshi movement, and most of the hand-weaving factories owe their existence to the enthusiasm engendered at the birth of a new political movement.' It is fortunate that a similar revival of the hand-loom weaving industry is also noticeable in the principal centres of the weaving industry in East Bengal. There are no reliable figures, however, to show what the real increase in the volume of this industry has been, but figures for the import of foreign and Indian cotton piece-goods and yarn taken from the Divisional reports throw some light on the point. From the figures it would appear—

(1) That in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, the import of European goods greatly diminished in 1906-07; whereas a similar decline was prominently noticeable in Rajshahi Divisions, in 1906.

(2) The import of yarn, though fluctuating, also showed a market increase, specially in 1904-05 when the total import of yarn, Indian and foreign, was 20,000 maunds in excess of the imports in 1902-03. The increase in the imports of Indian yarn was specially noticeable in Chittagong; it rose from 250 maunds in 1902-03, to 3,674 maunds in 1906-07.

From the report on the trade of this province in 1905-07, it would appear that 5,25,043 maunds of cotton piece-goods were imported into Eastern Bengal districts of the province, whereas 1,31,219 maunds of yarn were imported in the same year. It would thus appear that at least one-fourth of the total demand for cotton fabrics was supplied by the hand-looms.

EXPANSION IN BRANCHES.

Taking individual districts, we find that the development has been the greatest in those districts which have been able to supply any expanding demand for any special class of goods. For instance, the industry seems to have progressed most in Noakhali, Comilla, Pabna, and Faridpur. All these districts, besides producing the usual *salis* and *dhutis* turned out a very large quantity of check and *chutis*, both thick and thin, and suitable for the making of coats, shirts, of the wearing apparel most

in vogue now. In Comilla the increase is reported to be fully 32 per cent.; for whereas the total export of the cloth from that district to other parts of Bengal amounted hardly to a lakh of rupees before, now the exports come to over a lakh and a half. I myself went to the Thursday *hat* at Comilla, and found that stuff valued at 200 rupees at least was brought up chiefly for export. There are two such seats in a week at Comilla itself.

In the divisional report of Rajshahi for 1906-07 the following occurs: "The Collector of Pabna reports that cotton-weaving has lately received an impetus, and weavers are hardly able to meet the growing demand of the foreign and local markets. It is said that the number of hand-looms has increased in Pabna, and members of the weaving class who had taken to other pursuits have now returned to their caste profession."

In Noakhali it was found that the import of European cotton piece goods has gradually fallen off from 2,856 bales in 1905-06 to 942 bales in 1907-08, whereas that of the Indian piece goods had gradually increased from 453 bales in 1905-06 to 1,633 bales in 1907-08. The export of locally manufactured cloth also greatly increased during this period till it reached 720 maunds in 1906, though it fell off again to 380 maunds in 1907.

It would thus appear that the textile manufactures of Bengal have been greatly increased, and they have got such a large home consumption that the foreign piece-goods trade of Bengal have come to a grave crisis.

LUCKY DAY SALES

To show how far the affairs stood for the worse we simply quote the following from an article entitled "Piece Goods Trade: The Present Depression" appearing in the well-known Anglo-Indian Daily of *Statesman* of October, 13, 1908. "There does not seem," goes on the Anglo-Indian Organ to say, "to be much room for doubt that the piece-goods trade in India has now reached a critical period in its history. Last Monday was the well-known Lucky Day on which Marwari traders are wont to enter into large forward contracts, believing it to be a really lucky day for commencing their speculations and merchants usually book orders for thousands of packages, the average being something between 40,000 and 50,000 cases but the sales effected on Monday were exceedingly poor and for all practical purposes the success of Lucky Day sales must be regarded as a failure. It has been an open secret that this class of goods has scarcely moved at all and that there has been an enormous overstock during the last two years.

Several causes have conspired to make it exceedingly difficult for most persons engaged in the trade to come out of the business without at any rate having to meet heavy losses. As might have been expected, some traders have been already forced into the Insolvency Court at least one of them being a big holder of stock, and it is feared that the next month or two will find a number of other firms in the hands of the Official Assignee. On the top of * * * some more or less large recent insolvencies of this sort comes the adjudication of Messrs. Showdass Bissessar Dass * * * Yet another application of the kind, of which, it is said, there is a regular crop almost ready to be placed before the Court was heard by Mr. Justice Sharfuddin yesterday. In this matter Babu Charu Chandra Bose applied on behalf of his clients, Chotay Lal Luchminarain, for an order of adjudication under section 9 of the Act, against Messrs Tolaram Shamshuka, the principal proprietor of which is Lunkaram. * * *

It is thus evident from the above facts and opinions of the Anglo-Indian Daily that foreign piece-goods trade of Bengal has been at a stake for the last few years, and consequently native piece-goods trade has become one of successful concerns of the day in the United Bengal.

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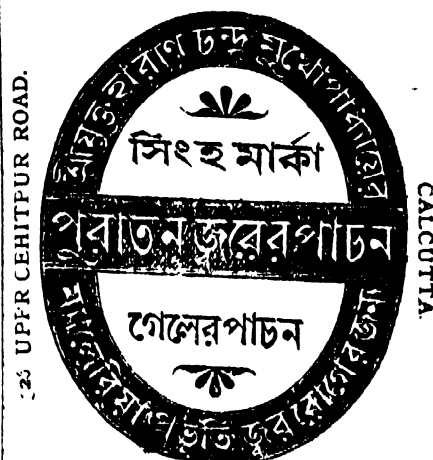
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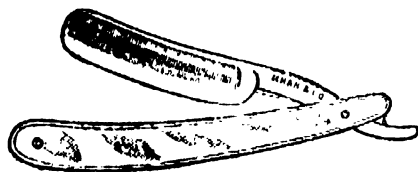
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{ No. 15

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Rump Presidential Election.

The Lahore Special Correspondent of the *Rashtra Mat* telegraphs to his paper a story of the proceedings at the Presidential election for the Rump Congress at Lahore, which, if correct, sheds a singular light on the proceedings of the valiant Three who are defending the bridge of conciliation and alliance between the bureaucracy and the Moderates which now goes by the name of the Indian National Congress. According to this correspondent, the account of Sir Pherozshah's election cabled from Lahore is incorrect and garbled. What really happened was that eighteen gentlemen assembled at Lahore as the Reception Committee, of whom more than half were employees of Mr. Harkissen Lal's various commercial ventures. This independent majority voted plump for Mr Harkissen Lal's candidate, Sir Pherozshah, but the rest were strong and firm for Sj Surendranath Banerji. This revolt in the camp led to much anxiety and confusion and great efforts were made to bring back the insurgents to their allegiance, but in vain. If this account is correct, no criticism can be too strong for the misrepresentation which suppressed the facts of the election. Was it not circulated that Sir Pherozshah would not accept the

Presidentship unless it were offered unanimously? A strenuous attempt was made to save the face of the Dictator by representing in the Lahore cables that the nomination of Sj Surendranath by the Bengal Convention Committee was only a suggestion in a private letter. But even then, what of Burma? What of this remarkable division in the toy committee itself at Lahore? We imagine that the Lion will put his dignity in his pocket or in his mane or any other hiding place that may be handy and accept the Presidentship; and if he does, we also imagine that he will roar discreetly at Lahore about the touching and unanimous confidence placed in him and the imperative voice of the whole country calling him to fill this great and responsible position of a Rump President! We have a suggestion for our highly esteemed Lion. Why not save his dignity and effect his object by appointing some lieutenant like Mr Wacha as President? In that case Sir Pherozshah would be as much President in fact as if he enjoyed the doubtful and mutilated honours of the Rump Presidentship.

Nation-stuff in Morocco.

The Powers of Europe are highly indignant at the tortures and mutilations practised by Mulai Hamid on his vanquished rival, El Roghi, and his captured adherents. There

is no doubt that the savage outbreak of mediæval and African savagery of which the Moorish Sultan has been guilty, is revolting and deprives him personally of all claim to sympathy; but European moral indignation in the matter seems to us to be out of place when we remember the tortures practised by American troops on Filipinos (to say nothing of the ghastly details of lynching in the Southern States,) and the unbridled atrocities of the European armies in China. Be that as it may, we come across a remarkable account, extracted in the *Indian Daily News*, of the stuff of which the Moorish people are made. The narrator is Belton, the Englishman who commanded the Sultan's army and has resigned his post as a protest against the Sultan's primitive method of treating political prisoners. Death and mutilation seem to have been the punishments inflicted. Belton narrates that twenty-officers of El Roghi had their right hands cut off and then seared, according to the barbarous old surgical fashion, in a cauldron of boiling oil to stop the bleeding. Not from one of these men, reports the English soldier with wonder, did there come, all the time, a single whimper. And he goes on to tell how one of them, after the mutilation, quietly walked over to the fire where the cauldron was boiling, and, while his stump was being plunged in the

boiling liquid, lighted from the flame with the utmost serenity a cigarette he held in his hand. Whatever may be the present backwardness of the Moors and the readiness to light of their tribes, there is the stuff of a strong, warlike and purely nation in the land which gave birth to these iron men. If ever the wave of Egyptian Neo-Islam and Mahomedan Nationalism sweeps across Morocco, Europe will have to reckon with no mean or contemptible people in the North West of Africa.

Cook versus Peary.

It is with a somewhat sardonic sense of humour that we in India, when that eminently truthful diplomat, Lord Curzon, once had the boldness to lecture on our mendacity and the superior truth of the Occidental, have watched the vulgar squabble between Dr. Cook and Commander Peary about the discovery of the North Pole. Long ago, most of the romance and mystery had gone out of the search for the Pole. The quest, though still extremely difficult and even perilous to an incautious adventurer, had no longer the charm of those gigantic dangers which met and slew the old explorers. It was known besides that little was likely to reward the man who succeeded, and there was small chance of anything but ice and cold being discovered at the North Pole. What little of the interesting and poetic was left in the idea, has now gone out of it for ever, and only a sense of nausea is left behind, as the controversy develops and leaves one with a feeling that it would have been better if the goal of so many heroic sacrifices had been left undiscovered for all time, rather than that it should have been discovered in this way. The spectacle of two distinguished explorers, one, we suppose, from his title, an American naval officer and the other, a savant not unknown to fame, hurting at each other such epithets as liar and faker, accusing each other of vile and dishonourable conduct, advancing evidence that when examined melts into thin air, citing witnesses who, when questioned, give them the lie, while all Europe and America join and take sides in the disgusting wrangle, is one that ought to give pause to the blindest admirer of Western civilisation and believer in Western superior-

ity. We certainly will not imitate the general run of European writers who, arguing smugly from temporary, local or individual circumstances, talk in the style of self-satisfied arrogance, of Oriental barbarity, Oriental treachery and mendacity, Oriental unscrupulousness; we will not say that the continents of Europe and America are peopled by nations of highly civilized liars, impostors and fakers of evidence without any sense of truth, honour or dignity, although we have as good cause as any Western critic of Asia; but at any rate the legend of European superiority and the inferior morals of the Asiatic has, by this time, been so badly damaged that we think even the *Englishman* might think twice before it bases its opposition to national aspirations on the pretensions of the Pharisee. It is evident that we are as good as the Europeans; we think we are in most respects better; we certainly could not be worse.

NATIONALIST ORGANISATION.

THE time has now come when it is imperative in the interests of the Nationalist party that its forces should be organised for united deliberation and effective work. A great deal depends on the care and foresight with which the character and methods of the organisation are elaborated at the beginning, for any mistake now may mean trouble and temporary disorganisation hereafter. It is not the easy problem of providing instruments for the working of a set of political ideas in a country where political thought has always been clear and definite and no repressive laws or police harassment can be directed against the dissemination of just political ideals and lawful political activities. We have to face the jealousy, suspicion and hostility of an all-powerful vested interest which it is our avowed object to replace by Indian agencies, the opposition, not always over-nice in its methods, of a rich and influential section of our own countrymen, and the vagueness of thought and indecisiveness of action common to the great bulk of our people even when they have been deeply touched by Nationalist sentiment and ideals. To form a centre of order, clear full and powerful thought, swift effectiveness,

free and orderly deliberation, disciplined and well-planned action must be the object of any organisation that we shall form. Two sets of qualities which ought not to be but often are conflicting, are needed for success; resolute courage, and a frank and faithful adherence to principle on the one side and wariness and policy on the other.

The first mistake we have to avoid is the tendency to perpetuate or imitate old institutions or lines of action which are growing out of date. The Nationalist party is a young and progressive force born of tendencies, aims and necessities which were foreign to the nineteenth century, and, being a party of the future and not of the immediate past, it must look, in all it does and creates, not to the past but to the future. There are still in the party the relics of the old desire to raise up a rival Congress and assert our claim to be part legates of the institution which came to a violent end at Surat. Our claim stands and, if a real Congress is again erected, it must be with the Nationalists within it and not excluded. The strength of the demand in the country for an United Congress is a sufficient vindication of the claim. But if we try still further to enforce it by holding a rival session and calling it the Congress, we shall take an ill-advised step calculated to weaken us instead of developing our strength. A technical justification may be advanced by inviting men of all shades of opinion to such a session, but as a matter of fact none are likely to attend a session summoned by pronounced Nationalists unless they are pronounced Nationalists themselves. A United Congress can be effectively summoned only if we are able to effect a combination of Nationalists, advanced Moderates and that large section of opinion which, without having pronounced views, are eager to revive a public body in which all opinions can meet and work together for the good of the country. Such a combination would soon reduce Sir Pherozshah's Rump Congress to the lifeless and meagre phantasm which it must in any case become with the lapse of time and the open development of the Mehta-Morley alliance. But to create another Rump Congress on the Nationalist side would be to con-

board confusion yet worse without any compensating gain. It would moreover throw on the shoulders of the Nationalists a portion of the blame for perpetuating the split, which now rests entirely on the other side.

If a Nationalist Ramp Congress is inadvisable and inconsistent with the dignity of the Nationalist party and its aversion to mere catchwords and shams, an imitation of the forms and working of the old Congress is also inadvisable. We were never satisfied with those forms and that working. The three day's show, the excessively festal aspect of the occasion, the monstrous preponderance of speech and resolution-passing over action and work, the want of true democratic rule and order, the weary waste of formal oratory without any practical use or object, the incapacity of the assembly for grappling with the real problems of our national existence and progress, the anxiety to avoid public discussion which is the lifebreath of democratic politics, these and many other defects made the Congress in our view an instrument ill-made, wasteful of money and energy and the centre of a false conception of political deliberation and action. If we imitate the Congress, we shall contract all the faults of the Congress. Neither can we get any help from the proceedings of the Nationalist Conference which met at Surat, for that was a loose and informal body which only considered certain immediate questions and emergencies arising out of the Surat session. Yet a centre of deliberation and the consideration of past progress and future policy is essential to the building of the Nationalist party into an effective force conscious of and controlling its mission and activities. We shall indicate briefly the main principles on which we think the organisation of such a body should be based.

The first question is of the scope and object of the institution. In the first place, we must avoid the mistake of making it a festival or a show occasion intended to excite enthusiasm and propagate sentiment. That was a function which the Indian National Congress had, perhaps inevitably, to perform, but a body which tries to be at once a deliberative assembly and a national forum must neces-

sarily tend to establish the theatrical and holiday character at the expense of the practical and deliberative. National festivals and days of ceremony are the best means of creating enthusiasm and sentiment; that is the function of occasions like the 7th August and the 16th October, the Sivaji Utsav and similar celebrations. We must resolutely eschew all vestiges of the old festival aspect of our political bodies and make our assembly a severely practical and matter-of-fact body. Secondly, we must clearly recognize that a body meeting once a year cannot be an effective centre of actual yearlong work, it can only be an instrument for deliberation and the determination of policy and a centre of reference for whose consideration and adjudgment the actually accomplished work of the year may, in its main features and the sum of its fulfilment, be submitted. The practical work must be done by quite different organisations, provincial and local, carrying out the policy fixed by the deliberative body but differently constituted; for, as the object of an executive body is entirely different from the object of a deliberative body, so its constitution, rules and procedure must be entirely different. In fact our All-India body must be not a Congress or Conference even, but a Council, and since in spite of Shakespeare and St. Baikonthanath Sen, there is much in a name and it largely helps to determine our attitude towards the thing, let us call our body not the Nationalist Congress, Convention or Conference, but the Nationalist Council.

If the body is to be a Council, its dimensions must be of such a character as to be manageable and allow of effective discussion in the short time at our disposal. A spectacular Congress or Conference gains by numbers, a Council is hampered by them. Therefore the maximum number of delegates must be fixed and apportioned to the different parts of the nation according to their numbers. Secondly, in the proceedings themselves all elements of useless ornament and redundancy must be purged out, such as the long Presidential Speech, the Reception Committee, Chairmen's speech and the division of the proceedings into the secret and official sessions of the Committee of Attor-

ney and the public display of oratory in the full assembly. The first two features are obviously useless for our purpose and a mere waste of valuable time. With the disappearance of the spectacular aspect usually associated with our public bodies, the reason for the mere display of oratory also disappears. The only other utility of the double sitting is that the full assembly forms a Court of Appeal from the decision of the Subjects Committee and an opportunity to the minority for publicly dissenting from any decision by a majority which they might otherwise be supposed to have endorsed. The necessity for the first function arises from the imperfectly representative character of the Subjects Committee as it is at present elected; the necessity for the second function from the absence of publicity in its proceedings. If the whole Council sits as Subject Committee, the necessity for the Court of Appeal or the public assertion of dissent will not occur. The only justification for the existence of the Subject Committee in our present political bodies is their unwieldy proportions, the only reason for its secrecy the attempt to conceal all difficulties in the way of coming to an unanimous conclusion; and neither of these reasons will have any existence in a Nationalist Council. The subjects can be fixed by a small executive body existing throughout the year, which will be in charge of all questions that may arise in connection with the council, subject to approval or censure by the Council itself at its annual meeting. The resolutions on these subjects can be formed in the Council and additional resolutions can be brought forward, if the Council approves. All unnecessary oratory should be avoided and resolutions formulating policy of a standing character can be first got out of the way by a formal motion of them from the Chair. After this preliminary, the Council can go into Committee to consider, approve or amend the report of progress made by the Secretaries for the past year, and, on the second day, resolutions demanding debate and deliberation may be taken in full Council.

The next question is of the date and

of ex-Presidents and long-established officials, no looseness of procedure putting a premium on party trickery and unfair rulings. The only body of officials will be two general secretaries and two secretaries for each province, forming the executive body of the Council, who will be for the most part recorders of provincial work and summoners of the Council and will have no power to direct or control its procedure. Instead of an autocratic and influential President we should have a Chairman who will not intervene in the discussion with his views, but confine himself to guiding the deliberations as an administrator of fixed rules of procedure which he will not have the power to depart from, modify or amplify. He must therefore be like the Speaker of the House of Commons, not an active and prominent leader who cannot be spared from the discussion, but a man of some position in the party whose probity and fairness can be universally trusted.

The last question is that of the electorate. We throw out the suggestion that, in the first place, we should cease to be bound by the British provincial units which are the creation of historical circumstances connected with the gradual conquest of India by the English traders, and have no correspondence with the natural divisions of the people, and should adopt divisions which will be favourable to the working out of the Nationalist policy. And since the main work of the party will have to be done through the vernacular, the most natural and convenient divisions will be those of the half dozen or more great literary languages, minor or dialectical tongues of inferior vitality being thrown under the great vernaculars to which they geographically or by kinship belong. It was the programme of the Nationalist party in Bengal to create a register of voters throughout the country, who could form a real electorate. Such a conception would have been impracticable in the old days when the people at large took no active part in politics; it was fast approaching the region of practicability when the repressions broke the natural course of our national development and introduced elements of arbitrary interference from above and a feeble and sporadic

Terrorist reaction from below, the after-swell of which still disturbs the country. S. J. Bepin Chandra Pal has written advocating the creation of a register of Nationalists, as a basis for organisation. This is, no doubt, the only sound basis for a thoroughly democratic organisation, but so long as the after-swell lasts and the tempest may return, so long as police misrule does not give way to the complete restoration of law and order a register of Nationalists would only be a register of victims for investigators of the Lalunohan and Mazarul Huq type to harass with arrests, house-searches, binding down under securities, prosecutions with no evidence or tainted evidence, and the other weapons which Criminal Procedure and Penal Code supply, and against which there can be no sufficient redress under an autocratic regime not responsible to any popular body, leaning on the police rather than on the people and master of the judiciary. In these circumstances we can only create convenient limited electorates for the election of our council delegates, waiting a more favourable condition of things for democratising the base of our structure.

On these principles we can establish a deliberative body which will give shape, centrality and consistency to Nationalist propaganda and work all over the country. We invite the attention of the leading Nationalist workers throughout India to our suggestion. The proposal has been made to hold a meeting of Nationalists at Calcutta at which a definite scheme and rules may be submitted and, as far as possible, adopted in action so that the work may not be delayed. No United Congress is possible this year, and if or when it comes, the existence of our body which is avowedly a party organisation will not interfere with our joining it.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER V.

In a huge tract of ground in the forest there was a great monastery engirt with ruined masses of stone. Archaeologists would tell us that this was formerly a monastic retreat of the Buddhists and afterwards became a Hindu monastery. Its rows of edifices were two-storied;

in between were temples and in front a meeting-hall. Almost all these buildings were surrounded with a wall and so densely hidden with the trees of the forest that, even at daytime and at a short distance from the place, none could divine the presence of a human habitation here. The buildings were broken in many places, but by daylight one could see that the whole place had been recently repaired. A glance showed that man had made his dwelling in this profound and inaccessible wilderness. It was in a room in this monastery, where a great log was blazing, that Kalyani first returned to consciousness and beheld in front of her that white-bodied, whiterobed Great One. Kalyani began once more to gaze on him with eyes large with wonder, for even now memory did not return to her. Then the Mighty One of Kalyani's vision spoke to her; "My child, this is a habitation of the Gods, here have no apprehension. I have a little milk, drink it and then I will talk with you."

At first Kalyani could understand nothing, then, as by degrees her mind recovered some firm foundation, she threw the hem of her robe round her neck and made an obeisance at the Great One's feet. He replied with a blessing and brought out from another room a sweet-smelling earthen pot in which he warmed some milk at the blazing fire. When the milk was warm he gave it to Kalyani and said. "My child give some to your daughter to drink and then drink some yourself, afterwards you can talk." Kalyani, with joy in her heart, began to administer the milk to her daughter. The unknown then said to her, "While I am absent, have no anxiety," and left the temple. After a while he returned from outside and saw that Kalyani had finished giving the milk to her child, but had herself drunk nothing; the milk was almost as it was at first, very little had been used. "My child" said the unknown, "you have not drunk the milk; I am going out again, and until you drink I will not return."

The sage-like personage was again leaving the room, when Kalyani once more made him an obeisance and stood before him with folded hands.

"What is it you wish to say," asked the recluse.

Then Kalyani replied, "Do not command me to drink the milk, there is an obstacle. I will not drink it."

The recluse answered in a voice full of compassion, "Tell me what is the obstacle; I am a forest-dwelling ascetic, you are my daughter; what can you have to say which you will not tell me? When I carried you unconscious from the forest, you then seemed to me as if you had been sadly distressed with thirst and hunger; if you do not eat and drink, how can you live?"

Kalyani answered, the tears dropping from her eyes, "You are a god and I will tell you. My husband remains still fasting and until I meet him again or hear of his tasting food, how can I eat?"

The ascetic asked, "Where is your husband?"

"I do not know," said Kalyani, "the robbers stole me away after he had gone out in search of milk." Then the ascetic by question after question elicited all the information about Kalyani and her husband. Kalyani did not indeed utter her husband's name,—she could not; but the other information the ascetic received about him was sufficient for him to understand. He asked her, "Then you are Mohendra Singha's wife?" Kalyani, in silence and with bowed head, began to heap wood on the fire at which the milk had been warmed. Then the ascetic said, "Do what I tell you, drink the milk; I am bringing you news of your husband. Unless you drink the milk, I will not go." Kalyani asked, "Is there a little water anywhere here?" The ascetic pointed to a jar of water. Kalyani made a cup of her hands, the ascetic filled it with water; then Kalyani, approaching her hands with the water in them to the ascetic's feet, said "Please put the dust of your feet in the water." When the ascetic had touched the water with his foot, Kalyani drank it and said, "I have drunk nectar of the gods, do not tell me to eat or drink anything else; until I have news of my husband I will take nothing else." The ascetic answered, "Abide without fear in this temple. I am going in search of your husband."

AN EXTRAORDINARY PROHIBITION.

Pandit Bhoje Dutt of Agra has been in our midst for some time, and none had hitherto imagined that he was a political agitator or his preachings dangerous to the public peace. We all knew him as secretary of the Sudhi Samaj, a religious body having for its object the re-admission of converts from Hinduism into the fold of the religion and also, we believe, the admission of converts to Hinduism from other religions into Hindu society with the full status of Hindus. The society has been working for some time with signal success and no breach of the law or the peace. Yet the other day Mr Swinhoe thought fit to prohibit the Pandit from lecturing in Calcutta and the public from attending his lectures for the space of two months. We reproduce the order as it affords singularly clear proof of the contention, always advanced by Nationalists, that under the present system such public liberty as we enjoy, is not an ensured right but an insecure concession, based not on status but on permission, and therefore not, properly speaking, a liberty at all. It runs;—

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me by evidence adduced before me that Pandit Bhoje Dutt, political agitator and Editor of the vernacular paper "Musafir Arya," Agra, has arrived in Calcutta and intends to lecture in the Albert Hall in Calcutta this evening at 8 p. m. on the subject of "Musulman logonke bakhilaf" i. e. against the interests of Mohamedans:—

And whereas I am satisfied that such lecturing or preaching by the said Pandit Bhoje Dutta at any place or in any building in Calcutta may lead to a serious disturbance of the public tranquillity and rioting which will be a source of danger to human life and public safety:—

And whereas I am satisfied that the immediate prevention of such lecturing and preaching by the said Pandit Bhoje Dutt within the town of Calcutta is necessary in the interests of human life and safety and in order to prevent any riot or affray, I do hereby under Section

144 of the Criminal Procedure Code order and direct the said Pandit Bhoje Dutt to refrain from delivering any lecture or preaching or holding or taking part in any meeting within the town of Calcutta, and I hereby direct the public generally to refrain from attending or taking part in any lecture or preaching by the said Pandit Bhoje Dutt and to refrain from attending or taking any part in any meeting of meetings held by or on behalf of the said Pandit Bhoje Dutt in the town of Calcutta and I further direct that this order shall remain in force for a period of two months from the date thereof.

Given under my hand and seal of this court dated the 25th September 1909"

The value of the evidence which so easily satisfied Mr. Swinhoe may be judged from its inaccuracy and triviality. Pandit Bhoje Dutt is not a political agitator, but a religious preacher and social reformer; the proposed lecture had nothing to do with the Mahomedans and was upon the Hindu Puranas, and there was no breach of peace or any approach to a breach of the peace at Monghyr. So much for the accuracy. Secondly, Mr. Swinhoe ought to have known that, although a lecture may be against the interests of the Mahomedans, "Against the interests of the Mahomedans" cannot be the title or subject of a lecture, and we can only suppose that this satisfactory witness was a badly-educated detective or informer who either did not know his own meaning or could not make it clear to Mr. Swinhoe. Nor is it alleged that the preaching in Monghyr resulted in a breach of the peace, only that it nearly so resulted. On such incorrect and flimsy evidence, given ex parte and without any opportunity to the lecturer to expose its falsity, a magistrate is able and willing to deprive a citizen of his civic rights for two months and hamper a legitimate movement. If, after proper enquiry, the Magistrate had found that there was likely to be anything inflammatory in the lecture, he could have stopped the speaker from giving that or any similar lecture, but, even so, there would be no ground for a prolonged denial of civic rights. Farther, it is not enough that a lecture should be against the

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

interests of any community, for there may be such a thing as legitimate opposition of interests; the conversion of Hindus to Mahomedanism is against the interest of Hindus and the conversion of Mahomedans to Hinduism is against the interest of Mahomedans, but neither religion can, on that ground, be denied the right of proselytisation. If it be argued that wherever the exercise of legitimate rights may lead to a breach of the peace, that exercise may be stopped, we say that this is a most dangerous principle, since it would be enough for any section of the community to break or threaten to break the peace to stop others from the exercise of their legitimate rights. On such grounds Mr Asquith should be debarred from holding any meeting because the suffragettes climb walls and throw stones wherever he goes! Such a principle simply means putting a premium upon lawlessness. In other countries the indiscreet use of powers by Magistrates is restrained by public opinion but in India there is no such safeguard.

[Since the above was in type, the Police have undertaken to prove their statements, and the facts stated above must be taken as Pandit Bhoje Dutt's side of the case. Our general criticisms of the policy of the order remain unaffected. The chance now given to the Police to substantiate them case ought to have been given to the Pandit before the order was passed.—EDITOR.]

INDIAN ART AND AN OLD CLASSIC.

We have before us a new edition of Krittibas's Ramayan, edited and published by that indefatigable literary and patriotic worker, Sj. Ramananda Chatterji. Ramananda Babu is well known to the Bengali

public as a clearminded, sober and fearless political speaker and writer; as editor of the Modern Review and the Prabasi he has raised the status and quality of Indian periodical literature to an extraordinary extent, and has recently been doing a yet more valuable and lasting service to his country by introducing the masterpieces of the new school of Art to his readers. His present venture is not in itself an ambitious one, as it purports only to provide a well-printed and beautifully illustrated edition of Krittibas for family reading. With this object the editor has taken the Batatala prints of the Ramayan as his text and reproduced them with the necessary corrections and the omission of a few passages which offend modern ideas of decorum. Besides, the book is liberally illustrated with reproductions of recent pictures by artists of Bombay and Calcutta on subjects chosen from the Ramayan.

The place of Krittibas in our literature is well established. He is one of the most considerable of our old classics and one of the writers who most helped to create the Bengali language as a literary instrument. The sweetness, simplicity, lucidity, melody of the old language is present in every line that Krittibas wrote, but in this recension at least, we miss the racy vigour and nervous vernacular force which was a gift of the early writers. Our impression is that the modern editions do not faithfully reproduce the old classic and that copyists of more learning and puristic taste than critical imagination or poetical sympathy have polished away much that was best in the Bengali Ramayan. The old copies, we believe, reveal a style much more irregular in diction and metre, but more full of humanity, strength and the rough and natural touch of the soil. In no case can our Ramayan com-

pare with the great epic of Tulsidas, that mine of poetry, strong and beautiful thought and description and deep spiritual force and sweetness. But it must have been greater in its original form than in its modern dress.

The great value of the edition lies however in the illustrations. All the pictures are not excellent; indeed we must say quite frankly that some of them are an offence to the artistic perceptions and an affliction to the eye and the soul. Others are masterpieces of the first rank. But in this collection of pictures, most of them now well-known, we have a sort of handy record of the progress of Art in India in recent times. Turning over the pages we are struck first by the numerous reproductions of Ravivarma's pictures which were only recently so prominent in Indian houses and, even now, are painfully common, and we recall with wonder the time when we could gaze upon these crude failures without an immediate revolt of all that was artistic within us. Could anything be more gross, earthy, un-Indian and addressed purely to the eye than his "Descent of Ganges," or more vulgar and unbeautiful than the figure of Aja in the "Death of Indumati," or more soulless and commonplace than the Ahalya, a picture on a level with the ruck of the most ordinary European paintings for the market by obscure hands? Some of these efforts are absolutely laughable in the crudeness of their conception and the inefficiency of their execution; take for instance the fight between Ravan and Jatayu. Raja Rukmangad's Ekadashi is one of the few successes, but spirited as the work undoubtedly is, it is so wholly an imitation of European workmanship that it establishes no claim to real artistic faculty. All that can be said for this painter is that he turned the Indian mind to

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our own mythology and history for the subject of art, and that he manifests a certain struggling towards outward beauty and charm which is occasionally successful in his women and children. But he had neither the power to develop original conceptions, nor the skill to reproduce finely that which he tried to learn from Europe. He represents in Art that dark period when, in subjection to foreign teaching and ideals, we did everything badly because we did everything slavishly. It is fortunate that the representative of this period was a man without genius: otherwise he might have done infinitely more permanent harm to our taste than he has done.

The art of S. M. V. Durandhar shows a great advance. The basis is European but we see something Indian and characteristic struggling to express itself in this foreign mould. Unlike Ravivarma S. J. Durandhar has always a worthy and often poetic conception, even when he fails to express it in line and colour. In the stillness and thoughtfulness of the figures in the second illustration of the book there is a hint of the divine presence which is suggested, and Indian richness, massiveness and dignity support this great suggestion. There is augustness and beauty in the picture of Rama and Sita about to enter Guhyaka's boat. Others of his pictures are less successful. Another intermediate worker in the field who is very largely represented, is S. J. Upendra Kishore Ray. This artist has an essentially imitative genius whose proper field lies in reproduction. There are attempts here to succeed in the European style and others which seek to capture the the secret of the new school, especially where it is original, strange and remote in its greatness; but these are secrets of original genius which do not yield themselves to imitation and the attempt, though it reproduces some of the mannerisms of the school, often ends merely in grotesqueness of line and conception.

सू नृतवादिनी ।

संस्कृतसाहित्यिकपत्रिका
वार्षिकमूल्य सह प्राणपण्येन रु. ३

सं संस्कृतचन्द्रिका ।

संस्कृतसाहित्यिकपत्रिका
वार्षिकमूल्य सह प्राणपण्येन रु. २

वर्तमान एजन्सी, सिरगांच, मुंबई.
संपादक:—श्रीअण्णासुरी वि. बा.

We have not left ourselves the space to do justice to the really great art represented in the book, the wonderful suggestions of the landscape in S. J. Abanindranath Tagore's "Slaying of the Enchanted Deer," the decorative beauty of the "Last Days of Dasarath," and the epic grandeur and grace and strange romantic mystery of "Mahadev receiving the Descent of the Ganges." We would only suggest to the readers whose artistic perceptions are awakened but in need of training, to use the comparative method for which S. J. Ramananda Chatterji has supplied plentiful materials in this book; for instance, the three illustrations of the Kai-kayi and Manthara incident which are given one after the other.—S. J. Nandalal Bose's original and suggestive though not entirely successful picture, S. J. Durandhar's vigorous and character-revealing but too imitatively European work, and S. J. U. Ray's attempt to master the new style with its striking evidence of a great reproductive faculty but small success where originality is the aim. Finally, let him look at the few examples of old art in the book, then at the work of the new school, especially the two pictures against page 22, and last at Raja Ravivarma's failures. He will realise the strange hiatus in the history of Indian Art brought about by the enslavement of our minds to the West and recognise that the artists of the new school are merely recovering our ancestral heritage with a new development of spiritual depth, power and originality, which is prophetic of the future.

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(Concluded.)

We must realise this simple truth. We must understand that there is such a thing as British Conscience. No organised society is or can be without a conscience. Even the naked cannibals have a conscience of their own. The individual is everywhere impelled to subordinate all individual ends to the ends of his community, not by mere physical force explicit or implicit, but really by the communal conscience, the collective moral sense of the people among he lives and moves and has his being. This communal conscience, this social conscience, this national conscience is the vehicle and organ of Dharma everywhere. And there is no nation or people that has not a conscience of its own. The mistake lies in taking abstract view of this social force. For our conscience is not an independent and isolated faculty,—the sixth sense, that determines right and wrong, in the light of original and universal intuitions, without any reference to our intellectual or emotional, or general social, economic, and political life. This is wrong, an unreal, an abstract view of Conscience. Such a view places our moral faculty and our moral life, beyond the realm of evolution. But our conscience is not such an isolated thing. It is, really the sum total of all our thoughts and experiences. It is the resultant, so to say, of all the social forces working about us. It gives its decisions



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not merely on considerations of abstract truth or right, but of the complex impulses and motives working within or without us. Individual conscience is thus the expression really of individual character. National conscience is the expression of National character. An appeal to this tells, for it is an appeal to the very soul and being of a people,—an appeal to the concrete and actual, and the ideal, in the life of that nation. The British conscience to which our moderate friends have been appealing so long, is not this real thing. If we want to influence British public opinion, we shall have to find out the real conscience of the people. An appeal to this real conscience, will not give us what we are striving for as ultimate goal, namely self-government or *Svaraj*. But it will make, if any thing can, the pursuit of our policy and programme of peaceful and lawful self-reliant activities easier and immensely improve the possibilities of peaceful progress towards popular freedom in India.

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POLICE SEARCH AGAIN.

"HITABADI" OFFICE RAIDED.

ARREST OF THE PRINTER.

Colootola Street presented a scene of great commotion at about 1 P. M. on Tuesday last when Superintendent Ellis with Inspectors Frizoni, Baidyanath Mukerjee, Pannalal Brahmachari, Sub-Inspector Abdul Ghumni and a posse of constables marched on to the *Hitabadi* office and entered the premises armed with a body warrant against the Printer and Publisher and another search warrant. The process was in respect of three leading articles appearing in the *Hitabadi*—"The Indian Budget" on the 8th; (2) "The New Police Act" on the 11th and (3) "Why Do You Come" on the 17th August. These articles, according to the charge in the warrant, were construed to come under the clutches of section 124A. I. P. C.

The search commenced at about 1-10 P. M. Police men were stationed on all sides of the premises and communication with outside was not allowed for sometime. The Printer, Babu Nirad Baran Dasa, having presented himself was arrested with due ceremony. A minute search followed and the Police were pleased to seize the following articles:

1. A file of the *Hitabadi* daily Edition from 22nd June 1908 to 22nd September 1909, including copies dated 8th, 11th and 17th August 1909.

2. A Register of attendance of the Compositors etc.

3. A Register of attendance of the clerks.

4. Copies of the *Hitabadi*, dated 8th, 11th and 17th August, 1909.

5. One packet containing 127 M. O. Receipts and Coupons and 10 intimation sheets dated 9th August, 1909.

6. One packet containing 76 M. O. Receipts and Coupons and 6 intimation sheets.

7. One packet containing 48 M. O. Receipts and Coupons and three intimation sheets, date 17th August, 1909.

A Register containing the names of subscribers was also amongst the booty. But it was left at the request of the manager, to be produced when required.

The police also pressed for the production of the *Mss.* Copies and proofs of articles published but they had to leave the idea when the editor told them that these papers are destroyed as soon as they have done with them.

A SUPPLEMENTARY SEARCH.

When the overflowing crowd were struggling to keep in through the windows of the *Hitabadi* office to ascertain what was being done inside, their attention was diverted to a detachment of *Talpatars* headed by Inspector Brahmachari who proceeded a little to the south east and forced their unwelcome appearance at 31-1 Colootola Street where Babu Panch Cowrie Banerji lives. A search not less in its vigour was also made there and the valuable treasures which the Police could lay their hands on consisted of three letters of the following descriptions addressed to Panchowri Babu:—

1. Letter of invitation from Phani-bhusan Banerjee to attend the ceremony of the opening of the Swadeshi Steamer Service at Jinkergacha.

2. Letter from Satish Chandra Sastri Manager "Basumati" asking to publish an obituary re the death of his father.

3. Letter from Promothanath Tarkabhusan asking to revise the *Mss.* copy of the translation of a Pali story.

Having seized documents of such incriminating nature they marched back to the "*Hitabadi*" Office which they all left at about 4-30 P. M. with the documents and the printer, the big game of their chivalrous expedition.

Both the searches were gone through smoothly and the behaviour of Superintendent Ellis was most courteous. The

recipients of this unwelcome visit must thank their lot for these small mercies which were at one time so rare.

THE "HITABADI" SEDITION CASE.

PRINTER RELEASED ON BAIL OF Rs. 5,000.

At the Calcutta Police Court on Wednesday before Mr. Swinhoe, Babu Nirode-Baran Dasa, Printer and Publisher of the "*Hitabadi*," a vernacular newspaper was placed for trial on a charge of publishing seditious articles, namely "*Bharata Budget—a bluff in Primers*" (the Indian Budget) on August 8, last; "*Nutan Police Ayin*" (the New Police Bill) on August 11, last, and "*Keno Ashila*" (Why have you come?) on August 17 last, in the above paper. The accused was arrested on Tuesday by Superintendent Ellis of the C. I. D.

Mr. R. C. Sen, Bar-at-law instructed by Babus Monoj Mohon Bose, Kesab Chander Gupta and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee applied for bail.

Mr. Swinhoe ordered the accused to be released on bail of Rs. 5,000, with two sureties of Rs. 2500 each and fixed the day of hearing for the 6th proximo Babu Narendro Nath Sen and Makurlal Dey have stood sureties.

A LECTURE AT THE ALBERT HALL PROHIBITED.

A RULE ISSUED ON THE C. I. D. POLICE.

At the Calcutta Police Court on Tuesday before Mr. Swinhoe, an application was made on behalf of Pundit Bhoji Dutta to have his worship's order, dated the 25th instant, prohibiting him from holding a meeting in the Albert Hall, rescinded.

On Wednesday, Mr. Swinhoe issued a Rule on the C. I. D. police to show cause why the order should not be rescinded.

Mr. Hume, public prosecutor, will appear to show cause.

The date of hearing was fixed for the 8th proximo.

NOTICE.

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NEWS.

THE CHINESE BOYCOTT.

Reuter, telegraphing from Shanghai, states that Taotai has issued a proclamation to the merchants exhorting them to abstain from the boycott of British steamers at Kiukiang; also fresh stringent instructions have been telegraphed from Peking to the high officials along the Yangtse, insisting that they must end the boycott. The Chinese demand the dismissal of the Police Inspector Mears, who is alleged to have killed a Chinaman at Kiukiang.

AGRICULTURAL FARM AT SUKKUR.

It has been decided to provide Upper Sind with a Government agricultural farm at Sukkur, central place for agricultural work in that part of the province. Irrigation will be provided by pumping water direct from the river Indus.

PROPOSED FEDERATION HALL.

The *Tribune* in its leading article heartily approves of the proposed Federation Hall in Calcutta but suggest upon the Bengal leaders the desirability of making the Hall a Valhalla of our national worthies instead of confining to Bengal celebrities. "Of course" it says "Bengal celebrities will naturally loom much larger than those of other provinces; for the Hall will proclaim a Moderated Bengal in spite of partition. But why not make it a natural Valhalla." It also suggests that busts of that great and righteous Viceroy Lord Ripon and steadfast friends like Hume, Wedderburn, Cotton may be placed in the Hall.

POLITICAL PROSECUTIONS.

On the 25th September under a non-bailable warrant the police arrested Gardhoulal Kalachand, son of Pandit Topandas Sharma under Section 124A, I. P. C., (Sedition) and seized in his house a quantity of papers and some pictures.

SEVERAL ARRESTS FOR SEDITION AT SUKKUR.

A Sukkur telegram says that search warrants and unailable warrants have been issued against Virunal, editor of the Sindhi local vernacular paper and Chitumal, proprietor, Swadeshi Stores, Sukkur. Also that bail has been refused by the Magistrate and appeal for the same is pending before the Sessions Court.

NEWS.

LEADERS' PHOTOS PROSCRIBED.

Mr. Deshapande, 1st Class Magistrate Mahad, (Bombay Presidency) issued a notice, under Section 42 of the District Police Act prohibiting among other things the cries and *Jayajayakaras* of the names of gentlemen like Messrs. Tilak, Paranjape, Lajapatrai, Pal and others. He has also prohibited the exhibition and distribution of their photos and stopped the cries of Shivaji and "Bande Matram" and songs not approved by him at public places. Three photos of Mr. Tilak were seized by the Police before the issue of the above notification at Gajar.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Particulars of companies working in India but registered in England for the month of July shows that the fresh issue of capital for that month amounted to £432,000 and of debentures to £1000, 000. The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation issued nominal capital to the extent of £400, 000; the Rukni and Chargola Tea Companies were started with capital of £7, 000 respectively and the Bombay British Beer Brewing Co. was capitalised at £15, 000. The Oriental Telephone Co. issued debentures for £50, 000 to be applied to Bengal Telephone Co. and the Bengal Iron and Steel Co. also issued £50, 000.

NO HELP FROM ZEMINDARS.

The landowners of Bengal as a rule are not an unenterprising class nor is agriculture one of their strong points. Assistance is not to be expected from them and any improvement will have to come from the intelligent and go-a-head classes and not from the Zemindars who have shown themselves singularly indifferent to any improvement of their opportunities in the past and as far as we see will continue to maintain that attitude. It was the Rajah of Naldanga who excited Prof. Wallace's admiration when he saw him shoe his own horses but such Rajahs are rare. The Rajah of Tikari can and does we believe repair his own motor cars having gone through a course in a large Paris motor firm but we do not hear of any one else of the sort. The Bengal Tenancy Act is more in their line and the awful effects of the latest decision of the High Court on suits by co-sharers.—"I. D. News."

ELECTION OF CONVENTION PRESIDENT.

Karimgunj public protest against the election of Sir Pherozsha Mehta as President of the Convention Congress.

NEWS.

HARRYING EX-CONVICTS.

Now and again cases crop up in our Police Courts of old offenders who have already suffered in the aggregate many years of imprisonment again appearing on charges sometimes serious and sometimes slight. And since one of the current theories of penology is that the confirmed offender should be removed from further chances of mischief he is given a long term of imprisonment, sometimes for trifling offences. The terrible injustice that this sometimes entails is seen in a case reported from Sealdah last week. A man, Chuni Lal Khettry by name, sixty years of age and with two previous convictions against him was charged with traveling on the E. B. S. R. for the alleged purpose of committing theft. Under usual circumstances he would have received a further sentence of some severity. But fortunately for him the occupant of the bench that day was Mr. N. L. Bagechi, Deputy Magistrate, who found that Khettry was in possession of a ticket and that there was no scrap or tittle of evidence against him. The Police, as usual with an eye to their percentage of convictions to arrests, asked for a remand to jail for further enquiries, but the Magistrate had some common sense and a little backbone in him. He declined to commit to jail, and, further he indignantly declared that the police had not given the accused a chance to earn an honest livelihood. He had been arrested for no reason. In a further case that day Mr. Bagechi had occasion to criticise the police and he told them roundly he would write especially to the Inspector-General about the matter. Sealdah is to be congratulated upon possessing a Magistrate like Mr. Bagechi and we trust the higher authorities will strongly support him in his efforts to reform the police of that area and to prevent them harrying ex-convicts back to prison before they have hardly been month out of jail. The Prisoners' Aid Society, which has powerful backing from the High Court bench, should also have something to say about the matter. For if precedent goes for anything Mr. Bagechi is about to have a hard fight with his police and any assistance he gets will be welcome.

Indian daily news.

SIMLA MALARIA CONFERENCE.

Hon. Raj Sunderlal Bahadur, Additional Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, Mr. Forard Commissioner, Allahabad, Division, and Major Chaytorwhite, Sanitary Commissioner, have been appointed to represent the United Provinces at the Malaria Conference to meet at Simla on 12th October.

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IRISH EXTREMISTS.—

A new daily paper has made its appearance in Dublin entitled *Sinn Féin*. It is stated to be the organ of the extreme party, the chief plank in whose platform is the withdrawal of Irish representation from Westminster and the setting up of a National council in Ireland without seeking legislative authority from the British Parliament for purpose. The *Times* quotes the following from a leading article in the journal:—"We shall seek to find points of agreement and not points of difference. We shall advocate *Sinn Féin* as the most effective policy but we shall support every honest effort and give full credit to our countrymen of other political parties for all the work they perform for the common good. We shall refuse to regard any Irish party as our enemies. They may be our opponents; they shall not be our enemies. Our enemies are those who govern—and misgovern—this country against the will of its people—not any section of our own countrymen."

AWAKENED PERSIA.

Everything goes to show that Persia has really awakened at last. Even the disinterested anxiety of her friends as to the utter hopelessness of her financial situation has been falsified by recent revelations. It is not true that she is moving heaven and earth for means to pay her soldiers. Rather it appears that those who fought for the Constitution were mostly volunteers, even regular soldiers asking for no remuneration for their services to the country. That the new Government wants money for sundry purposes is plain enough, but it is confident of finding it in the country itself. As the *Times* correspondent recently admitted, there is no dearth of wealthy men in Persia who are patriotic enough to place their whole fortunes at the disposal of the Nationalists, and the mass of the population were too disgusted with the late regime to grudge any amount of sacrifice to uphold the Constitution. At any rate, there is a growing preponderance of public opinion against the fatal foolishness of a foreign loan. "Opinion is divided even now amongst the leaders of the people," says a correspondent of the *Pioneer*, "as to the expediency of a foreign loan; the majority are in favour of raising a loan in the country itself... Even at this critical stage the idea of appealing to Russia for money is looked upon with disfavour." The following

takes the wind out of the sail of Sir Edward Grey's gallant defence of the Anglo-Russian understanding over Persia:—

The presence of the Russian troops in the country has not by any means improved the situation, and in some quarters the action of Russia is held to be the direct outcome of the policy followed by Great Britain in the south. The position in regard to our relations with Persia is not satisfactory. There is a feeling, rapidly gaining ground, that while in the days before the Anglo-Russian Convention, Great Britain would have prevented aggression on the part of the Russians, now both nations are desirous of depriving Persia of her independence. Entirely wrong as this view is, it is held by some of the leaders of the people. One of them expressed his opinion recently on the Convention as "an ill-fated measure, particularly injurious to British interests." He pointed out that Persia was not bound by the terms of the Convention, having expressly intimated to the British and Russian Legations when the measure was submitted to her that she did not recognise any agreement concluded between the two Powers. He had an opportunity of obtaining the views of the members of the first Mejlis, and found that they were unanimous in the opinion that any compact between Great Britain and Russia in regard to Persia was bound to have evil consequences for the former Power. . . . In the present circumstances, it is doubtful if Great Britain will derive any advantage from her friendship with Russia.

There is already a proposal to place an important business concession in the hands of other financiers than British or Russian! So "Max" will see that the Persians are no longer imbecile hasheesh-eaters who deserve to be trodden upon by a Nadir Shah or a modern edition of that redoubtable tyrant. They have begun to think for themselves and to act for themselves! Yesterday it was the "unspeakable Turk," to-day it is the "despicable Persian," coming into line with the West with one bold bound. What are things coming to? This is more than our modern Horatios can clearly understand.

Panjabee.

"NAUTCH GIRLS IN THE LAHORE EXHIBITION."

The *Vankteshwar Samachar* of Bombay says:—Some one has rightly styled the new assembly of (Congress) Babus as the

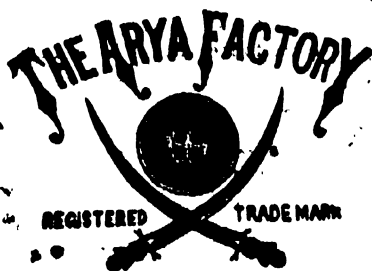
Mehta *Majlis*. The practical Lahoris are now trying to convert it into a *Mahfal*. May God grant them success! It will only be then that the proverb of a monkey with a mirror shall attain significance. Our readers are aware that every year an Exhibition is held along with the Congress. The Exhibition is not held simply for amusement sake but the prime object is that people may get instruction by seeing various manufactures and know where they could be had. But it seems that our Lahore friends do not attach much value to this bogey of instruction and knowledge, hence good many of them have thought of converting the Exhibition into a *Rang bhavan* or a dancing and singing assembly. Our friends argued that there was no use in simply exhibiting clumsy manufacture of the country, that will be only a dull affair; something should be done to divert the mind also. The beauty of Munna Jan, Pyari Jan, Gul Khoro and others was before their eyes. At once they thought of them and resolved to have dancing girls in the Exhibition. That will serve a double purpose. First of all their own eyes and minds will be satiated. Secondly their wives and children will have opportunity of performing *veshya mahatam*. An expert was sent out to hunt up for various *jans*. But lo! the terms were being settled with the heroines, when a dry and puritanic fellow like Professor Ruchi Ram intervened and with help of Sir P. C. Chatterjee got the proposal shelved. The shock to our friends can better be imagined than described. They put a heavy slab on their hearts, what could they do? But they need not be pained! May God grant long life to the Mehta *Mahfal*. Scores of such opportunities will recur and they can then enjoy various *jans* to their hearts' content. You have now got the Congress Mirror in your hands. Make whatever use of it you like.

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Special Report on Industrial Survey of Ben. A.
(*India Calcutta Gazette*, August 20th, 1908).
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"GOOD MORNING BY FORCE"

Mr. E. writes from Dalhousie.—Yesterday (17th) when I was coming from the Post Office, I saw a European on horse-back coming from the opposite side towards me. Reaching me, he stopped and the following conversation took place between us:

European.—Who are you?

Mr. E.—I am an Indian.

E.—Yes, that I know that you are an Indian. Where are you coming from?

B.—I am coming from the Post Office.

E.—How long have you been here?

B.—Since Saturday last.

E.—Are you a new comer?

B.—Yes, Sir.

E.—Why have you come here?

B.—Simply to see Dalhousie.

E.—Do you know who am I?

B.—No.

E.—I am an Officer.

B.—Thank you, Sir.

E.—Then bid me Good-morning.

B.—Good-morning, Sir.

The European pleased at this, spurred his horse and I, also, laughing at this strange "Good Morning" by force, went home.

The Panjabee.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND.

A HINDU LEADER'S VIEWS.

How high is the ideal of British connection among a section of thoughtful and cultured Hindus will be evident from the following essential portions of a letter addressed by Babu Sarada Charan Mitra to a leading politician in England.

"... I am fully sensible that India is not fit to obtain Local Self-Government in the same way as Canada and other Colonies. There are great difficulties in its being made a self-governing colony, although the Colonial form of Government is a legitimate aspiration of the Indian people. But what I intended to say in my letter to you is that England should not be apathetic towards India, that India should be dealt with by the British as a part of Great Britain and that the tie between the two countries

should be closer than that between England and her self-governing colonies. India should, as I have said, be "a part and parcel of England," notwithstanding its physical separation. India should have representatives in the House of Commons in the same way as French India has representative in the National Assembly.

It is a hopeful sign that Britain's sympathy for India is gradually increasing. In proportion as the government of the colonies will be separated from the Home government Britain will draw India into its bosom and I expect the time will come when she will cease to consider India to be a mere dependency but will consider it a part of it. It is a distant hope but sooner such a day comes the better it will be for both countries.

It may be said that the great majority of the Liberal Party are practically representatives of India although they are selected by British constituencies. The number of such representatives will gradually increase and at last the British Parliament will deem it expedient to call upon India to select its own representatives. My ideas and words have you will suppose, a prophetic tone but wish as often said is the father of thought.

Many of my European friends think that a Colonial form of Government like that of Australia or even Canada means virtual independence. That is undoubtedly so and unless European population predominates in India there is no hope or even possibility of such a self-government for India but it is feasible to have Indian representatives in the governing body in London."

Yours Sincerely.

(Sd) SARADA CHARAN MITRA.

ENGLAND'S PROBLEM IN INDIA.

AN ITALIAN VIEW.

In the course of a recent article on Indian Affairs, inspired by the execution of Madan Lal Dhingra, the "Secole," of Milan, writes:—

What do the Hindus want? They only wish to be masters in their own house. In the subordinate line, as the lawyers

say, they wish to have autonomy or self-government like the Canadians, the Australians, and the Africans of Austral Africa. The English say that they are not mature, and limit themselves to petty reforms which they think ought to satisfy the restless Nationalists. But it is now quite clear that these petty reforms will not suffice. The whole country is agitated by a spirit of revolt. What will England do to keep in check three hundred millions of rebels, with the hundred and fifty thousand armed men which she maintains in India? That is the great problem which is beginning to disturb the minds of such English as think at all. "We have conquered India with the sword, and we mean to preserve it with the sword" is what an English general has said.

It is a profound error, which could be rooted only in the brain of a military man by profession. Half a century ago it was still perhaps possible to over-rule a nation with the sword alone. Now it is not so, particularly in the case of Asiatic populations still thrilling at the recollection of the Japanese victories at Mukden and Tsushima. If England, mistress of the art of colonisation, wishes to preserve India she will continue to adapt herself, as in the case of Canada, Australia, and even Egypt; abandoning from time to time a part of her authority and making all the concessions that the Indians demand in their meetings. On this condition alone will England succeed in prolonging her domination over India, until the day arrives on which the quendam colony, like all the other colonies for that matter, will detach itself from the tree like a ripe pear.

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THE TRANSVAAL STRUGGLE

Like the siege of Gibraltar the attack upon the Transvaal Citadel of Indian national honour and manhood has been carried on during three long and weary years. It has been signalised by much of treachery and foul play on the part of the besiegers and redeemed by much of heroism mostly unconscious, on that of the besieged. On the one hand, may be set broken pledges, shameful allegations, abuse of confidence, slander of a confidence, slander of a whole community, shocking ill-treatment, cruel injustice; on the other, wonderful courage and endurance, boldness and fortitude, self-sacrifice and self-restraint, determination and persistency, devotion and patriotism, self-respect and self-development.

Whilst the Transvaal Government have had all the power of the State at their commands a whilst they have been able to supply secretly false information and doctored facts to the Imperial Government without the unhappy Indians having an opportunity for reply until months afterwards when the poison had already done its work; whilst they have been able to use all the terrorism that are associated in the public mind with indiscriminate Police intrusion, wholesale arrests, ill-treatment and semi-starvation in goal, hostile magistrates arbitrary deportation, the ruin consequent upon forced sales of goods, undue pressure brought to bear by European wholesale merchants, and a dozen other manifestations of an compromising authority; the unfortunate victims of this policy of suppression and annihilation of a whole community have only one weapon of defence—a willingness to suffer every hardship, even death itself, for the sake of conscience, and because they believed that right was on their side. It is not going too far to state that the welfare of the entire Indian community in the Transvaal is in the hands of less than half-a-dozen men acting arbitrarily. Let us take a concrete instance. A pre-war Indian resident of the Transvaal returns to the Colony in 1901, let us say, after leaving it in 1902 or the early part of 1903. He is ignorant of the arrangement whereby the community agreed with Lord Milner to re-register voluntarily. On the strength of his old Dutch Registration Certificate he has returned to the Transvaal before the new Court's decision that such a document would not act as a Permit. He is therefore entered in a perfectly *bona fide* manner. He applied for registration during the voluntary period last year, but was refused without any explanation being given. The real reason of the refusal is that he cannot produce a Milner Registration Certificate and Permit, and the fact of his possession of a Dutch Pass renders him a suspect to the authorities. Suppose now that, being a pre-war resident, he is entitled to registration under Act 16 of 1901, and that his registration is marked "re-registered" in the hands of the Registrar. He is then free to further evidence of pre-war residence. He is at once assumed to be an unlawful entrant his application is refused, and a warrant is issued for his arrest. It is true that he has a right of appeal against the Registrar's decision but this he probably does not know, and he may not be able to afford to pay counsel to conduct the appeal. He is arrested, formally brought before the Magistrate and ordered to be deported from the Colony. There is no appeal from the Magistrate's order, which is administrative and not judicial and the fate of this man, a lawful resident is thus in the hands of the Registrar a Police Superintendent and a Magistrate each acting arbitrarily. He may be snatched away from his family who are thus left in all probability, quite unprovided for and sent away to India without the possibility of making any effective protest. Cases have been known where men born in the Transvaal have been put over the border of that Colony, and there has recently arrived in India a man who was born in Natal and domiciled in the Orange River Colony, who was deported in this way. The Transvaal Government have acted in a lawless manner again and again, safe in the knowledge that most of their victims are unable to seek redress. Again and again the Supreme Court has condemned their action and now they secure themselves even against this by arranging with the Portuguese authorities of the Province of Mozambique to detain deported Indians and send them to India instead of giving them the opportunity to return receive sentence as prohibited immigrants and appeal to the Supreme Court against the sentence with the object of defending their claims.

Throughout all this trouble the Transvaal Indians have exercised a patience and a forbearance that have extorted the unwilling admiration even of those who have been most hostile to their demands. Men and boys have gone to goal repeatedly for the sake of the cause. Their country's honour was at stake, there was the solemn oath that they had taken to die in goal rather than shamefully surrender and they felt that the whole future of the community was in their hands. The women cheerfully sent their husbands, brothers and sons to starvation and degradation in prison rather than that they should suffer deeper degradation of betrayal of their brethren.

There have been over 2,500 convictions; there have been ruined businesses; there has been mental and physical torture; there have been deaths. Hearts have been broken, families have been surrendered, homes have been destroyed, happiness has vanished. The small remnant who are still continuing the struggle mostly Madrasias, have sworn to die in goal, unless the Transvaal Government concede the just demands of the community.

And now the Transvaal Indians appeal to India to help. They appointed four delegates to place the position before the Indian Public and authorities three of these were arrested and imprisoned so that the departure of the Deputation might be prevented. Thus the Transvaal Government have tried to bind and gag the Indians in the Transvaal. The latter in their extremity, turn to India to offer so powerful an expression of opinion, that the moral support that she can give will enable the Imperial Government effectively to intervene to procure a satisfactory settlement. Mr. H. S. L. Polak in the *Indian Review*.

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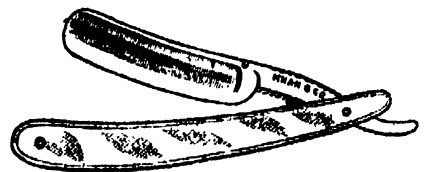
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No. 16.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Apostasy of the National Council.

We have received an open letter from some teachers of the Rungpur National school in which they warn the President of the National Council of Education of the evil effects likely to ensue from the recent National Risley Circular and protest strongly against the policy underlying it. For reasons of space we are unable to publish the letter. The signatories point out that the movement took its birth in the boycott movement and was from the first, closely associated with it in nature and sympathy, that the participation of young men in the national awakening has been one of the chief causes of its rapid progress and success and that the new policy of the Council not only divorces education from the life of the country, but destroys the sympathy and support of the most progressive elements in the nation. It is also pointed out that the donation made by Raja Subodh Mallik, from which the practicability of the movement took its beginning, and the sacrifices made by the teachers and students of the first established schools were intimately connected with the revolt against the Risley Circular, and yet the same circular is repeated in a more stringent form by the

Council itself. There were two conditions attached to Raja Subodh Chandra's gift; the first that the maintenance of the Rangpur and Dacca schools, which were created to give shelter to students who persisted in taking part in politics in spite of all prohibitions, should be assisted out of his donation, and second that no form of Government control should be submitted to by the Council. It would be mere hypocrisy to deny that the issue of the prohibitory telegrams by the Secretary was the result of the Government circular previous to the seventh of August. We do not know by what morality or law of honour the Council clings to the donation while infringing in the spirit its most vital condition. Perhaps these things also, no less than courage and sincerity, are considered unessential in this new "national" education. We notice that Sj Hirendranath Dutt at Dacca seems to have openly proclaimed the abjuration of all connection with politics as part of the duty of a "National" school. We must therefore take the divorce of the National Council from the national movement as part of a deliberate and permanent policy, and not, as it might otherwise have been imagined, a temporary aberration due largely to the fact that the President and the most active of the two Secretaries are members of

Legislative Councils and therefore parts of the Government which is supposed to have no control over the institution. All that we can now expect of the Council is to be a centre of scientific and technical education; it can no longer be a workshop in which national spirit and energy are to be forged and shaped.

The Progress of China.

A recent article in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* gives a picture of the enormous educational progress made by China in a few years. In the short time since the Boxer troubles China has revolutionized her educational system, established a network of modern schools of all ranks, provided for a thorough modern education for her princes and nobles, and added to the intellectual education a thorough grounding in military knowledge and the habits of the soldier, so that, when the process is complete, the whole Chinese people will be a nation trained in arms whom the greatest combination of powers will not care to touch. On another side of national development, a railway has just been opened which has been entirely constructed and will be run by Chinese. When the process of education is well forward, it is intended by the Chinese Government to transform itself into a constitutional and Parliamentary government, and in its programme this great automatic revolution has been fixed

to come off in another eight years. No other race but the Chinese, trained by the Confucian system to habits of minute method, perfect organisation and steady seriousness in all things great and small, could thus calmly map out a stupendous political, social and educational change as if it were the programme of a ceremonial function, and carry it out with thoroughness and efficiency. Once the Chinese have made up their minds to this revolution, they are likely to carry it out with the greatest possible completeness, businesslike method, effective organisation, and the least possible waste and friction. In the history of China, no less than the history of Japan, we are likely to see the enormous value of national will-power using the moral outcome of a great and ancient discipline, even while breaking the temporary mould in which that discipline had cast society, thought and government. We in India have an ancient discipline much more powerful than the Chinese or Japanese; but where is the centre of sovereignty in India which will direct the national will-power to the right use of that discipline? Where even is the centre of national endeavour which will make up for the absence of such a Government? We have a Government manned by aliens, out of touch with and contemptuous of the sources of national strength and culture; we have an education empty of them which seeks to replace our ancient discipline by a foreign strength, instead of recovering and invigorating our own culture and turning it to modern uses; we have leaders trained in the foreign discipline who do not know or believe in the force that would, if made use of, revolutionise India more swiftly and mightily than Japan was or China is being revolutionised. It is this and not internal division or the drag of old and unsuitable conditions that makes the work in India more difficult than in any other Asiatic country.

Partition Day.

Partition Day comes round again on the 16th October. Last year, executive caprice prevented the day from being celebrated with all its accustomed ceremonies; this year, there is not likely to be a similar interference, and we trust that all the

usual circumstances of the occasion will be observed without any abridgment. On the 7th of August the official organisers were afraid to start the procession from the College Square; now that S. J. Surendranath is with us, we trust that no such unworthy considerations will be allowed to mar the fullness and imposing nature of this feature. From no other centre in Calcutta is an effective procession at all probable, and it was seen last August that the only result of trying to change it was to break up the procession and mar its effect. The two most essential features, however, of the Partition Day are the Rakhi Bandhan and the reading of the National Proclamation; it is above all a day of the declaration of Bengal's indivisible unity and these two functions are for that reason the very kernel of the observances. It is unfortunate that the celebration should coincide this year with the Puja sales, as this may interfere with the closing of the shops, which is the most salient sign of protest against the dismemberment. We hope the official organisers are taking steps to counteract this unfavourable factor.

NATIONALIST WORK IN ENGLAND.

We publish in this issue an article by S. J. Bepin Chandra Pal in which he suggests the necessity of a Nationalist agency or bureau in England, and states the reasoning which has led him to modify the views formerly held by the whole party on the inutility of work in England under the present political conditions. Bepin Babu has been busy, ever since his departure from India, in work of this kind and it goes without saying that he would not have engaged in it or persisted in it under discouraging circumstances, if it had not been borne in on him that it was advisable and necessary. At the same time, rightly or wrongly, the majority of our party still believe in the concentration of work into the effort to elicit and organise the latent strength of the nation, and cannot believe that work in England at present is anything but hopeless and a waste of money and energy. We freely admit that under certain circumstances an agency in England might become indispensable. That would certainly be the case if an elective body

with substantial but limited powers were established in India and serious differences of opinion were to arise between the Government and the popular representatives. But such a state of things is yet remote, and the reformed councils will certainly not be such a body. At present, what will such a bureau or agency do for the country? Bepin Babu suggests that it may supply the British public with correct information so as to stem the tide of unscrupulous or prejudiced mis-information pouring into England through Reuter and other Anglo-Indian sources, and that, if the British public get correct information, they will at once put a stop to the policy of repression. We confess, our impression is the reverse,—that however correct the information we supply, the British public as a whole—we do not speak of just and open-minded individuals,—will still prefer to put confidence in the mis-statements of their own countrymen rather than in the true statements of what they believe to be an inferior race indebted to them for any element of civilisation it may now possess. Our impression is that even a correct idea of the facts would not necessarily lead to a correct appreciation and policy based on those facts;—many political and psychological factors would interfere.

If we are to change our opinion, it must be either as the result of new experience showing the effect of agitation in England or of new reasoning correcting the imperfections of our old premises and conclusions. The only fact that seems to be in favour of a re-adjustment of our views, is the energetic campaign in Parliament of Mr Mackarness and his friends for the release of the deportees. It is alleged that, but for the untoward incident of the Curzon Wyllie murder, some if not all the deportees would by this time have been released. We have our doubts about this conclusion. Sir Henry Cotton and some of his colleagues were always ever-hopeful about the effect of their pressure, and their expectations were more than once disappointed. No ministerial pronouncement ever lent any colour to their idea that the release was imminent when the assassination happened. All that the Government had promised, was to consider the question of the

deportees, farther detention, in the usual course, on the presentation of the sixmonthly report, a consideration usual without any Parliamentary agitation. The discomfort of the questions was, no doubt, great and the long-established sentiment of many Liberals and not a few Conservatives was offended by the long detention of public men without a trial. But this in itself, though it strewn the path of the deporters with thorns instead of its being, as they would have liked, strewn with roses, would not, by itself, have secured the release of the deportees. Even if it had, the release of one or two or more of the deportees would not have removed the policy of repression. Only the repeal of the Act could have done that, and it must have been followed by the eradication of executive illegalities and police harassment as well as of the readiness of Government to pass repressive legislation, before the real obstacles in the way of peaceful progress could be removed. Would an agency in England seriously help towards such a consummation,—that is the question. It means the diversion of money and effort, and we must see a reasonable chance of a return before we embark on it.

Bepin Babu urges that it will, and bases his conception on a certain reading of the British character and policy which we hesitate to endorse in its entirety. It is quite true that we have heard of certain irresponsible Englishmen longing for a violent outbreak on the part of the people, which would give them an excuse for equally violent measures to crush Indian aspirations for ever. But we do not believe for a moment, that some of the responsible officials, —and that we believe is all Bepin Babu implies,—cherished the same idea. We think that all Government officials have regarded the outbreak of Terrorism, small though it was, with alarm and the utmost anxiety to get rid of it, and indeed we believe the institution of organised repression to have been the result of an ignorant and unreasoning alarm which hugely exaggerated the dimensions and meaning of the outbreak, as well as wholly misunderstood the drift of the Nationalist movement. We take exception also to Bepin Babu's suggestion of the bully in the British character being responsible for the repressions, as if it were something peculiar to

the British race. What Bepin Babu wishes to indicate by this phrase, the readiness to use repression and what are erroneously called strong measures, to intimidate a popular movement, is a tendency which belongs not to British character especially but to human nature, and should be considered the result not of character but of the position. The Government in India favour repression because it seems the only way of getting over what they regard as a dangerous movement, without concessions which mean the immediate or gradual cessation of their absolute paramountcy. It is a case of incompatible interests, and until both parties can be brought to a modus vivendi, such it will remain. How is that incompatibility to be surmounted, for, at first sight, it seems to be an insurmountable obstacle. Bepin Babu relies on the enlightened self-interest of the British people and to a certain extent on their civilized conscience. We think we may as well leave the civilized conscience out of the reckoning for the present. The civilized conscience is a remarkably queer and capricious quantity, on which, frankly, we place no reliance whatever. It is very sensitive to breaches of principle by others and very indignant when the same breaches of principle are questioned in its own conduct. It sees the mote in other eyes; it is obstinately unaware of the beam in its own. It is always criticising other nations, but it ignores or is furious at criticism of its own. It has fits of sensitiveness in which it makes large resolutions, but it can never be trusted to persist in them contrary to its own interests. This civilized conscience is not peculiar to the British people, but belongs in a greater or less degree to every European nation with the possible exception of Russia. We prefer infinitely to rely, if we have to rely on anything, on the sense of enlightened self-interest. Here also we differ from Bepin Babu. He argues as if the British were a thoughtful and clearminded people, and only needed the data to be correctly placed before them in order to understand their interests correctly. This is far from the truth about British character. The English are, or were, a people with a rough practical common sense and business-like regularity and efficiency which,

coupled with a mighty thew and sinew and a bulldog tenacity and courage, have carried them through all dangers and difficulties and made them one of the first peoples of the globe. They have had men of unsurpassed thought-power and clearness of view and purpose, but the race is not thoughtful and clearminded; on the contrary on all questions requiring thought, intelligence and sympathy they are amazingly muddle-headed and can only learn by knocking their shins against hard and rough facts. When this first happens, they swear profusely, rub their shins and try to kick the obstacle out of the way. If it consents to be kicked out of the path, they go on their way rejoicing; otherwise, after hurting their shins repeatedly they begin to respect the obstacle stop, swearing and kicking, and negotiate with it. In this process, familiar to all who have to do with Englishmen from the point of view of conflicting interests, there is much rough practical sense but little thought and intelligence. It is on this conception of the British character that the Nationalist party has hitherto proceeded. The hard fact of a continued and increasing Boycott, an indomitable national movement, a steady passive resistance, have been the obstacles they have sought to present to the British desire for an absolute lordship. We must prevent these obstacles from being kicked out of the way by repression, but the way to achieve that end is to show a tenacity and courage and a power of efficiency rivalling the British, and not to make an appeal to the conscience and clear common sense of the British public. We could only imagine such an appeal having an effect in the as yet improbable circumstance of a Liberal Government with a small majority dependent for its existence on a powerful Socialist and Independent Labour party. Even of this should be the result of the approaching general elections, the appeal could not have effect unless the hard facts were there in strong evidence in India itself. Our whole effort should be devoted to establishing these hard facts in a much more efficient and thorough way than we have hitherto done, and the only way is for the Nationalist party to establish its separate existence, clear from

the drag of Moderatism on the one side and disturbance by ill-instructed outbreaks of Terrorism on the other, and erect itself into a living, compact and working force in India.

One day the Government in India will be obliged to come to the Nationalist party, which it is now trying to destroy, for help in bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the quarrel between the bureaucracy and the people. But that will not be till they have exhausted their hopes of achieving the same end on their own terms by playing on the weaknesses of the Moderate party. If the country were to follow the Moderate lead and content itself with the paltry and undesirable measure of reform now proposed, the progress of India towards self-government would be indefinitely postponed. The Nationalist party therefore, while showing all willingness to coalesce with the Moderates in the Congress on reasonable terms, must jealously guard their separate individuality and existence and decline to enter the Congress on terms which would make them an inoperative force and perpetuate the misbegotten creature of the Allahabad Convention Committee under the name of the Congress. Nor should they be drawn into experiments in England which are, at present, of doubtful value or none.

THE BRAIN OF INDIA.

I

We have spoken in a previous issue of the pre-occupation of the Indian mind with political and economic issues and the reasons why this had to be; we recognised at the time that the hour had come for a widening of the horizon. Such a widening is especially necessary for Bengal. The Bengali leads because he has eminently the gifts which are most needed for the new race that has to arise. He has the emotion and imagination which is open to the great inspirations, the mighty heart-stirring ideas that move humanity when a great step forward has to be taken. He has the invaluable gift of thinking with the heart. He has, too, a subtle brain which is able within certain limits to catch shades of meaning and delicacies of thought, both those the logic grasps and those which escape the mere logical intellect. Above all, he has in a

greater degree than other races the yet undeveloped supermind or faculty of direct knowledge, latent in humanity and now to be evolved, which is above reason and imagination, the faculty which in Sri Ramakrishna, the supreme outcome of the race, dispensed with education and commanded any knowledge he desired easily and divinely. This faculty which now works irregularly in humanity, unrecognised and confused by the interference of reason and imagination, of the limited reason and of the old associations or *sankaras* stored in the memory of the race and the individual. It can not be made a recognized and habitual agent except by the discipline which the ancient Indian sages formulated in the science of Yoga. But certain races have the function more evolved or more ready for evolution than the generality of mankind, and it is these that will lead in the future evolution. In addition, the race has a mighty will-power which comes from the long worship of Shakti and practice of the Tantra that has been a part of our culture for many centuries. No other people could have revolutionised its whole national character in a few years as Bengal has done. The Bengali has always worshipped the divine Energy in her most terrible as well as in her more beautiful aspects; whether as the Beautiful or the Terrible Mother he has never shrunk from her whether in fear or in awe. When the divine force flowed into him he has never feared to yield himself up to it and follow the infinite prompting, careless whither it led. As a reward he has become the most perfect *adhara* of Shakti, the most capable and swiftly sensitive and responsive receptacle of the infinite Will and Energy the world now holds. Recently that Will and Energy has rushed into him and has been lifting him to the level of his future mission and destiny. He has now to learn the secret of drawing the Mother of Strength into himself and holding her there in a secure possession. That is why we have pointed to a religious and spiritual awakening as the next necessity and the next inevitable development.

But along with his great possessions the Bengali has serious deficiencies. In common with the rest of India he has a great deficiency

of knowledge, the result of an education meagre in quantity and absolutely vicious in method and quality. And he is inferior to other Indian races, such as the Madrasi and Maratha, in the capacity of calm, measured and comprehensive deliberation which is usually called intellect or reasoning power, and which, though it is far from the whole of thought, is essential to the completeness of thought. By itself the logical faculty creates the cold and careful scholar, the logician, the rationalist and the politician, the conservative, but it lacks that great mass of human knowledge which makes for slow but sure progress. It does not create the hero and the originator, the inspired prophet, the mighty builder, the maker of nations; it does not conquer nature and destiny, lay its hand on the future, command the world. The rest of India is largely dominated by this faculty and limited by it, therefore it lags behind while Bengal rushes forward. The rest of India has feared to deliver itself to the Power that came down from above to uplift the nation; it has either denied its call or made reservations and insisted on guiding it and reigning it in. A few mighty men have stridden forward and carried their race or a part of it with them, but the whole race must be infused with the spirit before it can be fit for the work of the future.

On his side the Bengali, while in no way limiting the divine inrush or shortening the Titan stride, must learn to see the way he is going while he treads it. For want of a trained thought-power, he follows indeed the ideas that seize him, but he does not make them thoroughly his own. He thinks them out, if at all, rapidly but not comprehensively, and, in consequence though he has applied them with great energy to the circumstances immediately around him, a new set of circumstance finds him perplexed and waiting for a lead from the few men to whom he has been accustomed to look for the source of his thought and action. This is a source of weakness. For the work of the present and still more, for the work of the future, it is imperatively necessary to create a centre of thought and knowledge which will revolutionise

the brain of the nation to as great an extent as its character and outlook has been revolutionized. A new heart was necessary for our civilisation, and, though the renovation is not complete, the work that has been done in that direction will ensure its own fulfilment. A new brain is also needed, and sufficiency of knowledge for the new brain to do its work with thoroughness.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER. VI.

It was far on in the night and the moon rode high overhead. It was not the full moon and its brilliance was not so keen. An uncertain light, confused with shadowy hints of darkness, lay over an open common of immense extent, the two extremities of which could not be seen in that pale lustre. This plain affected the mind like something illimitable and desert, a very abode of fear. Through it there ran the road between Murshidabad and Calcutta.

On the road-side was a small hill which bore upon it a goodly number of mango-trees. The tree-tops glimmered and trembled with a sibilant rustle in the moonlight, and their shadows too, black upon the blackness of the rocks, shook and quivered. The ascetic climbed to the top of the hill and there in rigid silence listened, but for what he listened, it is not easy to say; for, in that great plain that seemed as vast as infinity, there was not a sound except the murmurous rustle of the trees. At one spot there is a great jungle near the foot of the hill,—the hill above the high road below, the jungle, between. I do not know what sound met his ear from the jungle, but it was in that direction the ascetic went. Entering into the denseness of the growth he saw in the forest, under the darkness of the branches at the foot of long rows of trees, men sitting,—men tall of stature, black of hue, armed; their burnished weapons glittered fierily in the moonlight where it fell through gaps in the woodland leafage. Two hundred such armed men were sitting there, not one uttering a single word. The ascetic went slowly into their midst and made some signal, but not a man rose, none spoke,

none made a sound. He passed in front of all, looking at each as he went, scanning every face in the gloom, as if he were seeking someone he could not find. In his search he recognised one, touched him and made a sign, at which the other instantly rose. The ascetic took him to a distance and they stood and talked apart. The man was young; his handsome face wore a thick black moustache and beard; his frame was full of strength; his whole presence beautiful and attractive. He wore an ochre-coloured robe and on all his limbs the fairness and sweetness of sandal was smeared. The Brahmacharin said to him, "Bhavananda, have you any news of Mohendra Singha?"

Bhavananda answered, "Mohendra Singha and his wife and child left their house today; on the way, at the inn"—

At this point the ascetic interrupted him, "I know what happened at the inn. Who did it?"

"Village rustics, I imagine. Just now the peasants of all the villages have turned dacoits from compulsion of hunger. And who is not a dacoit nowadays? To day we also have looted and eaten. Two maunds of rice belonging to the Chief of Police were on its way; we took and consecrated it to a devotee's dinner."

The ascetic laughed and said, "I have rescued his wife and child from the thieves. I have just left them in the monastery. Now it is your charge to find out Mohendra and deliver his wife and daughter into his keeping. Jivananda's presence here will be sufficient for the success of today's business."

Bhavananda undertook the mission and the ascetic departed elsewhere.

NATIONALIST WORK IN ENGLAND.

(By Bepin Chandra Pal.)

Two things must be clearly understood in connection with our British work. In the first place, we do not believe that we shall attain real self-government either of the colonial or of any other pattern, as a free and kindly gift from the British people. Such an act of generosity would involve too great a sacrifice to be reasonably expected of any nation. Least of all

can it be expected of a nation that has never had any large dose of emotionalism or idealism in the composition of its life and character. In the next place, it should be recognised that as the British cannot give us what we are striving for, as our ultimate end and goal, neither can they adopt, in the twentieth century, with all the fierce light of a jealous world-opinion constantly beating about their administration, any fiercely barbarous measures for putting down our legitimate and peaceful activities. Every act of serious repression will have to be justified, some way or other, not only before civilised world-opinion, but even before a large and increasing section of the British public. Up to a certain point, British public opinion itself will resist excessive official repression in India. We have had instances of this even during the last two or three years. The release of Lala Lajpat Rai is a clear illustration of it. The Indian Government, left to themselves, would hardly have let the Lala out so soon. It was the Parliamentary agitation on the subject which really led to his release. And the release of the present deportees, when it comes about, will be largely due to the increasing discontent in the rank and file of the British Liberals with these "un-British" methods, as they call them, of Lord Morley. We were indeed looking forward to their release last July, and if the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie had not found the Government a fresh show of excuse by this time, some, if not all of the present deportees would have surely been out of prison by now. Recent events in Bengal also, seem to strengthen this contention. It is the fear of rousing a protest here, and more particularly in the House of Commons, that has evidently deterred the Government from following the advice of the Anglo Indian merchants and traders for putting down the boycott demonstrations in Bengal. They stopped these in Bombay; because Bombay affairs have of late received but scant attention here. These are facts that cannot be gainsaid; and in view of these, it is scarcely reasonable to set absolutely no value upon British public opinion, as a controlling force in Indian politics.

And if it be a controlling force, can the Nationalist, striving for a

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

peaceful settlement of the complex issues that confront his country at this juncture, refuse to take every possible step, to influence this controlling force in British politics? The success of our propaganda of peaceful passive resistance, depends almost entirely, at the present moment, upon our ability, to reduce, if we cannot remove, the rigors of official repression. Increase or continuance of this repression will kill people's faith in these moral forces upon which our movement stands. It will inevitably drive the movement beyond the moral plane. And a physical struggle between the Government and the people in India will spell utter ruin and disaster to our cause. The enemies of this cause are only too eager to rush it to a physical revolt or revolution. It would be easier then to crush it altogether. Even a section of our own people are playing into their hands, by giving them some show of justification, to exhaust by excessive repressions the patience of the people. This is their game. We have to do all in our power to spoil this game. The hand of repression must be stayed for this purpose; and it can only be done by influencing British public opinion. And British public opinion will not be influenced by appeals to its generosity or liberalism,

however flattering these may be. It will not be moved to any practical efforts by our hollow protestations of loyalty to the British Empire either. It will be effectively moved only by considerations of its own interests. Far greater attention is paid to Indian affairs here now than had ever before been the case. True it is that the papers are, almost without a single exception, practically supporting the present repressive policy. But it is because the majority of them believe that it will soon settle the Indian Unrest and the few that do not, are unwilling to take up any strong attitude against a policy that has the sanction of Lord Morley, the one man in the Liberal party whose moral influence over his party men is absolutely supreme and almost unbounded. There are however, here and there, signs of a feeble awakening. A few publicists have commenced to realise not only the futility but even the dangers of this repressive policy. It is our distinct duty to feed and strengthen this feeble current. If we can convince the British public that the present policy of their Indian Government is creating the conditions of a prolonged and violent revolutionary struggle in India,

a struggle which, whatever its ultimate fate, will, long before that fate is decided, practically ruin every British enterprise in that country, and inflict such a tremendous economic loss on the nation as no political victory will be able to make good, they will at once rise up in arms against this policy, and bring about an immediate reversal of it.

At present they do not realise these dangers. The Government one day proclaims the urgency of stringent measures to meet the unrest and the next day, as soon as they are passed, send out strongly worded assurances that the evil has been well brought in hand. This double game is significant. They have to admit the seriousness of the situation to justify repression. But this very thing which justifies repression, drives capital away, and causes nervous depression in capitalist centres, threatening the collapse of many enterprises in India. Consequently to re-assure the capitalist class, they have, almost in the same breath, to declare that the country is quiet. The repressions and the reforms have, practically, succeeded in removing all cause of anxiety. Thus the game of bluff goes on from day to day.

রাখী সন্মিলন ।

আগামী রাখী-বন্ধন উৎসব উপলক্ষে স্বদেশ হিতৈষী নির্বাসিত মহাকাগণকে স্মরণ করাইবার জন্ত ২২/৪ নং হারিসন রোডে ভাসানতাল এমপোরিয়াম বিনী বাবু প্রকৃতি নির্বাসিত মহাকাগণের প্রকটোর মধ্যে সম্মিলিত সিকের রাখী বৃত্ত প্রদর্শন ছাপা রাখী কার্ড প্রচার করিতেছেন। ইহাতে রাখীর গান রাখী ময় ও সমরোপযোগী একটি ছন্দে কবিতা আছে।

এতদ্ব্যতীত অরবিন্দ বাবু ও ডাহার পত্নীর হস্ত-তোলা কটোয় "অরবিন্দ রাখী কার্ড" ও ভারত মাতা চিত্র সম্বলিত "ভারতমাতা রাখী কার্ড" ছাপা হই-
গাছে। প্রতি কার্ডের মূল্য এক আনা মাত্র।

কাউন্সিল ডাই অগ্নি, আত্মীয় স্বজন ও বন্ধু বান্ধব চিত্রক উপহার পাঠাইয়া স্বদেশ প্রেম উদ্বোধন করি-
বার উপযোগী হইয়াছে। আনন্ডে গ্রহিৎ বাঞ্ছিত দিব্যার শিশু দুই প্রকার সিকের রাখী এবং এক প্রকার পুতীর রাখী বাহির হইয়াছে। ১নং সিকের রাখী এক শত, এক টিকা। ২নং এক শত, আট আনা। ৩তীর রাখী এক শত, চারি আনা।

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This game must be checked. The British public must be supplied with informations regarding the actual state of things in India. They have, hitherto, been treated to pleasant stories concerning their achievements in that country. These have fed their pride of race. These have created in their mind a strong conviction of their physical, intellectual, and moral superiority over the people of that country. They are so easy to govern. They are so docile, so loyal, so easy to keep down. Even our own advocates here have never tried to seriously disturb this self-complacency of the British people. They have condemned the evils of their Indian administration, but have never pointed out the dangers thereof. They have proclaimed the extreme poverty of the people,—their ignorance, their physical decadence, their economic instability,—and have appealed to the generosity of their rulers, for the redress of these evils. The British people thus know only of the weakness of India, not of her strength.

They know only of her ignorance, but nothing of her intelligence, only of her cowardice, but nothing of her courage, only of her docility, but nothing of her dogged determination. Had they known the country and the people as we do, they would have, most assuredly, taken a very different view of the present situation, a view that would curb the policy of repression and help the course of that peaceful evolution which we are so anxious to promote.

And in the interest of this peaceful progress, so much needed as much for our own good, as for the protection of the enormous economic interests of England in India, it is necessary that we should have a strong bureau here, which will constantly hammer, through the press and the platform, the real facts about India, into the thoughts and attention of the British public. Our appeal will thus lie, not to British generosity, but to the enlightened self-interest of the British democracy. This democracy will not interfere with the policy or acts of its constituted representatives simply in the interest of abstract right or justice. I am yet convinced of it that only if it can be made to realise the serious risks of this policy, it will make itself felt in the counsels of the Empire in a way which no Government will dare to ignore.

There are two things very prominent in the national character of these people, the first is their strong common sense, their regard for material and visible interests; and second their infinite capacity for bullying. The English know how to show fight, such as, perhaps, no other people knows. But they know also how quietly, and with great show of dignity and generosity, to give in to a rival or opponent, when they find it necessary to do so, in order to protect their material interests or to keep up their position and prestige. If they are once convinced that the policy of repression inaugurated by the rulers of India will be bound to lead to serious difficulties and jeopardise both their immense commercial and industrial interests in that country, and their position before the world, they will not hesitate to abandon it, and adopt a more reasonable and conciliatory attitude towards our legitimate aspirations and efforts to be in our own country what other people are in their own. The way in which they have treated the Boers is a glaring illustration of it. The Boers were beaten. England was bound to beat

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একশিতে প্রাপ্য ।

them, after having once declared war against the two Boer Republics. To fail to do so would reduce her position and prestige in the world. She strained every nerve, therefore to conquer these states. But after the war was over, she realised the difficulties of her position as the conqueror, and at once solved the Boer problem in a way, that has practically made the conquered race the real masters of the situation in South Africa, and to day, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony are autonomous as they were ever before, and are, in addition, able to dictate their own terms, in every matter to their conquerors! It is the bully in the British character that made the war, it is the sense of the practical, in the same character, that has now led to the practical abdication of all the rights and advantages of the conqueror, in favour of the conquered, in that country. Taking note of these fundamental elements of the British national character, I feel that if we can work slowly, steadily, courageously, and with due intelligence and circumspection, on the one side in India, keeping up the movement with all the sacrifices that may be demanded of us by it, from day to day, — working peacefully, lawfully, but with dauntless courage and deathless determination,—giving unto Caesar what is Caesar's and claiming for the people what is theirs,—and thus prove the hopelessness of the attempt to frighten or bully us out of our lawful rights and duties, and on the other, keep up an agitation in England for the dissemination of the truth about India, and for constantly pointing out to the British Public how a reasonable settlement may be arrived at between the two countries, reconciling their reasonable claims and interests, with those of the people, then, I feel confident we shall be able, gradually, to steer clear of the risks of a violent, prolonged, and ruinous revolutionary struggle in our country.

বঙ্গ পৌরব ।

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ভাগে ভাষা প্রথম, ভবি । এই পুস্তক পাঠ্য মেয়ে
যেমন উপদেশ দিতে হইবে ইহার পৌরব ও মনোজ
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ও সহজবোধ্য । ইংরেজী কাহিনীকল্প দান ও উপস্থাপিত, এ.
প্রমথ মুখার্জী ১০ নং আমবাগার ট্রাট, কলিকতা এজেন্সিতে প্রাপ্য ।

NEWS.

THE FUTURE CHIEF JUDGE OF BARODA.

It is rumoured that Babu Sarada Charan Mittra ex-Judge Calcutta High Court, will be appointed Chief Judge of Baroda.

RAKHI DAY AND THE DEPORTEES —

In view of the approaching Rakhi celebration and to remind every Bengalee of the Depotees, The National Emporium of 42-4 Harrison Road are issuing illustrated Rakhi Cards with silk Rakhi threads.

THE SWADESHI CASE AT KINHORGUNJ.

In the Swadeshi case, Anandade vs. Purnabhiswas and Dhebsankar, already reported the defence moved the Additional District Magistrate under section 528 and obtained a Rule on the Magistrate concerned or other party to show cause on the 11th instant why the case should not be transferred to the file of the Sub-divisional or some other Magistrate. In the meantime all proceedings shall be stopped.

A LAMENTABLE SUICIDE.

Mr. Shariar, a distinguished scientist and engineer for some reason or other, cut off his connection some years ago from Messrs. Burn and Co's Pottery Works at Ranegunge, and formed a syndicate with the help of which he established an extensive pottery works with headquarters at Combulary in the district of Manbhoom. The articles turned out from the new Pottery Works were superior to those of Messrs. Burn and Co's and the latter finding that their articles do not command an extensive sale had to reduce the price of their articles. Mr. Whyte, Manager of Messrs. Burn and Co's Pottery Works persuaded Mr. Shariar to wind up the business and join Messrs. Burn and Co. as partner. On Mr. Shariar refusing to do so, Messrs. Burn and Co. took lease of the Mouzah from a lady and litigation ensued. Mr. Shariar gained his case in the High Court but on appeal to the Privy Council the decision of the High Court was upset. On hearing that Messrs. Burn and Co. have come to take possession of his dear Pottery Works he shot himself to death and thus passed away a man who had started a new industry and was loved by all the influential colliery managers.

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SEPARATE MAHOMEDAN ELECTORATE.

In response to requests from all parts of India and with full concurrence of Aga Khan the London Branch of the Moslem League has submitted for consideration of Lord Morley a review of the situation with regard to Mahomedan's electoral claims. It declares that the whole Mahomedans are gratified at the intimation that concerning local self-governing bodies Indian Government's amended proposals do not affect Lord Morley's pledges. They are poignantly disappointed when they reflect that the principle which Lord Morley held to be appropriate to the lower rungs of electoral ladder cannot be applied with similar completeness to higher and more important branches of popular representation. The League points out, separate elections are an existent right in many Municipal areas in Northern India. The aim of Muslims has been throughout to have the the problem treated as a whole. The London Committee discussed Mr. Ali Imama's scheme during the latter's visit to London, but it is unable to favour the scheme which is condemned by overwhelming weight of Moslem opinion as failing to secure real adequate representation. Only a separate register can assure the execution of the principle affirmed in Lord Morley's despatch of 27th November, that Legislative Councils should reflect leading elements of population. The Committee suggests an alternative scheme which mainly follows that submitted to the Viceroy by the Talukdars of Mahmudbad, and says that even the allotment of nine seats on the Viceroyal Legislature to Mahomedans will leave the Hindus in overwhelming majority.

"INDIAN WORLD" AND THE CONGRESS.

The September number of the *Indian World* has come out with a rejoinder in defence of Bengal's attitude in the matter of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's election as the President of the next Congress. It declares that the charge levelled against the Bengalee leaders of being petulant, dictatorial and provincial is not only groundless but silly. It further states that if Bengal secede from the next Congress it shall do so from no spirit of personal dislike of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta but from the point of view of the highest patriotism.



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NEWS.

SENSATIONAL REPORT FROM NATAGRAM.

Yet another sensational report comes from Natagram Faridpur near Orakandi the seat of the Australian Mission. One Mahomedan Sub-Inspector with two constables went to arrest a namasudra thief. The namasudras attacked them furiously, dangerously wounding both the constables and killing one boatman. The constables are lying hospital at Orakandi.

THE LAHORE EXHIBITION.

Mr. Nundlal Secretary to the Amritsar Temperance Society has addressed an appeal to Sir P. C. Chatterji and other Exhibition authorities asking them not to allow any liquor shop in the Exhibition grounds on the ground that the example of educated men taking liquors may have a pernicious influence upon the agriculturists of the province, who will flock in large numbers to the Exhibition.

QUEEN ANNE'S LODGE.

The "Times" states that negotiations for lease of Queen Anne's lodge near Carlton Hall for the Indian unofficial societies provided for under Lord Morley's scheme, has fallen through owing to refusal of the owners, who are also directors of Queen Anne's mansions. They feared that amenities of residence in their adjoining flats would be impaired thereby. On the other hand, the most important feature of the scheme is already yielding good results. Increasing numbers of students are seeking counsel of adviser. Mr. Arnold who has done much to facilitate prompt admission of students to institutions in England.

MIDNAPORE BOMB CASE SEQUEL.

Through Babu Pyarilal Ghose, M. A., B. L., Vakil, Babus Abinash Chandra Mitra, Zemindar, Upendra Nath Maity, Zemindar and pleader, Jamini Nath Mullick, Zemindar, Khagendranath Banerjee and Gopal Chandra Banerjee, pleaders, have served notices on Mr. Donald Weston, District Magistrate of Midnapore now on leave, Moulvi Muzhurl Huq, Deputy Superintendent of Police, on leave, and Lalmoohan Guha, Inspector of Police Town Midnapore, for institution of suits claiming rupees fifty thousand, twenty-five thousand, ten thousand, five thousand and five hundred, and five thousand and ten only respectively on 27th September.

NEWS.

POLICE ESPIONAGE.

Some of the accused in the Alipore Bomb Case have already been discharged without the slightest slur on their conduct. Babu Purna Chandra Sen, son of Babu Jogendra Chandra Sen, pleader, Tamlook, was one of them. He is now leaving in Midnapore with his elder brother. Though got off from the clutches of the Calcutta Police, he is not so fortunate as to be above the suspicion of the local police, who are, on their walk to ascertain his whereabouts, as if he were an ordinary criminal. A few days ago, he was even roused more than once at night with the other members of his family.

ALLEGED POLICE TORTURE IN INDIA---

On the British House of Commons Dr. Rutherford asked whether, in view of the findings of the Police Commission Lord Morley had recommended to the Government of India the prohibition of every form of physical and moral torture. The master of Elibank replied that the question conveyed an entirely erroneous impression that police torture was prevalent throughout India and was countenanced by the Government. The Indian Government was doing its utmost to eradicate the abuses, improve discipline and raise that standard of the force which was drawn almost wholly from the general Indian population. It was only fair to the heads of the police to add that their endeavours in this direction were meeting with substantial success.

SRIJIT HIRENDRANATH DUTT AT MYMENSINGH.

On the 29th September Srijit Hiren-dranath Dutt, M. A., B. L., addressed a crowded public meeting held at the Durgabari on religion and education. He was greeted with shouts of *Bande Mataram* on arrival. He kept the audience spell-bound for one hour. He explained why Hindu religion survived many shocks. He said that education without religious training cannot develop manhood and that education through the medium of foreign language wastes student's energy and retards the development of ideas. The present system teaches word rather than imports. The national system endeavours to remedy these defects. The parents and guardians should co-operate with the National Council and make best education system available to every district. He left for Dacca.

NEWS.

LASCARS AS SEAMEN.

Mr. Churchill, replying to Mr. Thorne in the British House of Commons relative to the employment of lascars as seamen, said the records did not support the view that the lascars were useless in times of danger. He did not propose to introduce any legislation to prevent the employment of such seamen when they were competent.

THE ANANDA MOHAN COLLEGE.

The ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Ananda Mohon College at Mymensingh was performed on the 30th September yesterday at 4.30 p. m. by Mr. Blackwood, District Magistrate Maharaj Kumar Sasi Kanta Acharyya, Rajah Jogendra Kishore Roy, his eldest son and all the local officials, pleaders muktears, ministerial officers, teachers and doctors attended the ceremony. Babu Baikuntha Kishore Chakravarti M. A. Principal, in a long report traced the origin of the local City College, its death, and the growth of the new college named after the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. The total fund amounts to one lakh and forty thousand rupees. The Government grant is 65 thousand rupees and donations from zemindars amount to the remaining sum of 75 thousands, 30 thousands being the donation of Rajah Jogendra Kishore Ray of Ramgopalpur on condition that the College be named "the Ananda Mohon College." The public are thankful to Rajah Jogendra Kishore and the Magistrate for this fitting monument of the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. The estimated cost of the college buildings is seventy thousands. The Magistrate in a short speech detailed the future prospects of the College, which he hopes will have a fully equipped science class by amalgamation with the Promotha-Monmotha College of Tangail. The laboratory is to be named after the said zemindars of Santosh, who make a donation of twenty-thousands. Other big donors are:—The late Maharajah Bahadur, five thousands, Maharaj Kumar Sasi Kanta Acharyya fifteen thousands, Babu Hem Chandra Choudhury ten thousands, Babu Jagat Kishore Acharyya Chowdhury five and a half thousands.

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NEWS.

PROHIBITING PROCESSION.

We hear Babu Bishnupada Mukerjee of Bhowanipur Calcutta has served a notice upon Babu Girish Chandra Roy Police Inspector Chandpore, to the effect that he Bishnupada Babu felt a good deal of mental agony and suffered greatly in the estimation of the public for the measure the Inspector took with some Sub-Inspectors and a posse of constables in dispersing a lawful procession by preventing him from proceeding in the King's high way singing national songs accompanied by a few gentlemen of the locality without any legal authority or justification, for not taking license from the Municipality which was not necessary. He therefore asked the Inspector to apologise to him for this act within a week or he would put the matter into the hands of the lawyer.

THE IMPENDING NATIONAL SCHOOL.

On the 28th September at the Golakpur Lodge a Conference for deliberations about the national system of education was held. Mr. W. C. Ghose, Barrister Babus Shama Charan Roy, Anath Bandu Guha, Rohat Mohan Guha and many other pleaders, muktears, doctors and other respectable citizens were present. Balu Hirendra Nath Dutt, M. A. B. L. attorney, and Babu Mon Mohan Bhattacharya, M. A. impressed the audience with the utility of national education. The former fully explained that under the present University system 80 per cent of students were not likely attain success. For them the national system may open suitable avenues. Therefore the local National School should be well equipped. 5,000 rupees as subscription were promised on the spot: Balu Anath Bandu Guha Rs. 1000; Babu Mohin Chandra Roy Rs. 1200; Babu Jagatjiban Roy, Rs. 250; others Rs. 100 or less. This subscription is intended for the building fund only. The late Maharajah Bahadur made a gift of a site. The Conference was a grand success. Rs. 20,000 is required for the school building and other equipments.

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MAHAMMADANS AND GOVERNMENT.

The *Frontier Advocate* of the 23rd, publishes the details of the forcible conversion of three Hindu minor boys, which if true, well illustrates the miserable plight of our co-religionists in the Frontier Province. About a fortnight ago (from the 23rd) a Mahammadan teacher of the Boys' School in Miran Shah (Tochi Valley); forcibly converted two Hindu pupils, between 12 and 14 years of age, to Islam. The boys' parents reported the matter to Mr. Keen the popular Political Agent who sent for the teacher and the Lambardars of the place. They informed the Agent that the boys had accepted Islam of their free will. Mr. Keen told the headmen that he would keep the boys with himself for some time and try to know of their religious ideas and see whether they had voluntarily accepted the religion of the Prophet. The men retired for the time being to their village. Shortly after, however, collecting a large group of armed villagers they repaired to the Government camp with drums beating and trumpets blowing. Hearing the noise Mr. Keen enquired of the *sardars* of the Border Militia the reason of these hilarious proceedings. He got the reply that the music formed the accompaniment and panoply of an advancing marriage party. The crowd eventually approached and began to fire at the Camp. Then the *sardars* told the Agent that the crowd was bent on fight thereupon Mr. Keen ordered his militia to oppose the raiders. The *sardars* replied that as it was a religious matter they could not carry out his orders. Mr. Keen instantly realised the gravity of the situation. On the advice of the Tahsildar it is said the Political Officer made over the boys to the raiders. To the Hindus, who appeared to have remonstrated against the hasty proceedings, he is said to have stated that if this were not done his own life would have been in grave danger.

The *Frontier Advocate* assures its readers that the incident has created quite a sensation among the Hindu population of dera Ismail Khan where several private letters have been received from their co-religionist at miran Shah of their sad lot shortly after this incident Mr Keen left for Nathia Gulla probably to see the chief commissioner. The result of Mr. Keen's interview with sir G. Roos Keppel is anxiously awaited by the entire Hindu population of the North-Western Frontier province.

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A YOUNG EGYPT CONGRESS

One hundred and twenty Egyptian delegates, also some members of the House of Commons, including Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. G. N. Barnes, and Mr. T. M. Kettle, the Irish Nationalist, attended the Young Egypt Congress at Geneva. Mohamed Farid Bey, the leader of the Egyptian National Party, declared that the people of Egypt would never ask Great Britain for a Constitution. They would ask the Khedive for it, and they would soon obtain it. Mohamed Alaidy read a paper in English asserting that it was not England's business to put down anarchy in Egypt any more than in Mexico or Poland.

A telegram was despatched from Congress reminding the Commons of Great Britain's reiterated promise to evacuate Egypt. A message was also sent to Hilmi Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire begging him to use his influence with Great Britain to secure the withdrawal of the latter's troops from Egypt. Mr. Kettle assured the gathering of Ireland's sympathy with this Egyptians in their present struggle, England, he added, had outstayed the welcome in Egypt. Mr. Keir Hardie promised to defend Egypt's cause in the House of Commons.

A MEETING AT CAIRO.

An orderly demonstration attended by several thousands of persons was held at Cairo. As a result of the gathering, a telegram was despatched to Mr. Asquith protesting against the British occupation of the country and declaring that the Egyptians relied upon the engagements and solemn oaths of the late Queen's Government. To gain our friendship is the message stated, more preferable to English honour than to lose our hearts and support. A telegram was also sent to Hilmi Pasha.

SEDITION CASE IN SIND.

All of a sudden, Mr. Shillidy, Sub-divisional Magistrate Rohri, accompanied by Mr. Hiranand, Sub-Inspector and 3 or 4 other police men arrived at the Edward Press Sukkur owned by Mr. Virumal Begraj on the morning of Friday at about 10 A. M. The Sub-Inspector Mr. Hiranand informed Mr. Vir-

umal that he held a non-bailable warrant of arrest from the Sub-divisional Magistrate Shikarpur-Sukkur and another for the search of this press to discover booklets or pamphlets or purporting to be the translation of Tilak's Swadeshi writings made by Chetumal proprietor, Swadeshi shop, Sukkur. Mr. Virumal allowed the search to be made and pointed to them the books that were needed. Mr. Shillidy was at the press till 4 p. m., he removed all papers under seal as it was intended to sort the papers afterwards. All kinds of letters and papers have been taken away though not covered by the warrant. Mr. Virumal's family house was simultaneously searched under warrant by Mr. Gillespie Police Inspector. The house where Chetumal lived and the Swadeshi shop he owned were searched. Both were arrested and taken to the Collectorate where the accused and Mr. Manley A. S. P. remained for some time. Thence the accused were produced before Mr. Milne, Sub-divisional Magistrate, Shikarpur, who remanded the accused and fixed the trial for 1st October. Mr. Parmanand, Public Prosecutor appeared for the Crown and the accused Mr. Virumal was represented by Messrs. Bhojising and Murlidhar, pleaders. An application for bail made to the Sub-divisional Magistrate at about 1-30 was rejected; but as he very kindly granted true copies of the papers immediately the application was renewed before the Sessions Judge, Mr. Boyd. He issued notice to the Crown pleader and the District Magistrate.

The application was heard by the Sessions Judge, Mr. Boyd in court, where the Crown was represented by Mr. Parmanand, Public Prosecutor, assisted by the complainant Mr. Manley, Assistant Superintendent of Police. The application for bail was opposed by the Public Prosecutor under instructions from the District Magistrate. Statement of facts in the application that in this particular case, Mr. Virumal acted with the District Magistrate rather than against the Government was not seriously contested. The Court was overcrowded and the Sessions Judge ordered Mr. Virumal to be released on bail and furnish a surety of Rs. 10,000 with a bond in a like sum.

At 2 o'clock he got a letter from the S. D. M., Rohri, requiring him to attend the Collectorate where the papers taken away would be sorted.

The other accused Bhai Chetumal was also ordered to be released on bail by Mr. Boyd on his furnishing a surety for a similar sum.

BOMBAY PRARTHANA SOMAJ.

JUSTICE CHNDAVARKAR'S

LECTURE.

"DARKNESS OR DAWN"

In connection with the forty second anniversary of the local Prarthana Samaj Justice Chaudavarkar last evening delivered an address on the "Darkness or Dawn" before a crowded audience. The lecturer in course of the address gave an interesting account of the establishment of Brahma Samaj in Bengal and the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay with political associations with nationality for their watch word. He said they were not only where they had been forty years back but perhaps they had gone even further backward and the signs of the times were such as to make one feel despondent about the future of his country. Lord Morley gave them reforms and first sign by which they were followed in the country was that the Mahomedans came forward and said they must have separate representation. Controversies ensued with the result that Hindu Sabhas were established and now they had organisations which on the one hand professed to protect the interests of the Hindus, while the other party the Mahomedan Associations professed to protect the interests of the Mahomedans. True Hindus, and Mahomedans had in a way been divided 35 or 40 years ago but the separation had not been so pointed as it now had become. And here they had sectarianism and dissension in the most pointed form. The question suggested to them was whether it was darkness or whether it was dawn. It was not to the Mahomedans alone that this separation was confined. But if they went to the Hindus they would find that they had been divided in the house. Every community and every caste had now come to the front and said they must also have separate representation. He also

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referred to the Lingayat and Jain communities, who, the speaker said, did no longer wish to be recognized as an integral portion of the great Hindu community; and he summed up the matter by saying that if there was one thing which was prominently forcing itself on their attention it was the fact that this sectarianism seemed to be the order of the day.

Continuing, the lecturer said, there was a good deal of doubt in what was happening amongst them to damp their spirits to make them feel disappointed and to think that after all was said and done it was not progress but retrogression with which they were faced. Sectarianism was no doubt a mark of retrogression. But as a student of history, as one who drew his faith from God, from humanity and his belief in progress being the order of the day in the kingdom of providence, he felt that the signs which they were witnessing so far from being depressing signs were themselves that signs they were on the path of progress. The events that were happening before them seemed to be rather a sign of darkness but still it was darkness before dawn. Whether however it would be darkness continued or whether it would be dawn that followed darkness upon them upon him and upon every one.]

"SWARAJ" SEDITION. JUDGMENT RESERVED.

Justices Chandravarkar and Heaton heard arguments on the rule taken out by Ganesh Balwant Modak to set aside the order of Mr. Aston, Chief Presidency Magistrate. Accused Modak was charged before the Magistrate under Section 124A. of the Indian Penal Code with having published in India a fortnightly magazine, called "Swaraj," which contained an article "Etymology of Bomb in Bengal" and was sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment.

Mr. J. Baptista appeared in support of the rule. Mr. Strangman, Advocate-General, instructed by the Public Prosecutor, appeared to show cause against the rule.

Mr. Baptista said, the only question the Court had to decide was whether the facts proved constituted publication. His client received advance copies of the "Swaraj." They were sent to the Collector who read and passed them and they were then sold by the accused. What the accused said was that he had no time to read the

article and that he had no knowledge that the article contained seditious matter.

Chandravarkar, J.: Your argument then is that publication required intention. Accused had sold them but had not read the contents, and therefore there was no publication in law.

Mr. Baptista said the Magistrate had held that there was no evidence to show any person to whom they were sold had read the contents. That, the Magistrate held, was not necessary under Section 125A. But the Magistrate thought, that would be necessary for a charge of defamation.

Chandravarkar, J.: Having regard to all the surrounding circumstances and the times of unrest under which this country was passing, why should we not infer that the persons in whose hands they came had read them?

Mr. Baptista: The jury would in that case only come to this inference. In order to constitute a publication three things ought to be established according to the well-known authority of Odgers. The possessor must have read them, he must have read and delivered them to others, and the party to whom they were delivered must have read them.

Mr. Baptista added, accused had received advance copies by post and the consignment was with the Collector of Customs. When his client received the books from the Collector after being approved, accused sold them and they were all disposed of in two hours and not a single copy was left with his client.

Heaton, J.: Is there any evidence when they were received?

Mr. Strangman said they were received on July 22nd.

Heaton, J.: How did he receive advance copies?

Mr. Baptista: By post.

Heaton, J.: What is your client?

Mr. Baptista: He is the manager of the "Rashtramat" and is also manager Bartaman Agency.

Heaton, J.: If it is admitted that he disposed of all the copies the inevitable inference is that they must have been read by the people who received them.

Mr. Justice Chandravarkar said the prosecution could not prove by direct evidence who had read the article, but taking all the surrounding circumstances into consideration and the time of unrest during which they were sent, a presumption did arise that they must have been read by the persons who had received them.

Mr. Baptista said if the contents were not read by the person who sent it, it would not be publication within the meaning of the Section. The grounds on which the Magistrate held the article to be published was the notice which accused admitted he had read.

Heaton, J.: The meaning of the pronouncement in the notice was clear and it referred to spread of sedition.

Chandravarkar, J.: The whole question was whether the article was seditious or not.

Mr. Baptista said the important question the Court had to decide was the intention of the person who sent the article. The jury would not be bound to say that it was the intention of the accused to excite hatred against the Government.

Mr. Baptista showed a distinction between "calculated to excite hatred" and "intention" and cited cases in support of his arguments.

The Advocate-General having replied their Lordships reserved judgment.

TRAVANCORE POLICE.

The case of five policemen, who were convicted of offences of torture, unlawful detention in custody, etc., in connection with the arrests made in June last year soon after the riot has already been reported. The convicted policemen appealed before the District and Sessions Judge, who quashed the conviction of the Magistrate, acquitted the three policemen and ordered the retrial of two others. It is reported that soon after their conviction by the Magistrate orders were issued by the Superintendent of Police to an Inspector to render all necessary help to the policemen convicted, engage a vakil and prefer an appeal. This order of the Superintendent was, it is alleged, followed by a confidential circular to all the Inspectors asking them to give certain percentage of their pay and also realise the same percentage from their subordinates. The circular was signed by the Police Inspector in charge of the Superintendent's Office. A good deal of protest was made by the local Press against this extraordinary procedure, the attention of Government being called. Notwithstanding the strong adverse criticisms in the Press about the circular no official contradiction has so far appeared.

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A WEEKLY REVIEW

OF

National Religion, Literature, Science,
Philosophy, &c.,]

Vol. 1.

SATURDAY 16th OCTOBER 1909.

No. 17.

Contributors —S. J. AUBOINDO GHOSH AND OTHERS.

OFFICE — 14 SHAM BAZAR STREET,
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KARMAYOGIN

A WEEKLY REVIEW

OF

National Religion, Literature, Science,
Philosophy, &c.,

Vol. I. }

30th ASHWIN 1316.

{ No. 17

Special Notice.

Our Office will remain closed in all its departments for two weeks on account of Durgapuja festival. Therefore there will be no issue of Karmayogin for two weeks. Our next issue will appear on 6th November, 20th Kartik Saturday

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Gokhale's Apologia.

We do not think we need waste much space on the arguments of the recent speech in which Mr Gokhale has attempted to reconcile the contradictory utterances in which his speeches have lately abounded. Vibhishan's utterances are of little importance nowadays to anyone except the Government and Anglo-India, who are naturally disposed to make the most of his defection from the cause of the people. Justice Chandavarkar, who long ago gave up the cause of his country for a judgeship and whose present political opinions can be estimated from his remarks in the Swaraj case, grandiloquently condemned the "vilification" to which Mr Gokhale has been exposed, and declared that condemnation from such quarters was the greatest compliment a man like his protegee could have. Of course the worthy judge could not foresee that the *Englishman* would hail the first Servant of India as a brand plucked from the burning and

compliment him on being the only righteous and right-thinking man among Indian politicians, —which is after all a little hard on Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Har-kissenlal. But in the same report that enshrines Mr. Chandavarkar's semi-official rhetoric we have it that the Commissioner of Police and his deputy were present to support the speaker with their moral influence and loudly applauded his sentiments. Surely this was a yet greater compliment to Mr. Gokhale,—the greatest he could receive. And if we suppose, with the Bombay Judge, that the condemnation of his countrymen is an honour for which the erstwhile popular leader eagerly pants, surely the support and loud applause of the two highest police officials in the land,—and one of them his old friend, Mr. Vincent, of whom he must have pleasant memories connected with his famous apology to the British army,—must have been yet dearer to the statesman's heart. Only three things are noteworthy in the speech itself. Mr. Gokhale fervently declares that it is not only the duty of every Indian to shun religiously all aspirations towards independence, but also to rush to the defence of the Government when it is attacked. This explains Mr. Gokhale's recent speeches. It is a pity that he awoke to the sense of his duty

so late, otherwise, not being overburdened by a sense of consistency he might have rushed to the help of the Government against himself when he was loudly advocating political Boycott and even outdistancing the most extreme Nationalist by suggesting the refusal of payment of taxes. The second thing we note, is the remarkable statement that even if we try to use peaceful methods, the Government will not long allow them to retain their peaceful character. This can mean only that the Government will deliberately force the advocates of Indian freedom to use violent means by persecuting the use of lawful and peaceful methods. We had recently to dissent from a much more limited suggestion by Sj. Bepin Pal, but an aspersion of this kind from Mr. Gokhale, not on officials but on the Government whom he is supporting so thoroughly in their policy, is amazing. Truly, Mr. Gokhale hardly seems to know what discretion means. In the same way he tried to teach the young men of India, among whom he admits that the gospel of independence has gained immense ground, that violence was the only road to the realisation of their cherished ideal. Finally, we find Mr. Gokhale appealing to the people of this country to give up their ideals from personal self-interest and the

danger of harassment and martyrdom which attends the profession and pursuit of the new politics. Truly has a mighty teacher arisen in India! We could have passed by an argument based on the doubt whether our course was right and helpful to the country, but this sordid appeal to the lowest motives in humanity, selfishness and cowardice, makes one's gorge rise. And this is the man who claims, we hear, to have preceded the Nationalists as a prophet of self-sacrifice and the cult of the motherland. Well may we echo the cry of the Israelites malcontents, "These be thy gods, O Israel!"

The People's Proclamation.

In our last issue we commented on the importance and significance of the People's Proclamation as part of the celebration of the 16th October. It is a curious irony of Fate that, immediately afterwards, it should have been deliberately decided by our leaders to drop the Proclamation from the proceedings. We do not know in what particular quarter of that quaking morass of fears and apprehensions which is called the mind of our leaders, or in answer to what particular touch the tremour arose which has manifested itself in this amazing excoision. The mutilated copy of last year's circular which is disgraced by this act of inexplicable backsliding and timidity, comes out under the signatures of Sjs. Surendranath Banerji, Motilal Ghose and Riji Jotindranath Chaudhuri. We are certainly astonished to find Moti Babu's name under such a document and we can only assume that it was asserted without getting his consent or that consent was asked and given by telegraph from Deoghur without his being informed of the omission. Originally, there was another honoured name in that place, but the gentleman who bore it declined to sign unless the omission was rectified, and Moti Babu's name seems to have been thrust in at the last moment in order to fill up the gap,—a proceeding not very complimentary to one of the first living names in Bengal. Nor do we quite understand how Rai Jotindranath Chaudhuri induced himself to be a consenting party to the omission, if indeed he knew of it. Be that as it may, the Nationalist leaders will do their duty in opposing this act of culpable weakness. But we are curious to know

how the people will take it. Their attitude will be some sign of the present altitude of the political thermometer. The tone and temper of the movement showed a distinct rise till the Hughly Conference, subsequently it seems to have been sinking. And no wonder, with such leadership. Even a nation of strong men led by the weak, blind or selfish, becomes easily infected with the vices of its leaders. And the strength of Bengal though immensely increased, is not yet the perfect and tempered steel that it must become, hard as adamant and light in the lifting.

The Anusilan Samiti.

The proclamation of the Anusilan Samiti in Calcutta is one of the most autocratic and unjustifiable acts that the bureaucracy have yet committed. The Calcutta Samiti has distinguished itself, since the beginning of its career, by the rigidity with which it has enforced its rule of not mixing as an association with current politics and confining itself to such activities as were not only objectionable, but of such a nature that even the most autocratic Government, provided it had the least sympathy with the moral and physical improvement of its subjects, must wholly approve. Its original and main motive has been the improvement of the physique in the race, and there has been no instance in which the Samiti has gone beyond its function as a physical training institution or tried to use the improved physique for any combined purpose. Beyond this the main activities have been turned to the help of the Police and the public on such occasions as the Ardho-day Yog, to the organisation of famine relief, in which the Samiti has done splendid work, and recently to other action recommended by the Government itself. We believe it has even to a certain extent enjoyed the approbation of high European officials. It is indeed an ironical comment on the demand for co-operation that the only great association born of the new movement which has shown any anxiety to depart from a line of strict independent activity and co-operate with the Government, should have been selected, at this time of peace and quiet, for proclamation on the extraordinary ground that it interferes in some undefined and mysterious way with the administration of the law. Advocates of co-operation, take note. Meanwhile

what can the man in the street conclude except that the Government is determined to allow no organisation to exist among the Bengalis which has the least trace in it of self-help, training and patriotic effort? For no explanation is vouchsafed of this arbitrary act. In an august and awful silence the gods of Belvidere hurl their omnipotent paper thunderbolts, careless of what mere men may think, confident in their self-arrogated attributes of omnipotence, omniscience and omni-benevolence, a divine, irresistible and irresponsible mystery.

The National Fund.

We have received a letter from Mr A. C. Sen of Delhi in which he recommends that the National Fund should be utilised for a Swadeshi Museum. The necessity of such an institution has been engaging our attention for some time, and no one can dispute the immense advantages that will accrue from it; but the institution, if properly conceived and managed, needs only a small initial fund for its support in the first stages of its existence and will soon become self-supporting. It is quite unnecessary to divert to it a large sum like the National Fund. Meanwhile, if we allow divided counsels to obtain as to the disposal of the fund, the only result will be that it will remain where it is, useless and unused. We note that the opposition to the proposal unanimously passed at Hughly emanates from a few individuals whose justification for professing to speak in the name of the subscribers is not yet clear. The Anglo-Indian papers who are interested in preventing the erection of the hall, and, among Indian papers, the Hindu Patriot, the Indian Minor and the Indian Nation, all of them papers of a very limited circulation and opposed to the national movement in its most vital features. We are not aware that any organ of the popular party, Moderate or Nationalist, has opposed the sense of the country as formulated in Sji. Surendranath Banerji's resolution at Hughly.

THE REVIVAL OF INDIAN ART.

The Main Difference.

The greatness of Indian art is the greatness of all Indian thought and achievement. It lies in the recog-

n tion of the persistent within the transient, of the domination of matter by spirit, the subordination of the insistent appearances of Prakriti to the inner reality which, in a thousand ways, the Mighty Mother veils even while she suggests. The European artist, caged within the narrow confines of the external, is dominated in imagination by the body of things and the claims of the phenomenon. Western painting starts from the eye or the imagination; its master word is either beauty or reality, and, according as he is the slave of his eye or the playfellow of his imagination, the painter produces a photograph or a poem. But, in painting, the European imagination seldom travels beyond an imaginative interpretation or variation of what the physical eye has seen. Imitation is the keyword of creation, according to Aristotle; Shakespeare advises the artist to hold up the mirror to Nature; and the Greek scientist and the English poet reflect accurately the mind of Europe.

But the Indian artist has been taught by his philosophy and the spiritual discipline of his forefathers that the imagination is only a channel and an instrument of some source of knowledge and inspiration that is greater and higher; by meditation or by Yoga he seeks within himself that ultimate centre of knowledge where there is direct and utter vision of the thing that lies hidden in the forms of man, animal, tree, river, mountain. It is this *sumyag jnan*, this *sakshat darshan*, the utter, revealing and apocalyptic vision, that he seeks, and when he has found it, whether by patient receptivity or sudden inspiration, his whole aim is to express it utterly and revealingly in line and colour. Form is only a means of expressing the spirit, and the one thought of the artist should be how best to render the spiritual vision. He is not bound by the forms that compose the world of gross matter, though he takes them as a starting-point for his formal expression of the vision within him; if by modifying them or departing from them he can reveal that vision more completely, his freedom and his duty as an artist emancipate him from the obligation of the mere recorder and copyist. The ancient Asiatic artists were not incapable of reproducing outward Nature with as perfect and vigorous an accuracy as the Europeans; but it was their ordinary method deliberately to suppress all that might hamper the expression of their spiritual vision.

Reality for its own sake, one of the most dominant notes of Art in Europe, Indian artistic theory would not have recognised; for we

have always regarded the reality of the Europeans as an appearance; to us the true reality is that which is hidden; otherwise, there would be no need of the prophet, the philosopher, the poet and the artist. It is they who see with the *sukshma drishti*, the inner vision, and not like the ordinary man with the eye only. Beauty for beauty's sake, the other great note of European Art is recognised by us, but not in the higher work of the artist. Just as in the first ideal, the tyranny of the eye is acknowledged, so in the second the tyranny of the aesthetic imagination. The Indian seeks freedom, and the condition of freedom is the search for ultimate Truth. But in this search the imagination is an unsafe and capricious guide; it misinterprets as often as it interprets. The claim of the eye to separate satisfaction can only be answered by the response of decorative beauty; the claim of the imagination to separate satisfaction can only receive the response of fancy playing with scene and legend, form and colour, idea and dream, for pure aesthetic delight; but in the interpretation of things the eye and the imagination can assert no right to command, they are only subordinate instruments and must keep their place. Whenever, therefore, the Indian artist put away from him his high spiritual aim, it was to seek decorative beauty informed by the play of the imagination. Here he held decorative beauty to be his paramount aim and declined to be bound by the seen and the familiar. If by other lines than the natural, by subtler or richer methods than those of outward Nature, our old masters could gain in decorative suggestion and beauty, they held themselves free to follow their inspiration. Here, too, they often deliberately changed and suppressed in order to get their desired effect. If they had been asked to deny themselves this artistic gain for the sake of satisfying the memory in the physical eye, they would have held the objector to be the bondsman of an unmeaning superstition.

We of today have been overpowered by the European tradition as interpreted by the English, the least artistic of civilised nations. We have therefore come to make

on a picture the same demand as on a photograph,—the reproduction of the thing as the eye sees it, not even as the retrospective mind or the imagination sees it, exact resemblance to the beings or objects we know, or, if anything more, then a refinement on Nature in the direction of greater picturesqueness and prettiness and the satisfaction of the lower and more external sense of beauty. The conception that Art exists not to copy, but for the sake of a deeper truth and vision, and we must seek in it not the object but God in the object, not things but the soul of things, seems to have vanished for a while from the Indian consciousness.

Another obstacle to the appreciation of great art, to which even those Indians who are not dominated by European ideas are liable, is the exaggerated respect for the symbols and traditions which our art or literature has used at a certain stage of development. I am accustomed for instance to a particular way of representing Shiva or Kali and I refuse to have any other. But the artist has nothing to do with my prejudices. He has to represent the essential truth of Shiva or Kali, that which makes their Shiva hood or Kalihood, and he is under no obligation to copy the vision of others. If he has seen another vision of Shiva or Kali, it is that vision to which he must be faithful. The curious discussion which arose recently as to the propriety or otherwise of representing the gods without beard or moustache, is an instance of this literalism which is a survival of the enslavement to form and rule characteristic of the eighteenth century. The literalist cannot see that it is not the moustache or beard or the symbol which makes the godhead, but the divine greatness, immortal strength, beauty, youth, purity or peace within. It is that godhead which the artist must draw and paint, and in the forms he chooses he is bound only by the vision in *dhyana*. Whether his interpretation will gain an abiding place in the thought and imagination of the race, depends on its power to awake the deeper vision in the race. All that we can demand is that it shall be a real God, a real Shiva, a real Kali, and not a freak of his imagination or an outcome of some passing *sanskara* of his education or artistic upbringing. He must go to the fountainhead of knowledge within himself or his claim to freedom does not stand. It has already been said that the condition of freedom is the search for truth, and the artist must not allow his imagination to take the place of the higher quality.

Indian Art demands of the artist the power of communion with the soul of things, the sense of

spiritual taking precedence of the sense of material beauty, and fidelity to the deeper vision within of the lover of art it demands the power to see the spirit in things, the openness of mind to follow a developing tradition, and the sattwic passivity, discharged of prejudgments, which opens luminously to the secret intention of the picture and is patient to wait until it attains a perfect and profound divination.

UNION DAY.

The 16th of October is generally known as the Partition Day, and it is inevitable that, so long as the administrative division stands, this feature should be emphasised. Especially now that the Reforms threaten to make the division in our administrative lives permanent and real, a mournful significance attaches to the celebration this year. It is possible that, before the day comes round again, the fatal complaisance and weakness of leaders and people may have effected the division between East and West Bengal which the hand of Lord Curzon attempted in vain. The Reform drives in the thin end of the wedge, the rulers know how to trust to time and national cowardice and inertia to do the rest. But if we can overcome the temptation as we overcome the intimidation, the 16th of October will take its place among the national festivals of the future under the name of Union Day.

The unity of Bengal was almost complete when Lord Curzon struck his blow, but there were defects, little fissures which might under untoward circumstances develop into great and increasing cracks. Lord Curzon's blow devised in a spirit of Machiavellian statesmanship, but delivered in a fit of unstatesmanlike haste and fury, instead of splitting asunder, soldered Bengali unity into a perfect whole. Bengal one and indivisible came into existence on the 16th of October. The indivisibility has yet to be confirmed by withstanding the covert and subtle pressure of the reformed Councils, but, even if for a moment there is backsliding, the young hold the future and in their hearts Bengal is one and indivisible.

The unity of India has been slowly prepared by the pressure from above and the creation of a reaction from below. It is only by that reaction giving birth to a self-conscious democracy aspirant towards oneness and freedom and reliant on its own manhood, that the dream of an United India can be materialised. The publication of the People's Proclamation on the 16th was the first self-conscious utterance of such a democracy, as yet imperfect and inchoate but aware of its separate existence and conscious of its potential strength. That democracy is now alive in Bengal and Maharashtra, it is struggling to get existence in Punjab and Madras and, to a slighter extent, in the other provinces. When it is fully awake all over India, the unity of the

whole country will be within sight. On the 16th of October, in the People's Proclamation, the first condition of an United India was created.

There is yet another unity which is as yet only dimly symbolised in the ceremony of the Rakhi, a unity which cannot come into being until a perfect comradeship in aspiration, in struggle, in suffering shall have been created throughout the length and breadth of the land, — the unity in national comradeship of the children of one mighty Mother, whatever their class or condition, — Indian fraternity based on Indian liberty and Indian equality.

THE BRAIN OF INDIA. II.

A new centre of thought implies a new centre of education. The system now prevailing in our universities is one which ignores the psychology of man, loads the mind laboriously with numerous little packets of information carefully tied with red tape, and, by the methods used in this loading process, damages or atrophies the faculties and instruments by which man assimilates, creates and grows in intellect, manhood and energy. The new National Education seeks immensely to enlarge the field of knowledge to which the student is introduced, and, in so far as it lays stress on experiment and observation, employs the natural and easy instrument of the vernacular and encourages the play of thought on the subjects of study, has corrected the habit of spoiling the instruments of knowledge by the use of false methods. But many of the vicious methods and ideas employed by the old system are faithfully cherished by the new, and the domination of the Council by men wedded to the old lines is likely to have an unfavourable effect on the integrity of the system in its most progressive features. Another vital defect of the new education is that it has increased the amount of information the student is required to absorb without strengthening the body and brain sufficiently to grapple with the increased mass of intellectual toil, and it shares with the old system the defect of ignoring the psychology of the race. The mere inclusion of the matter of Indian thought and culture in the field of knowledge does not make a system of education Indian, and the instruction given in the Bengal National College is an improved European system, not Indian or national. Another error which has to be avoided and to which careless minds are liable, is the reactionary idea that, in order to be national, education must reproduce the features of the old *talim* system of Bengal. It is not eighteenth century India, the India which by its moral and intellectual deficiencies gave itself into the keeping of foreigners, that we have to revive, but the spirit, ideals and methods of the ancient and mightier India in a yet more effective form and with a more modern organisation.

What was the secret of that gigantic intellectuality, spirituality and superhuman moral force which we see pulsating in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, in the ancient philosophy, in the supreme poetry, art, sculpture and architecture of India? What was at the basis of the incomparable public works and engineering achievements, the opulent and exquisite industries, the great triumphs of science, scholarship, jurisprudence, logic, metaphysics, the unique social structure? What supported the heroism and self-abandonment of the Kshatriya, the Sikh and the Rajput, the unconquerable national vitality and endurance? What was it that stood behind that civilisation second to none in the massiveness of its outlines or the perfection of its details? Without a great and unique discipline involving a perfect education of soul and mind, a result so immense and persistent would have been impossible. It would be an error to look for the secret of Aryan success in the details of the instruction given in the old *asrams* and universities, so far as they have come down to us. We must know what was the principle and basis on which the details were founded. We shall find the secret of their success in a profound knowledge of human psychology and its subtle application to the methods of intellectual training and instruction.

At the basis of the old Aryan system was the all-important principle of Brahmacharya. The first necessity for the building up of a great intellectual superstructure is to provide a foundation strong enough to bear it. Those systems of education which start from an insufficient knowledge of man, think they have provided a satisfactory foundation when they have supplied the student with a large or well-selected mass of information on the various subjects which comprise the best part of human culture at the time. The school gives the materials, it is for the student to use them, — this is the formula. But the error here is fundamental. Information cannot be the foundation of intelligence, it can

only be part of the material out of which the knower builds knowledge, the starting-point, the nucleus of fresh discovery and enlarged creation. An education that confines itself to imparting knowledge is no education. The various faculties of memory, judgment, imagination, perception, reasoning, which build the edifice of thought and knowledge for the knower, must not only be equipped with their fit and sufficient tools and materials, but trained to bring fresh materials and use more skilfully those of which they are in possession. And the foundation of the structure they have to build, can only be the provision of a fund of force and energy sufficient to bear the demands of a continually growing activity of the memory, judgment and creative power. Where is that energy to be found?

The ancient Aryans knew that man was not separate from the universe, but only a homogeneous part of it, just as a wave is part of the Ocean. An infinite energy, Prakriti, Maya or Shakti, pervades the world and pours itself into every name and form, and the clod, the plant, the insect, the animal, the man are, in their phenomenal existence, merely less and more efficient adharas of this Energy. We are each of us a dynamo into which waves of that energy have been generated and stored, and are being perpetually conserved, used up and replenished. The same force which moves in the star and the planet, moves in us, and all our thought and action are merely its play and born of the complexity of its functionings. There are processes by which man can increase his capacity as an adhara. There are other processes by which he can clear of obstructions the channel of communication between himself and the universal energy and bring greater and greater stores of it pouring into his soul and brain and body. This continual improvement of the adhara and increase in quantity and complexity of action of the informing energy, is the whole aim of evolution. When that energy is the highest in kind and the fullest in amount of which the human adhara is capable, and the adhara itself is trained utterly to bear the inrush and play of the energy then is a man *siddha*, the fulfilled or perfect man; his evolution is over and he has completed in the individual that utmost development which the mass of humanity is labouring towards through the ages.

If this theory be correct, the energy at the basis of the operations of intelligence must be in ourselves and it must be capable of greater expansion and richer use to an extent practically unlimited. And this also must be a sound principle, that the more we can increase and enrich the energy, the greater will be the potential range, power and activity of the functions of our mind and the consequent vigour of our intellectuality and the greatness of our achievement. This was the first principle on which the ancient Aryans based their education and one of the

chief processes which they used for the increased storage of energy, was the practice of Brahmacharya.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER VII.

Mohendra rose from the floor of the inn where he was sitting, for nothing could be gained by sitting there and thinking over his loss. He started in the direction of the town with the idea of taking the help of the officials in the search for his wife and child. After journeying for some distance he saw in the road a number of bullock-carts surrounded by a great company of sepoy.

In the Bengali year 1175 the province of Bengal had not become subject to British administration. The English were then the revenue officials of Bengal. They collected the taxes due to the treasury, but up to that time they had not taken upon themselves the burden of protecting the life and property of the Bengali people. The burden they had accepted was to take the country's money; the responsibility of protecting life and property lay upon that despicable traitor and disgrace to humanity, Mirzafar. Mirzafar was incapable of protecting even himself; it was not likely that he would or could protect the people of Bengal. Mirzafar took opium and slept; the English raked in the rupees and wrote despatches; as for the people of Bengal they wept and went to destruction.

The taxes of the province were therefore the due of the English, but the burden of administration was on the Nawab. Wherever the English themselves collected the taxes due to them, they had appointed a collector, but the revenue collected went to Calcutta. People might die of starvation, but the collection of their monies did not stop for a moment. However, very much could not be collected; for if Mother Earth does not yield wealth, no one can create wealth out of nothing. Be that as it may, the little that could be collected, had been made into cartloads and was on its way to the Company's treasury at Calcutta in charge of a military escort. At this time there was great danger from dacoits, so fifty armed sepoy marched with fixed

bayonets, ranked before and behind the carts. Their captain was an English soldier who went on horseback in the rear of the force. On account of the heat the sepoy did not march by day but only by night. As they marched, Mohendra's progress was stopped by the treasure carts and this military array. Mohendra, seeing his way barred by sepoy and carts, stood at the side of the road; but as the sepoy still jostled him in passing, holding this to be no fit time for debate, he went and stood at the edge of the jungle by the road.

Then a sepoy said in Hindustani, "See, there's a dacoit making off." The sight of the gun in Mohendra's hand confirmed this belief. He went for Mohendra, caught hold of his neck and, with the salutation "Rogue thief!" suddenly gave him a blow of the fist and wrested the gun from his hand. Mohendra, empty-handed, merely returned the blow. Needless to say, Mohendra was something more than a little angry, and the worthy sepoy reeled with the blow and went down stunned on the road. Upon that, three or four sepoy came up, took hold of Mohendra and, dragging him forcibly to the commander, told the Sahib, "This man has killed one of the sepoy." The Sahib was smoking and a little bewildered with strong drink; he replied, "Catch hold of the rogue and marry him." The soldiers did not understand how they were to marry an armed highwayman, but in the hope that, with the passing of the intoxication, the Sahib would change his mind and the marriage would not be forced on them, three or four sepoy bound Mohendra hand and foot with the halters of the cart bullocks and lifted him into the cart. Mohendra saw that it would be vain to use force against so many, and, even if he could effect his escape by force, what was the use? Mohendra was depressed and sorrowful with grief for his wife and child and had no desire for life. The sepoy bound Mohendra securely to the wheel of the cart. Then with a slow and heavy stride the escort proceeded on its march.

CHAPTER VIII

Possessed of the ascetic's command, Bhavananda, softly crying the name of Hari, went in the direction of the inn where Mohendra

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

had been sitting; for he thought it likely that there he would get a clue to Mohendra's whereabouts.

At that time the present roads made by the English were not in existence. In order to come to Chakutta from the district towns, one had to travel by the marvellous roads laid down by the Mogul emperors. On his way from Potechin to the town, Mohendra had been travelling from south to north, and it was therefore that he met the soldiers on the way. The direction Bhavananda had to take from the Hill of Palms towards the inn, was also from south to north; necessarily, he too on his way fell in with the sepoys in charge of the treasure. Like Mohendra, he stood aside to let them pass. Now, for one thing, the soldiers naturally believed that the dacoits would be sure to attempt the plunder of this despatch of treasure, and on that apprehension came the arrest of a dacoit in the very highway. When they saw Bhavananda too standing aside in the nighttime, they inevitably concluded that here was another dacoit. Accordingly, they seized him on the spot.

Bhavananda smiled softly and said,

"Why so, my good fellow?"

"Rogue!" answered a sepoy, "you are a robber."

"You can very well see I am an ascetic wearing the yellow robe. Is this the appearance of a robber?"

"There are plenty of rascally ascetics and Samnyasins who rob," retorted the sepoy, and he began to push and drag Bhavananda. Bhavananda's eyes flashed in the darkness, but he only said very humbly, "Good master, let me know your commands."

The sepoy was pleased at Bhavananda's politeness and said, "Here, rascal, take this load and carry it," and he clapped a bundle on Bhavananda's head. Then another of the

sepoys said to the first, "No, he will run away; tie up the rascal on the cart where the other rogue is bound." Bhavananda grew curious to know who was the man they had bound; he threw away the bundle on his head and administered a slap on the cheek to the soldier who had put it there. In consequence, the sepoys bound Bhavananda, lifted him on to the cart and hung him down near Mohendra. Bhavananda at once recognised Mohendra Singha.

The sepoys again marched on, carelessly and with noise, and the creaking of the cartwheels recommenced. Then, softly and in a voice audible only to Mohendra, Bhavananda said, "Mohendra Singha, I know you and am here to give you help. There is no need for you to know just at present who I am. Do very carefully what I tell you. Put the rope that ties your hands on the wheel of the cart."

Mohendra, though astonished, carried out Bhavananda's suggestion without a word. Moving a little towards the cartwheel under cover of darkness, he placed the rope that tied his hands so as to just touch the wheel. The rope was gradually cut through by the friction of the wheel. Then he cut the rope on his feet by the same means. As soon as he was free of his bonds, by Bhavananda's advice he lay inert on the cart. Bhavananda also severed his bonds by the same device. Both lay utterly still and motionless.

SEDITION PROSECUTION IN SUKKUR, SINDH.

We are in possession of the copies of papers (given under) filed at the criminal prosecution 124 A. I. P. C. against Gourdhandas, son of Topandas Sharma, Chetumal, Swadeshi Merchant, Sukkur and Mr. Virumal Begraj. The complainant is Mr. Manley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, appointed on special

duty at Sukkur (presumably for the conduct of this case) and he has been directed by the District Superintendent of Police to file a complaint against the three mentioned above. The D. S. P. has received a sanction from the Government of Bombay to proceed against the accused with respect to the printing and publication of Swadeshi Halchal book purporting to have been translated by Gourdhandas published by Chetumal and printed by the Manager, Edwaro Press. The complaint contained a list of extracts from the book purporting to be seditious. Non-bailable warrants were issued against the three accused. Several search warrants against the press, the proprietor's house, Chetumal's shop, factory and house, at Sukkur, Mr. Udhaladas' factory and house, Tolaram Menghraj's house, Mr. Shewaram N. Pherwani's house, Master Bijaram, Relumal, Pandit Topandas house and Dharma Shikarpur and Gourdhandas' house at Karachi were searched by the D. S. P. and the Inspector and other Police officers and at Sukkur by the A. S. P., Police Inspector and other Police officers aided everywhere by Magistrates. Though warrants authorized the search of houses for obtaining and securing copies of "Swadeshi Halchal" all papers found were removed which in itself was a very questionable procedure. The sorting of papers at Sukkur is said to have been done in the Collectorate by Mr. Manley, A. S. P. and aided by several clerks and Munshies in the presence of Messrs. Shillidy, Jhamrai, Mohamed Yakub, Vazir, Police Inspector, Sukkur and others.

The case was fixed on the first, but it has been postponed by the court to Saturday, the 9th instant, at 1 a. m. The sub-Divisional Magistrate, Shikarpur, has ordered one copy of the book out of the seized to be given to each of the accused for his defence.

IN THE COURT OF THE SUB-DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATE, SHIKARPUR.

The undersigned hereby brings to the court's notice the following facts:—

That a book in the Sindhi-Arabic character entitled "Swadeshi Hal Challya Muhban Watan Shriyat Tilak Raja" has been printed and published in Sukkur.

5. That the persons responsible for its appearance and publication are:

(a) Gourdhandal Kelchand, its author, compiler or translator.

H. Bose's

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The charming fragrance of this renowned Perfume, its refreshing aroma and sweetness, its permanency on the handkerchief—these are the combined qualities that justify fully its name—

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H. BOSE, Mfg. Perfumer, DELKHOSH HOUSE, Bowbazar, Calcutta.

(b) Virumal Begraj, Manager of the Edward Printing Press, Sukkur, at which it was printed and from which it was published.

(c) Chetumal Hariram, Publisher, from whose shop copies of the book were sold.

3. That the said book contains matter, the writing, printing and publication of which is calculated to excite feelings of disaffection, hatred or contempt towards the Government, established by law in British India, and is punishable under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. Extracts are annexed, which illustrate the seditious tone of the book, which particularly insist on alien character of the Government and its indifference to the welfare of the people.

4. That the said Gordhanlal Kalchand, author, Virumal Begraj, printer, and Chetumal Hariram, publisher, are therefore all guilty of the offence of sedition as defined in section 124A Penal Code.

5. That this information is lodged by order of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council (original order attached) and that the undersigned has been deputed by the District Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, to carry out the order.

Wherefore the undersigned prays that the court in the exercise of its powers under section 190 of the Cr. Pro. Code will take cognizance of the offence of sedition under 124 A. I. P. C. committed in a manner stated by the aforesaid Gordhanlal Kalchand, Virumal Begraj and Chetumal Hariram and deal with them according to law.

(Sd.) W. B. MANLEY.

Assistant Superintendent of Police,
Sukkur.

Sukkur.

Sept. 24, 1909.

Enclosures

I. Government order to file information.

II. Translated extracts of the book.

III. Declaration by Virumal Begraj under the Printing Presses Act.

ORDER.

Under section 196 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Douglas Crane Oumaney, District Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, is hereby ordered by His Excellency the Governor in Council either personally or by such officer as he may depute for this purpose, make complaint against Virumal Begraj, Chetumal Hariram and Gordhanlal Kalchand, the printer, publisher, and author or translator, respectively of a Sindhi-Arabic book entitled "Swadeshi Hall Chalya Mulban Watan Shri Tilak Raja" (i.e. Swadeshi movement or the opinions of the patriotic Shriji Tilak and printed at the Edward Press, Sukkur such complaint to be made under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code and any other section of the said Code as may be found to be applicable to the case.

By order of His Excellency the Governor in Council.

(Sd.) Secretary to Government.
JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Poona.

10th Sept. 1909.

I hereby order William Bernard Manley,

Assistant Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, to lodge the above complainant.

(Sd.) D. G. OMMANEY.

D. S. P. Sukkur.

Camp Sukkur.

10th Sept. 1909.

I. William Bernard Manley having taken the oath son of Samuel William Manley aged 24 Christian, Assistant Superintendent of Police Sukkur states,

I have inquired into the facts which constitute the complaint filed in this Court and find that the search warrants applied for are necessary for the purpose of further enquiry into the case.

(Sd.) R. B. MILNE,

S. D. M., Shikarpur,

24.9.09.

I. William Bernard Manley, having taken the oath son of Samuel William Manley aged 23 Christian, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Sukkur states.

The above complaint has been read over to me and is correct. I have satisfied myself that the book mentioned contains the extracts quoted, and has been published by the persons therein mentioned.

(Sd.) WILLIAM BERNARD

MANLEY.

(Sd.) R. B. MILNE.

S. D. M.,

Shikarpur.

Being satisfied that there is sufficient ground for proceeding and that the proper sanction has been obtained I order that process be issued under section 204 and non-bailable warrants be issued for the arrest of the person complained against.

(Sd.) S. B. MILNE.

Sub-divisional, Shikarpur.

24.9.09.

Bengaloe.

THE PARTITION DAY. POLICE NOTIFICATION.

The Calcutta Gazette publishes the following notification over the signature of Mr. F. L. Halliday Commissioner of Police Calcutta;—

In exercise of the power conferred by section 62 of the Calcutta Police Act 1863 (Ben. Act IV of 1866) and section 39 of the Calcutta Suburban Police Act 1866 (Ben. Act II of 1866) and with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, hereby makes the following rule—

No member of assembly or procession shall carry any *lath*, or other offensive weapon, on any public road street thorough fare ghat or landing place, or in any other place of public resort on the 16th October 1909.

5 Gold Medals

Silver

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Agents wanted everywhere.

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NEWS.

PANDIT BHUJ DUTT'S CASE ADJOURNED.

At the Calcutta Police Court not long ago, Pandit Bhuj Dutt Sharma obtained a rule from Mr. Swinhoe on the detective Superintendent at whose instance an order was issued restraining the Pandit from holding any meeting and taking any part in any meeting to show cause why the ex parte order passed against him should not be cancelled. The rule was fixed for hearing before Mr. Swinhoe on Friday. But, as the Pandit had missed the mail train at Agra, he could not be present in Court, and on Mr. Hume, who appeared to show cause, insisting that the matter might be heard and the witnesses should be examined in the Pandit's presence, the matter was adjourned.

A MAHARAJAH'S GIFT.

The Secretary of the Poona Branch of the Depressed Classes Mission writes to the Panjabee that H. H. the Maharajah Sahib, Gackwad has been pleased to give a donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Institution in Poona for the purposes of founding annual prize and scholarships in the name of His Highness. The Maharajah Sahib has also been pleased to order from Baroda five gold mohars with His Highness face, three of which are to be presented to the Chambhaa girl who garlanded and two to the Mahar girls who waved the "arti" to His Highness on the occasion of the prize distribution last Sunday. The mohars are to be preserved by the girls as souvenirs.

SERVANTS OF SARKAR.

An eye witness writes to the "Bengaloe." Sir,—Yesterday, just after the college hours when we were returning home, we caught sight of three or four constables huddling together near the crossing of Amherst Street and Mirzapore Street. When we came up to them, we saw they were mercilessly beating a poor cobbler. The Policemen paid no heed to our queries. They were so recklessly slapping the poor fellow that when we interfered, some of us even felt the roughness of their palms.

When the cobbler was let loose, we enquired what it was in him that so much annoyed the constables. The man sobbed "Babu, I did nothing I was mending shoes sitting on the footpath." We turned back to the Policemen to ask them why did they so cruelly beat that poor cobbler for an offence like that. They unhesitatingly replied "we are servants of the Sarkat (Government) and we are not to give account of what we have done to school Babus."

From the by-standers, we learnt that a constable ordered the man to leave the footpath which he would not do until his work in hand was finished. Is there any one to rectify such high-handedness of the Police?

His Highness the Raja of Nabha has become a patron of the Lahore Exhibition and has contributed Rs. 2,000 towards it. The Raja of Nabha and the Raja of Poonch have also both become patrons, their subscriptions amounting to Rs. 1,100 each.

NEWS.

KABUL NEWS.

The latest report from the Frontier about Dr Abdul Ghani states that he is confined with some eighty other political offenders in a large State building at Sherpur.

The Amir is attempting to stop the constant raids and highway robberies which are taking place both on the Afghanistan border and in the country itself. The Afghan ruler's orders to certain tribes to furnish men for compulsory service appear to meet with a very unwilling response, and a good deal of friction in more than one quarter now exists. The Nungurahat country is unsettled and tribal feuds are being carried on in Kohistan and in the Kurram district.

GANESH BALWANT MODAK'S CASE.

On the 6th October Justice Chandra Varrier delivered judgment in the matter of Ganesh Balwant Modak who was sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment by Mr. Aston, Chief Presidency Magistrate, for disseminating seditious matter by the publication in *Swaraj* under section 124A. His Lordship held that after carefully reading the article on "Etymology of bomb in Bengal," he could come to no other conclusion than that its object and intention was to bring Government into hatred and contempt as contemplated by section 124A. Government, according to the writer, was composed of race which is material. It has proved people's oppressor. It is demoralising them by turning out scoundrel patriots. It is irritating them by repressive measures. It has exasperated them to acts of violence. It has secretly allowed "Mahomedan rowdies" to attack Hindus and all this has served to bring bomb into existence. The use of bomb is sanctioned by the writer as "lawful" and "not criminal" under state of things portrayed by him. Throughout, there is a attempt to create the impression that Government exists for satisfaction of its own cupidity. Even the peace of the country enjoyed under Government is referred to ironically. Such writings cannot but have been meant by the writer to bring Government into contempt and hatred and to excite feelings of disaffection against it. I agree with the learned Magistrate that article is seditious within the meaning of section 124A of the Penal Code. Accordingly the conviction and sentence must be confirmed.

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NEWS.

THE DEPORTEES.

At Sir H. Cotton's request the Master of Elibank consented to furnish a return showing the names of the deportees and the places where they are confined. Mr. Rees has since given notice of a motion for a return showing the caste and occupation of the deportees.

MR. PRANJAPAY RELEASED FROM JAIL.

A *panchayat* gathering was held in honour of Mr. Pranjapay ex-editor of the *Kal* who was released from jail on Tuesday last at Girgaum yesterday when Mr. Pranjapay alluding to the Sabarnati jail said, he thanked God for the honour done to him of being confined in a jail already sanctified by Mr. Tilak by his detention there.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The movement set on foot by the National council of education seems to have taken a strong hold of the public mind. This is quite evident from the success of the recent tour of Babus Hirendra Nath Dutta and Monmohan Bhattacharjee in East Bengal. At the conference held at Mymensingh on the 27th Sept. the leaders of Mymensingh undertook to raise 20,000 rupees for the building fund of the Local National School within a few months, and rupees five thousand were subscribed on the spot. Babus Anath Bandhu Guha and Mohim Chandra Roy subscribing one thousand rupees each. The members of the School Committee headed by Babu Anath Bandhu Guha have also undertaken to raise 10, 100 rupees yearly for the maintenance of the school. Babu Anath Bandhu and Mahindra each subscribing 25 rupees monthly to this latter fund.

At Dacca also the plunders' bar and the Muktears bar headed by Babus Triloky Nath Bose, Rajanikant Gupta, Ananda Ch. Chakrabarti, Rasik Ch. Chakravarti, Surja Kumar Banerjee, Lalit Mohan Ray and others have undertaken to raise Rs. 5,000 for fitting the workshop and laboratory and Rs. 700 monthly for the maintenance of the Dacca National School, Narayanganj bar and Munslugging bar each subscribing Rs. 50 monthly to that fund.

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NEWS.


ENGLISH FABRICS IN CALCUTTA.

The Master of Elibank replying Mr. Rees said that the Government of India state that enquiries show that boycott was only a secondary factor in the congestion of stocks of English fabrics in Calcutta. The stocks were highest in January, 1908, and have since steadily declined. Deliveries are reported to be improving daily.

SUICIDE IN LONDON.

A curious story was told at the inquest on Benayendra Nath Sen, the Hindu law student, who jumped from the window of his lodgings at Ealing. From the evidence of his relatives, it appears, that he had proposed marrying a girl of sixteen living at Addison Gardens, Kensington. His father objected to it as he had failed to pass any of his examinations, and was not in a position to support a wife. He had suffered from insomnia for twelve nights and was worried over his failure at the examinations.

Dr. Sinha stated that the deceased went practically mad while in India, and had since suffered from melancholia and homicidal mania. While at Oxford University he developed a mania for buying things he did not want, in six months spent £2,000. He had then practically an unlimited supply of money from his father who was one of the ablest barristers in India.



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সর্বত্র ডাকমাস্তুল সমেত ৪০ চারি টাকা মাত্র ।

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NEWS.

INDIAN PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A curious incident reported by the *Indian Opinion* to hand reveals strange doings in South African jails with regard to Indian prisoners. One Samy Naidu prisoner in Pretoria Gaol had had the audacity to complain to the Governor regarding the food and the difficulty of obtaining a bath. As a result, on a particularly cold day the Chief Warder ordered the Indians to take a bath! On their hesitating, the Chief Warder, it is alleged touched Samy Naidu on the shoulder and said, "You are the man who complained to the Governor that you could not get a bath. I shall give you a good bath now." He then called six penal natives to take Naidu to the bath and while two held him, the others scrubbed him with hard yard brooms, until he was scratched and bleeding all over! Another Indian was given a similar bath, but in his case the scrubbing was not so thorough. The Indian residents in Pretoria and some God fearing white men (of whom happily there is no absolute dearth even in the Transvaal) made such a row over the matter that an official enquiry followed and the alleged offenders were "warned and exonerated." An Indian prisoner, we further learn, was sent to solitary confinement for twelve days and another for seven because they had complained about their food! It is easy to see, says the *Indian Opinion*, why a man like Nagappan should have suffered in silence even unto death! India surely is getting a conspicuous place in "the Empire." Mrs. Annie Besant to note.

BUDDHA'S RELICS.

Two meetings of the Sanatan Dharma Prabardhini Sabha, Calcutta, were held on the 27th September and 3rd October, 1909, to consider the question of Buddha's relics.

Both the meetings were held under the presidency of Rai Debi Prasad, B.A., B.L., and the gathering was overcrowded by pandits and educated Hindus. In both the meetings the question of Buddha's relics was discussed fully with impressive speech, and in the last meeting Thakur Mahabir Singh, the Secretary, put forward the resolution that the Buddha's relics should be retained in India, and it was seconded and supported by Pandit Deoki Nandan Shastri and Babu Sidheswara Banerji respectively and unanimously carried. The following telegram was sent to the Viceroy, from the president, the next day:—

"Sanatan Dharma Prabardhini Sabha, Calcutta, in public meeting attended by Pandits and educated Hindus, respectfully and earnestly prays that Lord Buddha's relics be retained in India, their going out and division would cause extreme grief and dissatisfaction. Buddha was among Vishnu's ten great Avatars."

PHILOSOPHY AND MADNESS IN RELIGION.

There are two things in religion which frighten many people. They are Rationalism on the one hand and Mysticism on the other. And yet I think both are essential in religion. Keshub Chander Sen spoke of Philosophy and Madness in Religion in 1877 and in his own masterly way dwelt upon the two elements of our religious life. I call them elements purposely. For I am persuaded that Rationalism goes hand in hand with Mysticism. I do not agree with religious people who would deny rationalism and the rationalist a place in religion and I refuse to identify mysticism with all religion. We are all of us and each of us partly Rational and partly Mystic. We are all of us and each of us more of a rationalist at one time and more of a mystic at other times.

Rationalism means faith in knowledge that is distinct and clear. Mysticism means faith and loyalty to a vision: to an ideal. Our knowledge of anything is never clear and distinct and complete from the outset. But our knowledge grows. Our perception once hazy becomes clear and distinct by degrees. The vision grows: it comes nearer and nearer, and the mystic form assumes a clear and distinct shape. And this happens at every stage. As soon as one vision has become rational, a second vision appears on the mental horizon, and thus from the mystic we grow into the rationalist and from the rationalist into the mystic again. The cycle goes on and there is no end to it.

Now just suppose that you and I both are materialists and rationalists and you begin to see a little beyond our common materialism. You begin to realize that behind matter there is such a thing as energy and this revelation to you changes your whole attitude to the universe: alters your way of thinking about this world. You try to reason and explain your new knowledge to me but you hardly convince me. For I have not seen the vision and your own knowledge of it is not clear or distinct. The result is I call you mad, or if for any reason I wish to be kind to you, I change the title into a "mystic." All the same I keep on believing that there is something wrong in your understanding, till I also begin to be convinced of the existence of Energy - of an Infinite Energy from which all things proceed. In this way stage after stage we go on—if we do go on and not let ourselves rest satisfied with our knowledge at any one step—we go on turning mystic and rationalist to ourselves and to each other.

The Vitalist is a mystic to the materialist. The Idealist is a mystic to the Vitalist. The theist is a mystic to the deist. The monist is a mystic to the dualist. Thus at every stage of our spiritual and metaphysical life, philosophy alternates with madness, rationalism with mysticism. And according to this view of rationalism, the scientific materialist and agnostic is as much rationalistic as the Berkleyan Idealist or the Hegelian monist. Rationalism should not, because it cannot, be the monopoly of the materialist or the agnostic although these are the commonest forms of Rationalism.

But we must not lose sight of one form of mysticism which never seems to have been resolved into rationalism. There is one stage of madness in religion which cannot be reduced to philosophy. We may fitly call it transcendental mysticism. Let me proceed to indicate its nature, for it is a thing that cannot be described as we shall presently see.

All our knowledge of things and ideas are conditioned by Time, Space and Causality (Desh, Kala, Karana). But there is a knowledge of certain "things" which are beyond such conditions of Time, Space and Causality. And we can not describe them to each other, for in human language every noun implies space, every verb implies time and every proposition or judgement implies causality. How can we describe these transcendental experiences in human language? Are there really such experiences? Yes they are as real as any thing we know of: perhaps more real than any thing we know of. Carlyle called them: *Eternal verities*. We shall take only two of them. Love and Righteousness to illustrate our meaning.

Love is beyond Time and Space and Causality. If I love to-day and hate to-morrow I do not love at all. If I love in India and hate in England I do not love at all. If I love and my love is prompted by any circumstances whatsoever, my love turns out to be mere interest. And similarly with righteousness *dharma*. If I am righteous to-day and unrighteous to-morrow I am not righteous at all. If I am righteous in England and unrighteous in India I am not righteous at all. If my righteousness is prompted by any consideration whatsoever, it is no longer righteousness but policy: it is no longer *dharma* but *artha*:

Thus love and righteousness are beyond all why and wherefore. The lovers and the righteous are always mystics. And who amongst us is utterly destitute of

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love or absolutely free from experiences of righteousness? Who therefore has not been a mystic at times amongst us? The difference between us and the transcendental mystic is a difference of growth. He is always in love and always practising righteousness. He has also advanced far into regions where time and space and causality disappear. In him the spiritual has absorbed the material and the mental.

For I believe that spirit exists untrammelled by space and time. Spirit conditioned by time—the timeless manifested by the *maya* of time constitutes Mind. And Spirit conditioned by both time and space, seen through the dark glasses of time and space, manifested by the two-fold *maya* is what we call matter. He who has realised the spirit and is living in the spirit is the Transcendental Mystic. God is a spirit and they that worship Him worship in Spirit and in reality.

The World and New Dispensation.

"STUDENTS AND POLITICS"

MR. GOKHALE'S SPEECH.

At the annual gathering of the Student's Brotherhood, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale delivered the following address on students and politics. I am deeply sensible of the high honour which the Committee of Student's Brotherhood have done me in asking me to take the chair on the occasion I have been following with close interest and sincere appreciation has admirable work which the Brotherhood has been doing since it was founded twenty years ago by our friend, Prof Velinkar. There is always a great scope for institutions like this Brotherhood and never was the need for them greater than to-day when our student community is fruitlessly passing through very difficult times. One of the most anxious, as it is one of the most

important problems confronting us to-day is how to supply guidance, wise and patriotic to our young men so that their lives may be directed into channels of high purpose and endeavour in the service of the motherland. To sustain on one hand, those pure impulses and generous enthusiasms which are the special privilege of youth, and on the other, to instil into young minds a due sense of proportion and of responsibility and a correct realization of the needs of the country. This can never be an easy task, and in the present situation of India it is beset with extraordinary difficulties. Influences are at work around us which bid everyone "not to sit nor to stand, but to go." The very air we breathe is laden with a longing for change. Our beliefs are crumbling, new adjustments of ideas have become necessary, and amidst this general commotion which has been very properly called unrest; it was not to be expected that our students alone should continue to stand where they did. It is not the fact of their movement so much as the direction, in which a large proportion of them have been moving, that calls for our most earnest attention and our closest inquiry. It is a well known truism that the students of to-day will be the citizens of tomorrow. Ideas and aspirations which give a decisive bent to their minds, are, therefore, matters of the deepest moment to the country and it behoves us all seriously to examine how far they are calculated to prepare them for the responsibilities, which must in due course descend to them. One complaint, which is often heard, may be dismissed at once. It is said in disparagement of the Indian student that he begins to feel an interest in politics long before his time and that it is necessary to put an end to this state of things. Now, the fact itself of such precocious interest may be admitted at once, but those who speak of it as an evil that must, or can be put down, fail obviously to

realize that it is an inevitable result of the exceptional political situation of the country and that it is bound to last as long that situation continues in all essentials unaltered. Among the self-governing people politics brings into play not only the sentiment of patriotism, but also the sense of responsibility. And young men who feel the sentiment but lack the sense of responsibility, naturally leave practical affairs to their elders who possess both. To the Indian student on the other hand, Indian politics is only a struggle, in which his countrymen are engaged on behalf of their motherland with a body of foreign officials, representing the rule of another nation. There is no room here even for the elders for any feeling of responsibility with regard to the administration of the country and for our young men who find no restraining consideration in their patch politics, necessarily resolves its life in to a mere matter of patriotic sentiment. An interest in politics is to the Indian student the same thing as an interest in the country. And to such interest, all that is earnest, all that is self-respecting all that is chivalrous, all that is patriotic in his nature, is continually impelling him. England herself has introduced into the country ideas, which preach to us the dignity and high worth of patriotism of freedom of self-government and which tell us of the contempt which in the eyes of all self-governing people covers those who accept their subjection in a slavish spirit. Our politics to-day is, for the most part a spread of those ideas among the people and an attempt to apply them to our present condition. And it is inevitable that the most impressionable minds in the country should be the most affected by them. Responsibility alone will steady our judgments, and control the restlessness of our patriotism. Where responsibility has been conferred on the people, as in Municipal matters, students feel no interest before their time. As we cease

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वारिकमूल्य सह प्रापणव्ययन रु. ३
संस्कृतचन्द्रिका ।
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to fill the role of mere critics at the admitted to a participation in the responsibilities of Government, our politics will advance from the sentimental to the responsible stage, and the precious interest, at present felt in it by our young men, will tend to disappear. But because it is impossible to prevent Indian students from taking an interest in politics before their time, therefore it does not follow, that they should be left to pick up their political ideas, where and how they can. On the contrary, I strongly hold, that a crying need of the present situation is the provision in Colleges, of facilities for the efficient training sense of our young men. The present policy of treating politics, and specially current politics, as dangerous, and in some respects, even a forbidden subject has only resulted in depriving students of that guidance to which they are entitled at the hands of their teachers. In forming sound views on important questions. To leave them thus to their own devices, amidst the perplexities of a difficult situation, is to neglect a plain duty towards them at a critical period in their lives, and the consequences of this neglect have been and are bound to be, serious, and far reaching. I was glad to see this view urged, the other day, in a letter to the press, by the Rev. Mr. Andrews of Delhi, than whom there is no better friend of Indian students and Indian aspirations in the country. "The historical and economic questions," says Mr. Andrews, "which lie at the base of at least three-fourths of the politics of modern India should be dealt

with wisely and sympathetically by those, who are teaching history and economics, and sound opinion thus be built up within the colleges themselves. Different teachings will no doubt take different views of the same questions, but it is not so much the views urged on the attention of the students as to the proper cultivation of their political sense, and the habit of careful and comprehensive thinking in regard to political problems, that must be the chief object sought, and will constitute the real gain. The very fact that our students can not help taking an interest in politics before their time, goes to emphasize the great need that exists for their efficient political education. I think, our students, especially college students, should enjoy every possible facility for acquiring an accurate knowledge of political matters, and forming sound views in regard to them. They should be encouraged to discuss such matters freely in the college; and publicists whose opinions are entitled to weight, should, from time to time, be invited to take part in the discussions. They should be at liberty to attend public lectures and addresses on political subjects, and they may even attend political meetings with advantage provided, they are there only as spectators. But when it comes to active participation in what is called political agitation, I think we must draw a line. Political agitation, directed towards the people, seeks to educate and organize public feeling and public opinion in political matters. Directed towards the Government it seeks to bring the pressure of

that feeling or opinion to bear upon the authorities for the purpose of securing the changes that are desired. In either case it is most irresponsible action, and students, with their immature judgments are not qualified to take part in it. The active participation of students in political agitation really tends to lower the dignity and the responsible character of public life, and impair its true effectiveness. It also fills the students themselves with unhealthy excitement after evoking in them a bitter partisan spirit, which cannot fail to interfere with their intellectual and moral growth. The period of four or five years which most young men spend at college is all too short a time for the work which properly belongs to it, namely, preparation in knowledge and character for the responsibilities of life. Surely it is not too much to ask our students to exercise a little patience and self-restraint during this period and defer responsible action in politics till after they have completed their studies, and taken their place in the public life of the country. I venture to think, that a stage has been reached in our affairs, when it is necessary for us to face resolutely our responsibilities in this matter. Every one knows that during the last few years a new school of political thought has risen in the country and that it has exercised a powerful fascination over the minds of young men, more or less, in all parts of India. A considerable part of what it has preached could not but find ready acceptance on every hand. That love of country should be the ruling principle of our lives that we should rejoice in making sacrifices

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done their duty to the student community of the country. Their inaction had no doubt been due to motives of delicacy but the result has just as deplorable as though the duty had been deliberately shirked. I feel it is now incumbent on us to speak out freely no matter how our conduct may be understood. We owe this to our country, we owe this to the young men themselves. As I have already said, the self reliance of the new programme cannot but prove itself faulty. It is in regard to the attitude toward the Government, which the programme neglects, that the need for our stand is winning notice. As an instance, last Bhupendra Nath Bose pointed out the other day in Calcutta, in a public meeting where the Government declaration of the 21st June. Moreover, even if we do not take to the Government it is not so certain that the Government is really to be feared.

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১২ম এবং ১৩ম প্রত্যেক খণ্ড ৩০ টকা আনা
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১৪ নং গ্রামবাজার ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা করতক
এজেন্সিতে প্রাপ্য।

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No. 18.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Mahomedan Representation.

The question of separate representation for the Mahomedan community is one of those momentous issues raised in haste by a statesman unable to appreciate the forces with which he is dealing, which bear fruit no man expected and least of all the ill-advised Frankenstein who was first responsible for its creation. The common belief among Hindus is that the Government have decided to depress the Hindu element in the Indian people by raising the Mahomedan element, and ensure a perpetual preponderance in their own favour by leaning on a Mahomedan vote purchased by a system of preference. The denials of highplaced officials, who declare that it is only out of a careful consideration for the rights and interests of minorities that they have made special Mahomedan representation an essential feature of the Reform Scheme, have not convinced a single Hindu mind; for the obvious retort is that it is only one minority which is specially cared for and this special care is extended to it even in provinces where it is in a large majority. No provision at all has been made for the safeguarding of Hindu minorities, for the Parsis, the Sikhs, the Christians and other sections which may

reasonably declare that they too are Indians and citizens of the Empire no less than the Mahomedans. The workings of this belief in the mind of the premier community in India cannot at present be gauged. It is not till the details of the Reform scheme are published, the elections over, the councils working and the preponderance of the pro-government vote visible, that those workings can assume a definite shape. At present irritation, heart-burning, a sullen gloom and a growing resolve to assert and organize their separate existence and work for their own hand are the first results of the separatist policy. How far Sir Pherozshah and his valiant band will be able to fight this growing discontent, remains to be seen. It is quite possible that the pro-Mahomedanism of the Reform Scheme may lead to a Hindu upheaval all over India, as fervent and momentous as the convulsion in Bengal, Madras and Maharashtra which followed Lord Curzon's Partition blunder. How far it will advantage the Mahomedans to be in active opposition to an irritated and revolted Hindu community throughout the country they live in, is a question for Mahomedans to consider. A certain section with Syed Hyder Reza at their head, have considered it and are against the separate representation altogether. Another

section represented by Mr. Ali Imam are for a compromise between the full Moslem demand for separate electorates and the Hindu demand for equal treatment of all communities. Unfortunately this compromise is merely the Government scheme which Hindu sentiment has almost unanimously condemned as unfair and partial. The only section of Hindus in its favour is the dwindling minority which follows the great Twin Brethren of Bombay and the support given by Mr. Cokhale and Sir Pherozshah to the separate representation idea is likely to ease them their influence with the moderate Hindu community everywhere outside the narrow radius of their personal influence. A third section rejoicing in the leadership of Mr. Anon Ali, are the incorrigibles of militant Islam aspiring to hold India under the British yoke as heirs of the Mogul and keepers of the gateway of India. The Reform Scheme is the second act of insanity which has germinated from the unsound policy of the bureaucracy. It will cast all India into the melting pot and complete the work of the Partition. Our own attitude is clear. We will have no part or lot in reforms which give no popular majority, no substantive control, no opportunity for Indian capacity and statesmanship, no seed of democratic expansion. We will not for a moment accept separate electorates or

equitate representation, not because we are opposed to a large Mahomedan influence in popular assemblies when they come but, because we will be no party to a distinction which recognizes Hindu and Mahomedan as permanently separate political units and thus precludes the growth of a single and indivisible Indian nation. We oppose any such attempt at division whether it comes from an embarrassed Government seeking for political support or from an embittered Hindu community allowing the passions of the moment to obscure their vision of the future.

The Growth of Turkey.

The article on young Turkey and its military strength, extracted in our columns this week from the *Indian Daily News*, is one of great interest. Behind the depreciation of Turkish Chauvinism and Militarism we hear the first note of European alarm at the rise of a second Asiatic Power able to strike as well as to defend its honour and integrity against European aggression. The fact that it is the army in Turkey which stands for free institutions, is the greatest guarantee that could be given of the permanence of the new Turkey, for it assures a time of internal quiet while the country goes through the delicate and dangerous process of readjusting its whole machinery and ways of public thought and action from the habits of an irresponsible autocratic administration to those which suit free institutions and democratic ideas. No doubt, the support of the army veils a Dictatorship. But that is an inevitable stage in a great and sudden transition of this kind, and suits Asiatic countries, however perilous it may have been in other times to European countries when men could not be trusted not to misuse power for their own purposes to the detriment of their country. In Europe the present high standard of public spirit, duty, and honour was the slow creation of free institutions. To Asiatics, not yet corrupted, as many of us in India have been, by the worse part of European individualism and an unnatural education divorced from morality and patriotism, a high standard of public spirit, duty and honour comes with the first awakenings of a freer life; for the Asiatic discipline has always been largely one of self-effacement, the subordination of

the individual to a community and the scrupulous adhesion to principle at the cost of personal predilection and happiness. As in Turkey now, so in Japan, it was a few strong men who, winning control of the country by the strength of great ideas backed by the sword, right supported by might, held the land safe and quiet while they revolutionised the ideas and institutions of the whole nation, forged a strength by sea and land no enemy could despise and secured from the gratitude of their race for their wisdom, selflessness and high nobility of purpose that implicit following which at first they compelled by force. The complaint that the young Turks ignore the necessity of civil reorganisation, commerce and education is a complaint without wisdom, if not without knowledge. The circumstances of Turkey demand that the first attention of her statesmen should be given to military and naval efficiency. The Revolution plucked her from the verge of an abyss of disintegration. The desperate diplomacy and cunning of Sultan Abdul Hamid had stayed her long on that verge, but she was beginning to slip slowly over when the stronger hand of Mahmuud Shevket Pasha seized her and drew her back. Even so, the deposition of the cunning and skilful diplomatist of Yildiz Palace might have been the signal for a general spoliation of Turkey. Austria began a rush for the Balkans, Greece tried to hurry a crisis in Crete. The shaking of the Turkish sword in the face of the Greek and the rapid and efficient reorganisation of army and navy against Europe were both vitally necessary to the safety of the Empire. They were the calculated steps not of Chauvinism but of a defensive statesmanship.

China Enters.

The circle of constitutionally governed Asiatic countries increases. To Turkey, Persia and Japan, China is added. Towards the close of the ten years set apart in the Chinese programme for the preparation of self-government, the Chinese Government has kept its promise to grant a constitution. Provincial Assemblies have been established, are working and have shown their reality and independence by opposing Government

demands. The electoral basis of an Imperial Assembly has been provided. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the steady, resolute, methodical Chinese, with their unrivalled genius for organisation, will make a success of the constitutional experiment. In all Asia now, with the exception of Siam and Afghanistan, the only countries which are denied a constitutional Government are those which have not vindicated their national freedom. Even in Afghanistan the first ineffective stirrings of life have been seen and will grow to something formidable before many years are over. We wonder whether Lord Morley and his advisers really believe that when they are surrounded by a free and democratic Asia, the great Indian race can be kept in a state of tutelage and snail-paced advancement, much less put off to a future age in the dim mists of a millennial futurity to which the penetrating vision of the noble and Radical Lord cannot pierce? The worst opponents of Indian freedom know well what this Asiatic constitutionalism means, and therefore the *Englishman* struggles, in the face of continual disappointment, to foresee the speedy collapse of Nationalism and Parliamentary Government in Persia, Turkey and even Japan as the inevitable fate of an institution foreign to the Asiatic genius, which is popularly supposed to recoil from freedom and hug most lovingly the heaviest chains.

The Patiala Arrests.

For some time past the Native states of Rajputana and Punjab have been vying with each other in promulgations and legislations of a drastic character against sedition and conspiracy. The object of these edicts seems to be to stifle all agitation or semblance of any political thought and activity that may be directed against the existing state of things not in the States themselves but in British India. Otherwise, it is impossible to account for the Draconian severity of the language and substance of these ukases or the foolish thoroughness of some of the measures adopted, such as the prohibition of entry even to colourless papers like the *Bengalee*. The exponents of Anglo Indian opinion point triumphantly to these measures both as a proof of aristocratic loyalty to British officialdom and as an index of the

severity with which the agitation would be visited if, instead of the misplaced leniency of British bureaucrats, we were exposed to the ruthlessness of an indigenous government. As every Indian knows, these self-gratulations are insincere and meaningless. The majority of Native States are wholly under the thumb of the Resident and, with the exception of one or two independent princes, like the Gakwar, neither Maharaja nor Council of Administration can call their souls their own. On all this comes the commotion in Patiala. The Patiala conspiracy has yet to be proved to be more real than the Midnapur specimen. But, if all is true that is being asserted in the Punjab press as to the refusal of the most ordinary privileges of defence to the numerous accused and the amazing and successful defiance of High Court orders by Mr. Warburton, the police are not going the best way to convince the public opinion on this point. The facts stated amount to a gross and shameless denial of justice. We do not blame the young Maharaja for his inability to interfere in favour of the oppressed victims of police rule. We know how helpless the princes are in the face of an Anglo Indian Resident or employee and we wholly discredit the newspaper assertion that these strange proceedings were initiated or are willingly countenanced by him. It was first asserted that—as usual!—the police had full evidence and information in their hands. The present delay and sufferings entailed prove sufficiently that they had nothing of the kind—again, as usual. The arrested Arya Samajists may be innocent or guilty, but the procedure used against them would be tolerated in no country where law and equity were supreme.

The Daulatpur Dacoity.

The extraordinary story from Daulatpur of a dacoity by young men of good family, sons of Government servants, is the strangest that has yet been handled by the detective ability of a very active police—more active, if not successful, we are afraid, in cases of this kind than those in which the dacoits are of a less interesting character. The details as first published read more like a somewhat gruesome comic opera, than anything else. Dacoits who wear gold watches and gold

spectacles on their hazardous expeditions, dacoits who talk English so as to give a clue to their identity, dacoits who turn up at a railway station wearing gold watches, bare-footed and stained with mud, dacoits who carry in their pockets bloodcurdling oaths neatly written out for the police to read in case they are caught, are creatures of so novel and eccentric a character that they must have either come out of a farcical opera or escaped from the nearest lunatic asylum. The later accounts modify some of the more startling features of the first, but until the story for the prosecution is laid before the Courts, thoroughly known and thoroughly tested, sensational headlines and graphic details are apt to mislead.

Place and Patriotism.

The elevation of Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar to the Bench some short time ago was the occasion for some comments from the Moderate Press highly eulogistic of the man and the choice. Mr. Aiyar was a successful lawyer and a capable man and we have no doubt his elevation was justified. But the curious habit of ultra-Moderate politicians gravitating to the Bench is a survival of those idyllic times when a judgeship or a seat in the Legislative Council was the natural goal of the political leader who rose by opposing the Government. This harmony between place and patriotism, opposition and preferment was natural to those times for whose return the lovers of the peaceful past sigh in vain. Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar belonged to the old school and his final consummation is natural and laudable. But our object in writing is not so much to praise Mr. Aiyar as to suggest to the Government that, if they would similarly promote Sir Pherozshah Mehta, they would be rewarding a loyal champion and at the same time conferring a boon on the country. Farther, if only done in time, it might save the Convention from going to pieces.

The Dying Race.

Dr. U. N. Mukherji recently published a very interesting brochure in which he tried to prove that the Hindus were a dying race and would do well to imitate the social freedom and equality of the still increasing Mahomedans. Sriji Lal Sircar has gone one better and proves to us by equally cogent statistics that not only the Hindus

but the Mahomedans are a dying race,—even if the Hindus be in some places a little more rapid in the race for extinction than the followers of Islam. With all respect to the earnestness of these two gentlemen we think it would have been well if they had been less strenuous in their discouraging interpretations and chosen a less positive title. The real truth is that, owing to an immense transition being effected under peculiarly unfavourable conditions, both communities, but chiefly the more progressive Hindu, are in a critical stage in which various deep-seated maladies have come to the surface, with effects of an inevitable though lamentable character. None of these maladies is mortal and the race is not dying. But the knife of the surgeon is needed and it is to the remedy rather than the diagnosis that attention should be pointedly directed. The mere decline in the rate of increase is in itself nothing. It is a phenomenon which one now sees becoming more and more marked all the world over and it is only countries backward in development and education which keep up the old rate of increase. The unfit tend to multiply, the fit to be limited in propagation. This is an abnormal state of things which indicates something wrong in modern civilisation. But, whatever the malady is, it is not peculiar to Hindus or to India, but a world-wide disease.

The Death of Senor Ferrer.

The extraordinary commotion in Europe over the execution of the enthusiast and idealist Ferrer, a judicial murder committed by Court Martial,—has revealed a force in Europe with which statesmen and Governments will have very soon to deal on pain of extinction. We have no sympathy with the philosophy or practice of Anarchism, holding, as we do, that the Anarchist philosophy is some millenniums ahead of the present possible evolution of humanity and the Anarchist practice some millenniums behind. But Senor Francisco Ferrer was no mere Anarchist. He was a man of high enthusiasms and ideas, engaged, at great sacrifice and, as it turns out, risk to himself, in freeing the Spanish mind by education from the fetters of that bigoted Clericalism which has been the ruin

of Spain. For a man of this kind—a man of eminent culture and unstained character, the friend and fellow worker of distinguished men all over the occidental world,—to be shot without any reputable evidence by a military tribunal regardless of universal protest, was an outrage on civilisation and an insult to European culture. Such an incident, however, might have happened formerly with no result but a few indignant articles in the Continental Liberal Press. This time it has awakened a demonstration all over the Western world which is, we think, unprecedented in history. The solidarity and deep feeling in that demonstration means that the huge inert Leviathan, on whose patient back the aristocratic and middle class of Europe have built the structure of their polity and society, is about to move. When he really uplifts his giant bulk, what will become of the structure? Will it not tumble into pieces off his back and be swallowed up in the waters of a worldwide revolution?

The Budget.

It is curious that England which was, a little while ago, the most conservative and individualistic of nations, the least forward in the race towards socialism, should now be the foremost. The socialistic Radical, the fore-runner of insurgent Leviathan, is in the Cabinet and has framed a Budget. The Budget is the pivot on which English progress has turned from the beginning. The power of the purse in the hands of the Commons has been the chief lever for the gradual erection of a limited democracy. The same power is now being used for the gradual introduction of a modified socialism, and, by a curious provision of Fate, seems destined to be also the occasion for the final destruction of one at least of the two remaining restrictions on democracy, the veto of the Lords and the limitation of the suffrage. The Lords were bound to oppose the Budget, for the triumph of socialism means the destruction of the aristocracy. The Lords, therefore, have either to fight or to fall; and the pathos of their situation is that, in all probability, the choice is not theirs and that, whether they fight or not, they cannot but fall. The Lords have only continued to exist because they were discreet enough

to lie low and give a minimum of trouble. As for the limitation of the suffrage, it is not at all unlikely that the daring and unscrupulous campaign of the suffragettes may end in the concession of universal suffrage. For, if women are given the vote, the proletariat will not be content to remain without it. They too can lift crowbars and hammers and break glass roofs!

A Great opportunity.

The end of the great struggle between the last representative of European autocracy and the insurgent Demos, is not yet. At present the Czar holds the winning cards. The mismanagement of the Revolution by a people unaccustomed to political action has put advantages into his hands to which he has no right. But it is significant that the revolution still smoulders. As Carlyle wrote of the French Revolution, it is unquenchable and cannot be stamped down, for the fire-spouts that burst out are no slight surface conflagration but the flame's of the pit of Tophet. Murder and hatred rising from below to strike at murder and tyranny striking from above, that is the Russian Revolution. Had another man than a Romanoff, the race obstinate and unteachable, sat on the throne at St. Petersburg, the victory of the autocracy after such imminent and deadly peril would have been surely used to prevent, by healing measures and perfectly spontaneous concessions, a repetition of the sanguinary struggle. It is probably the last opportunity Fate will concede to the Czar Nicholas and it is a great opportunity. But he will not take it and in the shadow forces are again gathering which are likely in the end to destroy him. The Czarina is sleepless in deadly anxiety for the safety of her child the Czar leaving her behind, enters Italy and is guarded by an army. In Russia the Ministry balances itself on the top of a frail edifice crowning the volcano that still sputters below. One wonders why they should think it worth their while to bolster up sanguinary injustice for a season at so huge a cost.

Buddha's Ashes.

Again the powers that be have committed a blunder. If any of the wise men who weave the tangled web of Anglo-Indian statesmanship at Simla, had a little common sense to salt their superior wisdom, they

would never, have allowed the strong feeling against the reclamation of Buddha's ashes to vent itself so long in public expression without an assurance, at least of favourable consideration. We have waited long for that simple and natural act of statesmanship, but in vain. It is such a trivial matter in itself, concession would be so graceful, natural and easy; yet the harm done by perverseness and churlishness is so immense! We wonder whether our official Governors ever think. It is very easy. What would they feel if the bones of a great Englishman, say, the Duke of Wellington, were so treated! But the diseased attachment to prestige and the reputation of an assured wisdom and an inflexible power have sealed up the eyes of those in high places.

Students and Politics.

All India and especially Bengal owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hassan Imam for his strong, manly and sensible remarks on the vexed question of students and politics as President of the Beharee Students Conference at Gaya. Contrast this honest utterance and robust recognition of unalterable facts with the fencings, refinements and unreal distinctions of Mr. Gokhale's utterance. The difference is between a man with an eye and a clear practical sense and a mere intellectual, a man of books and words and borrowed thoughts, proud of his gift of speech and subtlety of logic, but unable to penetrate a fact even when he sees it. With Mr. Hassan Imam a strong personal force enters the field of politics.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRINCE ITO.

—O—

A great man has fallen, perhaps the greatest force in the field of political action that the nineteenth century produced, the maker of Japan, the conqueror of Russia, the mighty one who first asserted Asia's superiority over Europe in Europe's own field of glory and changed in a few years the world's future. Some would say that such a death for such a man was a tragedy. We hold otherwise. Even such a death should such a man have died, in harness, fighting for his country's expansion and greatness, by the swift death in action, which, our scriptures tell us, carry

the hero's soul straight to the felicity of heaven. The man who in his youth lived in imminent deadly peril from the swords of his countrymen because he dared to move forward by new paths to his God-given task, dies in his old age by a foreign hand because, at the expense of justice and a nation's freedom, he still moved forward in the path of his duty. It is a difficult choice that is given to men of action in a world where love, strength and justice are not yet harmonised, and he who chooses in sincerity and acts thoroughly, whether he has chosen well or ill, gathers *punya* for himself in this world and the next. Then he was building a nation and he lived to do his work, for his death would not have profited. He was building an Empire when he died and by his death that empire will be established. The soul of a great man, fulfilled in development but cut off in the midst of his work, enters into his following or his nation and works on a far wider scale than was possible to him in the body. Korea will gain nothing by this rash and untimely act, the greatest error in tactics it could have committed. The Japanese is the last man on earth to be deterred from his ambition or his duty by the fear of death, and the only result of this blow will be to harden Japan to her task. She has science, organisation, efficiency, ruthlessness, and she will grind the soul out of Korea until it is indistinguishable from Japan. That is the only way to perpetuate a conquest, to kill the soul of the subject nation, and the Japanese know it. A subject nation struggling for freedom must always attract Indian sympathy, but the Koreans have not the strength of soul to attain freedom. Instead of seeking the force to rise in their own manhood, they have always committed the unpardonable sin against Asiatic integrity of striving to call in an European power against a brother Asiatic. The Koreans have right on their side, but do not know how to awaken might to vindicate the right. The Japanese cause is wrong from the stand-point of a higher morality than the merely patriotic, but they believe intensely in their

religion of patriotic duty and put all their might into its observance. It is not difficult to predict with which side the victory will be.

Prince Hirobumi Ito was the typical man of his nation, as well as its greatest statesman and leader. He went ahead of it for a while only to raise it to his level. He had all its virtues in over-flowing measure and a full share of its defects and vices. Absolutely selfless in public affairs, quiet, unassuming, keeping himself in the background unless duty called him into prominence, calm, self-controlled, patient, swift, energetic, methodical, incapable of fear, wholly devoted to the nation—such is the Japanese, and such was Ito. As a private man he had the Japanese defects. Even in public affairs, he had something of the narrowness, unscrupulousness in method and preference of success to justice of the insular and imperial Japanese type. Added to these common characteristics of his people he had a genius equal to that of any statesman in history. The eye that read the hearts of men, the mouth sealed to rigid secrecy, the rare, calm and effective speech, the brain that could embrace a civilisation at a glance and take all that was needed for his purpose, the swift and yet careful intellect that could divine, choose and arrange, the power of study, the genius of invention, the talent of application, a diplomacy open-minded but never vacillating, a tireless capacity for work,—all these he had on so grand a scale that to change the world's history was to him a by no means stupendous labour. And he had the ancient Asiatic gift of self-effacement. In Europe a genius of such colossal proportions would have filled the world with the mighty bruit of his personality; but Ito worked in silence and in the shade, covering his steps, and it was only by the results of his work that the world knew him. Like many modern Japanese, Ito was a sceptic. His country was the God of his worship to whom he dedicated his life, for whom he lived and in whose service he died. Such was this great vibhuti, who came down to earth in a petty family, an Eastern island clan, a nation apart and far behind in the world's progress, and

in forty years created a nation's greatness, founded an Empire, changed a civilisation and prepared the liberation of a continent. His death was worthy of his life. For there are only two deaths which are really great and carry a soul to the highest heaven, to die in self-forgetting action, in battle, by assassination, on the scaffold for others, for one's country or for the right, and to die as the Yogin dies, by his own will, free of death and disease, departing into that from which he came. To Ito, the sceptic, the patriot, the divine worker, the death of the selfless hero was given.

THE HINDU SABHA.

An indication of the immense changes which are coming over our country, is the sudden leaping into being of new movements and organisations which are, by their very existence, evidence of revolutions in public feeling and omens of the future. The dead bones live indeed and the long sleep of the ages is broken. The Moslem League was indicative of much, the Hindu Sabha is indicative of yet more. The Nationalist party, while in entire disagreement with the immediate objects and spirit of the league, welcomed its birth as a sign of renovated political life in the Mahomedan community. But the Mahomedan community was always coherent, united and separately self-conscious. The strength of Islam lay in its unity and cohesion, the fruit of a long discipline in equality and brotherhood, the strength of the Hindu in flexibility, progressiveness, elasticity, a divination of necessary changes, broad ideas, growing aspirations, the fruit of a long discipline in intellectual and moral sensitiveness. The Moslem league meant that the Mahomedan was awakening to the need of change, the growth of aspiration in the world around him,—not yet to the broad ideas modern life demanded. The Hindu Sabha means that the Hindu is awakening to the need of unity and cohesion.

Does it mean more? Does it indicate a larger statesmanship, quicker impulse to action, a greater capacity for the unity and cohesion it seeks? Is the Hindu Sabha

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

a novel body, with the power in it to effect a great object never before accomplished, the effective union of all shades of Hindu opinion from the lax Anglicised Agnostic, Hindu in nothing but birth and blood, to the intense and narrow worshipper of the institutes of Raghunandan? Or is it merely an ineffectual aspiration, like the old Congress, capable of creating a general sympathy and oneness of aim, but not of practical purpose and effective organisation? There are only two things strong enough to unite Hinduism, a new spiritual impulse based on Vedanta, the essential oneness of man, the transcendence and utilitarian character of institutions, the lofty ideals of brotherhood, freedom, equality, and a recognition of the great mission and mighty future of the Hindu spiritual ideas and discipline and of the Indian race, or else a political impulse strong enough to unite Hindus together for the preservation and advancement of their community. The Hindu Sabha could not have come into being but for the great national movement which awakened the national spirit, the sense of past greatness, the divination of a mighty future, transforming the whole spirit and character of the educated community. But we fear that in its immediate inception and work it leans for its hope of success on a lower and less powerful motive—rivalry with Mahomedan pretensions and a desire to put the mass and force of an united Hinduism against the intensity of a Mahomedan self-assertion supported by official patronage and Anglo-Indian favour. Alarm and resentment at the pro-Mahomedan policy underlying the Reform Scheme and dissatisfaction with the Bombay conventionists for their suicidal support of the Government

policy entered largely into the universal support given by Punjab Hindus to the new body and its great initial success. Mortification at the success of Mahomedans in securing Anglo-Indian sympathy and favour and the exclusion of Hindus from those blissful privileges figured largely in the speech of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji who was hailed as the natural leader of Panjab Hinduism. These are not good omens. It is not by rivalry for Anglo-Indian favour, it is not by quarrelling for the loaves and fishes of British administration that Hinduism can rise into an united and effective force. If the Hindu Sabha takes its anchor on these petty aspirations or, if it founds any part of its strength on political emulation with the Mahomedans, it will be impossible for the Nationalist party to join in a movement which would otherwise have their full sympathy and eager support.

Lala Lajpat Rai struck a higher note, that of Hindu nationalism as a necessary preliminary to a greater Indian Nationality. We distrust this ideal. Not that we are blind to facts, not that we do not recognize Hindu-Mahomedan rivalry as a legacy of the past enhanced and not diminished by British ascendancy, a thing that has to be faced and worked out either by mutual concession or by a struggle between nationalism and separatism. But we do not understand Hindu nationalism as a possibility under modern conditions. Hindu nationalism had a meaning in the times of Shivaji and Ramdas, when the object of national revival was to overthrow a Mahomedan domination which, once tending to Indian unity and toleration, had become oppressive and disruptive. It was possible because India was then a world to itself and the existence of two geographical units entirely Hindu,

Maharashtra and Rajputana, provided it with a basis. It was necessary because the misuse of their domination by the Mahomedan element was fatal to India's future and had to be punished and corrected by the resurgence and domination of the Hindu. And because it was possible and necessary, it came into being. But under modern conditions India can only exist as a whole. A nation depends for its existence on geographical separateness and geographical compactness, on having a distinct and separate country. The existence of this geographical separateness is sure in the end to bear down all differences of race, language, religion, history. It has done so in Great Britain, in Switzerland, in Germany. It will do so in India. But geographical compactness is also necessary. In other words, the *desh* or country must be so compact that mutual communication and the organisation of a central government becomes easy or, at least, not prohibitively difficult. The absence of such compactness is the reason why great Empires are sure in the end to fall to pieces: they cannot get the support of that immortal and indestructible national self which can alone ensure permanence. This difficulty stands in the way of British Imperial Federation and is so great that any temporary success of that specious aspiration will surely result in the speedy disruption of the Empire. In addition, there must be an uniting force strong enough to take advantage of the geographical compactness and separateness,—either a wise and skilfully organised government with a persistent tradition of beneficence, impartiality and oneness with the nation, or else a living national sense insisting on its separate inviolability and self-realisation. The secret of

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Roman success was in the organisation of such a Government; even so, it failed, for want of geographical compactness, to create a world-wide Roman nationality. The failure of the British rule to root itself lies in its inability to become one with the nation either by the effacement of our national individuality or by the renunciation of its own separate pride and self-interest. These things are therefore necessary to Indian nationality, geographical compactness, geographical compactness and a living national spirit. The first was always ours and made India a people apart from the earliest times. The second we have attained by British rule. The third has just sprung into existence.

But the country, the swadesh, which must be the base and foundation of our nationality, is India, a country where Mahomedan and Hindu live intermingled and side by side. What geographical base can a Hindu nationality possess? Maharashtra and Rajasthan are no longer separate geographical units but merely provincial divisions of a single country. The very first requisite of a Hindu nationalism is wanting. The Mahomedans base their separateness and their refusal to regard themselves as Indians first and Mahomedans afterwards on the existence of great Mahomedan nations to which they feel themselves more akin, in spite of our common birth and blood, than to us. Hindus have no such resource. For good or evil, they are bound to the soil and to the soil alone. They cannot deny their Mother, neither can they mutilate her. Our ideal therefore is an Indian Nationalism, largely Hindu in its spirit and traditions, because the Hindu made the land and the people and persists, by the greatness of his past, his civilisation and his culture and his invincible virility, in holding it, but wide enough also to include

the Moslem and his culture and traditions and absorb them into itself. It is possible that the Mahomedan may not recognize the inevitable future and may prefer to throw himself into the opposite scale. If so, the Hindu, with what little Mahomedan help he may get, must win Swaraj both for himself and the Mahomedan in spite of that resistance. There is a sufficient force and manhood in us to do a greater and more difficult task than that, but we lack unity, brotherhood, intensity of single action among ourselves. It is to the creation of that unity, brotherhood and intensity that the Hindu Sabha should direct its whole efforts. Otherwise we must reject it as a disruptive and not a creative agency.

THE BRAIN OF INDIA.

III

The practice of Brahmacharya is the first and most necessary condition of increasing the force within and turning it to such uses as may benefit the possessor or mankind. All human energy has a physical basis. The mistake made by European materialism is to suppose the basis to be everything and confuse it with the source. The source of life and energy is not material but spiritual, but the basis, the foundation on which the life and energy stand and work, is physical. The ancient Hindus clearly recognised this distinction between *Karan* and *pratishta*, the north pole and the south pole of being. Earth or gross matter is the *pratishta*, Brahma or spirit is the *Karan*. To raise up the physical to the spiritual is Brahmacharya for by the meeting of the two the Energy which starts from one and produces the other, is enhanced and fulfils itself.

This is the metaphysical theory. The application depends on a right understanding of the physical and

psychological conformation of human receptacle of energy. foundational physical unit is *retas*, in which the *tejas*, the light and electricity in a is involved and hidden. All energy is latent in the *retas*. This energy may be either expended physically or conserved. All passion, desire wastes the energy by pouring it, either in the gross form or sublimated subtler form, out of the body. Immorality in act throws out in the gross form; immorality of thought in the subtle form. In either case there is waste, and chastity is of the mind and speed well as of the body. On the other hand all self-control conserves energy in the *retas*, and conservation always brings with it increase. But the needs of the physical body are limited and the excess of energy must create a surplus which has to turn itself to some use other than the physical. According to ancient theory *retas* is *jala*, water, full of light and heat and electricity, in one word, of *tejas*. The excess of the *retas* turns first into heat or *tapas* which stimulates the whole system, and it is for this reason that all forms of self-control and austerity are called *tapas* or *tapasya*, because they generate the heat or stimulus which is a source of powerful action and success; secondly, it turns to *tejas* proper, light, the energy which is at the source of all knowledge; thirdly turns to *vidyut* or electricity, which is at the basis of all forceful action, whether intellectual or physical. The *vidyut* again is involved in the *pranas* or *pranasukti* the primal energy which proceeds from ether. T

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rajas refining from *jala* to *tapas*, *rajas* and *vidyut* and from *vidyut* to *ojas*, fills the system with physical strength, energy and brain power and in its last form of *ojas* rises to the brain and informs it with that primal energy which is the most refined form of matter and nearest to spirit. It is *ojas* that creates a spiritual force or *virya*, by which a man attains to spiritual knowledge, spiritual love and faith, spiritual strength. It follows, that the more we can by Brahmacharya, increase the store of *tapas*, *tejas*, *vidyut* and *ojas*, the more we shall fill ourselves with utter energy for the works of the body, heart, mind and spirit.

This view of the human soul was not the whole of the knowledge on which ancient Hinduism based its educational discipline. In addition it has the view that all knowledge is within and has to be evoked by education rather than instilled from outside. The constitution of man consists of three principles of nature *sattwa*, *rajas* and *tamas*, the comprehensive, active and passive elements of universal action which, in one of their thousand fold aspects manifested as knowledge, passion and ignorance. *Tamas* is a constitutional dullness or passivity which obscures the knowledge within and creates ignorance, mental inertia, slowness, forgetfulness, disinclination to study, inability to grasp and distinguish. *Rajas* is an undisciplined activity which obscures knowledge by passion, attachment, prejudgment, predilection and wrong ideas.

Sattwa is an illumination which reveals the hidden knowledge and brings it to the surface where the observation can grasp and the memory record it. This conception of the constitution of the knowing faculty made the removal of *tamas*, the disciplining of *rajas* and the awakening of *sattwa* the main problem for the teacher. He had to train the student to be receptive of illumination from within. The disciplining of *rajas* was effected by a strict moral discipline which induced a calm, clear, receptive state of mind free from intellectual self-will and pride and the obscuration of passion, —the famous discipline of the Brahmacharin which was the foundation of Aryan culture and Aryan morals; and the interference of wrong ideas was sought to be removed by strict mental submission to the teacher during the receptive period, when the body of ascertained knowledge or right ideas already in man's possession was explained to him and committed to memory. The removal of *tamas* was effected by the discipline of moral purity, which awakened the energy of *tejas* and electricity in the system and by the power of *tapasya* trained it to be a reservoir of mental force and clarity. The awakening of illumination was actively effected by the triple method of repetition, meditation and discussion. *Avritti* or repetition was meant to fill the recording part of the mind with the *shabda* or word, so that the *artha* or meaning might of itself rise from within. Needless to say, a mechanical repetition was not likely to produce this effect.

There must be that clear still receptivity and that waiting upon the word or thing with the contemplative part of the mind which is what the ancient Indians meant by *dhyana* or meditation. All of us have felt, when studying a language, the difficulties which seemed insoluble while grappling with a text, suddenly melt away and a clear understanding arises without assistance from book or teacher after putting away the book from our mind for a brief period. Many of us have experienced also, the strangeness of taking up a language or subject, after brief discontinuance, to find that we understand it much better than when we took it up, know the meanings of words we had never met with before and can explain sentences which before we discontinued the study, would have baffled our understanding. This is because the *jnata* or knower within has had his attention called to the subject and has been busy in the interval drawing upon the source of knowledge within in connection with it. This experience is only possible to those whose *swattic* or illuminative element has been powerfully aroused or consciously or unconsciously trained to action by the habit of intellectual clarity and deep study. The highest reach of the *sattwic* development is when one can dispense often or habitually with outside aids, the teacher or the text book, grammar and dictionary and learn a subject largely or wholly from within. But this is only possible to the Yogin by a successful prosecution of the discipline of Yoga.

INVITATION.

(Composed in the Alipur Jail.)

With wind and the weather beating round me

Up to the hill and the moerland I go.

Who will come with me? Who will walk with me?

Wade through the brook and tramp through the snow?

Not in the petty circle of cities

Cramped by your doors and your walls I dwell.

Over me God is blue in the welkin,

Against me the storm and the wind rebel.

I sport with solitude here in my regions,

Of Misadventure I made me a friend.

Who would live largely? Who would live freely?

Here to the wind-swept uplands ascend.

I am the lord of tempest and mountain,

I am the spirit of freedom and pride.

Stark must he be and a kinsman to danger.

Who shares my kingdom and walks at my side.

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NEWS.

THE EARTHQUAKE.

Official information confirms the report that at Shapur, 32 miles east of Bellput, the earthquake demolished many houses. The deaths numbered 102, while 21 injured have been removed to hospital. Also a number of cattle were killed. The shocks are still continuous at Bellput, Bhag and other places where the surviving inhabitants who cannot run away are having a most anxious time. The authorities are rendering every help. Fuller particulars are awaited by the Government from Bhag where the situation is very sad. It is largely populated by Hindus of the Kelat territory.

LAJPAT RAI LIBER.

The "Pioneer's" London correspondent writes—In the House of Commons, Dr. Rutherford asked the Master of Elibank whether he was aware that the Judge's summing-up in the case of Lala Lajpat Rai against the "Daily Express" mentioned Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation as a ground for mitigation of damages and whether since the Government refused to give Lala Lajpat Rai reasons for his deportation and an opportunity for rebutting the implications of guilt some amends would be made for the injustice done to him. The master of Elibank answered that he knew of no reasons for such an action.

A HYDERABAD COMMISSION.

A commission has been arranged at Hyderabad to undertake the arbitration of certain long outstanding claims and counter claims between the Nizam and the Sultans of Sheha and Mokalla in Southern Arabia. The parties will each be represented by one representative but as for the President it has been desirable to apply for a British officer of standing. The position has been offered to Mr. Justice Griffin of the Allahabad High Court. As the investigation is to commence as soon as possible it is probable that Mr. Justice Griffin will leave for Hyderabad at an early date. The inquiry is expected to last for about three months.

SUKKUR SEDITION CASE.

The Sukkur Sedition Case against one Vurmal and others under Section 120A was heard yesterday and to-day at the Sub-divisional Magistrate's Court at Shikarpur. The prosecution submitted some fifteen passages from a publication entitled "Swadeshi Hal Chal" which are alleged to be seditious. Several of the papers seized at the house-searches were also filed as exhibits.

Mr. Manley Assistant Superintendent of Police in his examination in chief stated that the book called "Swadeshi Hal Chal" (Swadeshi Donga) contained 12 passages which were seditious and showed contempt for the Government.

NEWS.

IN MEMORIAM.

His Highness the Gaekwar has granted a donation of Rs. 2,000 with the object of establishing in the name of His Highness Damajirao Gaekwar, a scholarship or both out of the interest annually accruing from the amount.

PRINCE ITO ASSASSINATED.

Reuter wires from Tokio that Prince Ito was assassinated at the station at Harbin by a Korean when meeting M. Kokovtseff the Russian Minister of Finance. M. Tanaka, who was accompanying Prince Ito was wounded. The assassin was arrested.

Prince Ito was inspecting the Guard-of-Honour when he was shot three times. M. Tanaka, Director of the Manchurian Railway the Japanese Consul-General and a member of his suite were wounded. M. Kokovtseff had a most narrow escape as he was nearer to Prince Ito than the Japanese.

The assassin avows that the deed was a revenge on the oppressor of Korea and the executioner of his relatives.

Altogether four armed Koreans were arrested.

PUNJAB HINDU SABHA.

The reply of the Government of India to the memorial of the Punjab Hindu Sabha on certain grievances and disabilities of the Hindu in the province is published. The Government of India's reply traverses some of the statistics and says that the educational qualification though important and easiest of application is not and never has been accepted as the sole test of fitness, and that if the educational test were given pre-eminence the Hindu share of the posts in the Government service would be disproportionately great. About the Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts the reply says that the Acts have benefited both the Mahomedan and Hindu agriculturists. About the representation of the Punjab Hindus in the Reformed Council the reply says that while the procedure is settled by the Secretary of state the rights of the important minorities would be safeguarded.

EXPECTED ARRIVAL.

Mr. G. H. B. Kenrick, Advocate-General Bengal was among the mail passengers arriving at Bombay on Friday.

Mr. Syed Ali Imam Standing Counsel-designate Bengal was to leave England for India on October 18th.

NEWS.

THE FEDERATION HALL.

With reference to Mr. Palit's subscription to the Federation Hall it is to be paid in five years and subject to the condition that the liability of the payment will not attach to his estate which as the public are aware, is dedicated to the Technical Institute founded by him.

MYSORE PRESS REGULATION.

At the sitting of the Mysore Representative Assembly last week one of the subjects discussed was a proposal for the repeal of the Mysore Newspapers Regulation of 1908. If its repeal was not possible an amendment was prayed for repealing section 2 which necessitates the grant of permission by Government before starting a paper and providing for a judicial trial before an order for deportation or for confiscating a press etc., is passed and defining the various offences for which punishments is to be inflicted under the regulation. One speaker said he would not mind imprisonment but to be called disloyal was giving the whole State a black mark. The traditions of history point out that Mysore was ever loyal to the British throne. The Dewan, replying, said the regulation has been working satisfactorily and declined to consider the advisability of repealing or amending it.

KRISHNAGAR ITEM.

The pleaders of Krishnagar were recently the recipients of anonymous letters threatening them with bomb outrages. A notorious badmash, armed Yakub Mallah who had kidnapped a Hindu widow was undergoing trial before Mr. Ransom, Sessions Judge. Letters were sent to the Bar conveying threats of bomb. Any body the letters ran defending Yakub would be bombed in the very heart of Krishnagar. No Bengali pleader therefore took up the case, and Yakub engaged a Mahomedan counsel. But after the first day of the hearing nothing was heard of him and news comes that he abruptly left Krishnagar having received a strange letter through the post. Yakub Molla was sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment and lodged in Krishnagar Jail. But on the second night he ordered two fellow convicts to give him a leg-up. So he jumped on their shoulders, scaled the wall in jail dress, burgled a Swadeshi cloth shop at midnight, obtained a change of dress and vanished. Rewards have been offered for his recapture. —Empire.

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NEWS.

THE CYCLONE.

Report has been received from Berhampore (Gangjam) of a cyclone which passed over it on Tuesday night last, causing considerable damage to buildings from Kalkota to Madras. Owing to telegraphic interruption the exact extent of damage and loss of life cannot be ascertained. It is however reported that many houses have been blown down in Berhampore and that two in-patients of the Jubilee Hospital have been killed owing to the partial collapse of a wing of the building. The Railway line is breached at Kalkota and passengers and mails are being transhipped. There has been no train service since the day before yesterday between Kalkota and Pulesue.

BENGALI TOURISTS.

In view of the Viceroy's visit to Jaipur stringent measures have been adopted by the State regarding Bengali tourists. Even respectable shrines at Jaipur and Amber are not allowed entrance into the town without being subjected to most scrutinising police searches. Mr. P. P. Bose proprietor of the Calcutta vernacular weekly, "Banchhas" with four other members of the staff of the "Telegraph" and the "Bengalasi" had to undergo similar search. He was not given shelter even by a Bengali State official nor was he allowed to rent a house for staying only for a night. He was distinctly told that he could only stay there under police surveillance outside the city in one of the huts where all Bengalis had to stay. Eventually however through the kindness of the European Station-Master of Jaipur he was allowed stay in the waiting room till the Agra mail came. Learning moreover from reliable sources that the same stringent measures were adopted in other Rajput States to be visited by the Viceroy Mr. B. P. Bose and party were obliged to cancel further arrangements for visiting other shrines and leave Jaipur for Agra that very night.

PATIALA SEDITION.

The latest news regarding the Patiala sedition case is that Mr. Rushanlal Bhatnagar appeared before the Special Tribunal on the 28th and stated that although fifteen days had elapsed from the date of the arrests, yet Mr. Warburton Inspector-General of Police has not sent in the papers of the case nor released Chiranjali, admitted to bail by the Special Tribunal on the 18th. Mr. Rushanlal, therefore petitioned to His Highness the Maharaja stating all the facts. His Highness sent the petition to the Special Tribunal as on the 29th he did not attend Court. Twenty days have elapsed since the arrests were made, still the accused and their counsel are in the dark as regards the nature of the complaint.

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YOUNG TURKEY.

ITS MILITARY POWER.

The Balkan correspondent of the "Nation" writes:—To an English mind—at least to the mind of an Englishman brought up in the old Whig distrust of great armies—one of the most disquieting features in the Turkish outlook is militarism.

In the first place the internal political situation in Turkey is so much the reverse of all we are accustomed to in England that one feels instinctively suspicious of it. The army is liberal, and is maintaining liberal institutions. The country is mostly reactionary and would overthrow the Parliament if it could. When the despot does overthrow the Chamber it is the army that rushes to the assistance of the latter not the commonalty.

When we come to consider the matter more closely, we find that the July revolution was caused by army officers who were ashamed of the weak condition into which the armed forces of the Empire had fallen under the Absolutist regime. They said, "Only the other day we were at the gates of Vienna and all Europe trembled before us. To-day we are nothing. Let us abolish the system which has brought our glorious arms so low. Let us establish a Parliament in order that our army may be re-organised and that Europe may again have to take us into account."

As far as I could see the military leaders of the Committee went no further than this, unless incidentally. All their reforms all their new-found tolerance, originated in their regard for Turkey's military strength. In July last they fraternised with the Greek and Bulgarian brigands in Macedonia because these brigands might help them in the march on Constantinople which Young Turks then thought unavoidable. Ahmed Riza Bey and some of the civilians had broader views than this but they did not and do not count. It was the military leaders who made the revolution of July and of April and who are maintaining the Constitution. And though the military chiefs act but never speak or write, they are the only good statesmen and politicians in Turkey. The civilians make endless blunders. Their journalistic controversies did much to bring about the April reaction but save, perhaps, when he threatened to march on Athens—Sheffket Pasha has invariably done the right thing.

The army therefore, has all the brains all the power and all the discretion. And as its one great object is to improve itself, to increase its size and its efficiency, it has progressed enormously in every direction since July 1908. True the April manning lost it a whole army corps but the misfortune only gave it an opportunity to show its power, for the rapidity with which Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha got together a new army corps and licked the recruits into shape before the end of July was remarkable.

The War Office (as I observed during a visit I paid to the commander of the First Army Corps there a couple of months ago) is now by far the busiest and most efficient of the Government departments. Filled with able Generals and hard-working chiefs of staff and staff-officers it would do credit to the headquarters of a German army corps. More money is spent on it than on any other department. Even the ludicrously inadequate Budget of the Minister of Education was recently cut down in order that the army might have been more money to spend.

In the Chamber the army has the control and means to keep it. Recently a motion was made to the effect that officers on active service could not sit as deputies without forfeiting their pay as officers. A civilian member pointed out that the popularity of the army and attraction of double pay will lead to the Chamber being filled exclusively with officers but military members protested against the motion and it failed to pass.

The tone of all the Turks is, I deeply regret to say, not that of a constitutional people. It is as a rule that of an army. The "Yeni Gazette" recently drew a parallel between Japan and Turkey, but it failed to see the extremely important role which Japan's attention to commerce industry and finance has played in the uplifting of Dai-Nippon all it saw was first that Japan devoted all her energies to building up her military and naval forces and second, that having done this she turned her attention to the contraction of an alliance.

Enver Bey, the Turkish military attaché in Berlin, speaks in a warlike tone about Turkey stationing an army-corps on the Russo-Turkish frontier in Asia Minor; and Hussein Hilmi Bey, the comparatively peaceful Grand Vizier, says, in speaking of Turkey's future:—

"We must try to make of Turkey a military Power of the first order, to have a well-organised and instructed army, a powerful fleet," etc., etc., afterwards, going on to speak of secondary things, such as railways, industry, and commerce, and—last of all—schools.

To a certain extent this military spirit is natural and excusable in the Turks, but I am afraid that it will make them too proud, too Chauvinistic, and, at the same time (for, after all, they are a simple people), too likely to become the tool of European Powers which may seek to excite them on the subject of Egypt, India, Persia, Crete, or Mahomedanism generally.

The "Seman" of Salonica recently published, apropos of the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie, a ferocious article, entitled "Peoples of Asia, to arms!" in which it preached the solidarity of all the Asiatic Peoples in the face of Europe's mania for expansion at their expense, and painted the wrongs of Asia in glaring colors. In the same way a leading and very able Turkish deputy, who edits a paper called "Le Courier D'Orient," said (July 23rd), that Turkey also must have her "point of view on the Polish, Scandinavian, and even on the Irish question."

The army, of course, goes even further than this in its martial pride. When the Cretan question was acute, Mahmud Sheiket spoke of a march on Athens, and the 4th Army Corps wired to Constantinople, offering its services against Greece "in case the 2nd and 3rd Army Corps are too tired after their exertions of April 24th." On the same occasion a Turkish paper, addressing itself menacingly to the Government, said that "the Cabinet must not think that the sceptre of power is a stick to lean on idly," meaning that the sceptre is in its opinion a "big stick" wherewith a Government should be forever laying about it and which is in fact intended for no other purpose.

This is the naive and martial temper of the Turk—how different, by the way,

to the restrained and diplomatic Japanese temper, how similar in some respects to the tone of the foolish young Chinese who talked so loudly some time ago of abolishing extra-territoriality and who have now under the reactionary "regime" of Prince Ching, subsided so suddenly and so completely.

Russian Publicists are already expressing apprehensions that Germany may make a cat's-paw of the Ottomans. A Constantinopolitan Russian, writing in the "Novoe Vremya" of August 5th, points to the extraordinary reception given to von der Goltz Pasha on his return to Turkey (a reception which would never be given by the Turks to Tolstoy or to the greatest leaders of European thought), when at the railway station all the officers of higher rank than Generals publicly kissed von der Goltz's hand. This German instructor was soon after made Vice-President of the Higher Military Council, and, at his instance, seventeen more German officers are to come to Turkey to teach, while twenty-nine Turkish officers are to go to Germany to learn. Moreover, at the instance of General von der Goltz, the Higher Military Council has decided, in spite of Turkey's serious financial weakness soon to re-arm the whole army with Mausers and to order 400 quick-firing batteries. All these things, as well as vast quantities of ammunition, will be bought in Germany.

The Russian writer whom I quote is somewhat afraid of a Turkey which is only the puppet of Germany, for such a Turkey could be used to bring pressure on St. Petersburg. In 1877-1878 the Russians found it very hard to overcome the resistance of 350,000 Turks "badly armed, half naked, and hungry, commanded by an infinitesimal number of educated officers—nine per cent. of the whole." At present the Turkish army numbers about one million. "On our Caucasian frontier we would have now against us, not 50,000 bayonets, as was

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the case thirty two years ago, but 145,000 bayonets, and 50,000 sabres—all the men being well organised, well armed, and well officered.

I shall not follow the Russian writer into his descriptions of how Germany worked up the Turks on the subject of Russia's proceedings in Persia, and how he got the Grand Vizier to invite many Germanophile Bulgarian students and officers to visit Constantinople by way of reply to Russia's invitation of a number of Russophile Bulgarian officers to St. Petersburg.

The broad fact remains, however, that Germany not philosophic, poetical, literary, or scientific Germany, but military Germany alone seems to have hypnotised the Turks. It may be passing phase, but it bodes ill for the general development of Young Turkey.

Germany, of course, is not to be blamed for this, since wherever they go—whether to Tokio or to Stambul—her military instructors do their work extraordinarily well, and, as a matter of fact, we ourselves, the peaceful, anti-militarist nation of Europe, have lent Turkey an admiral in order to carry out a most unnecessary and expensive task—the re-organisation of her fleet.

The whole evil lies in Turkey's inability at present really to admire or understand anything European save military efficiency, and in her coming just at this moment under the influence of a Power where militarism plays such an important role that it must seem to be the unique cause of Germany's greatness.

Turkey it is hard to blame, and I certainly do not mean this letter to be an attack on the new "regime." It cannot, of course, be expected to change in a day that military character for which the Osmanli have been noted ever since they first appeared in history.

I strongly approve of almost everything the Young Turks have done so far, and I am proud to be able to claim some of the Committee leaders as my personal friends, but I think that their intensely martial spirit is an historical fact that should be noted even by a sincere friend. European observers have shut their eyes to it so far, but that does not improve matters in the least.

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BEHAREE STUDENTS.

GAYA CONFERENCE.

The fourth session of the Beharee Students' Conference began its sitting at 12 noon 30 October, when the President-elect (Mr. Syed Hasan Imam), accompanied by Messrs. Deep Narayan Singh, Mohamed Yunus, Parmeshwar Lall, and the Hon. Babu Krishna Sahay were received with prolonged cheers. The proceedings began with a beautiful song. Babu Rajeshwari Prasad, President to the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in a suitable speech. He deplored the inadequacy of educational facilities in Behar, and advocated the establishment of a college in Gaya. Babu Seeshwar Dayal proposed, and Babu Prasannarayan seconded, the election of Mr. Syed Hasan Imam as President in a nice speech.

Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, who was received with loud applause, then delivered his inaugural address.

He complimented the Conference on its non-sectarian character, in which Beharee students, Hindus and Mahomedans met on a common platform to discuss measures for their common advancement. It is from the members of the Conference, the President said, the historic province of Behar hopes to supply her share of zealous workers in the cause of the Motherland. He exhorted the students to preserve non-sectarian character and spirit of mutual compromise intact when they enter the world; it is then that they will have to show great strength of character to have them from the infamy which attaches to one who has preached one principle and practised another. Let the Motherland be the first in your affections, your province the second, and your community hereafter.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS.

Speaking on the question of students and politics, Mr. Hasan Imam declared he was not one of those who would shut young men from the study of politics. In the general unrest that prevails in the land, to ask the student community not to be affected is to ask nature to alter its laws. Educational authorities may formulate their disciplinary rules; yet they cannot coerce the young mind to concentrate itself on things ethereal when the din and noise at the College gates proclaimed the demand of the people for political right. He referred to the abuse heaped on Mr. Gokhale for his political wisdom of accommodation and compromise and to the discredit of the once trusted leader of the Muslim League, Mr. Ali Imam, because he refused to urge, in their aggressiveness, the unrighteous pretensions of a band of political jumpers,

who have preached the creed that all is for them and they for nobody." The frantic cries of Mahomedan, would never have rent the air and disturbed the calm of national progress were it not for the want of that political study of men and manners which gives grace and dignity to the movement of a people. The agitation of mild Bengal and the irritation of the stern Punjab, Mr. Hasan Imam went on, the settled gloom of the United Provinces and the declarations of placid Bombay, over the all consuming demand of the Muslim League, bring conviction to my mind that the need is most urgent that the tractable mind of the young student should be trained, while it is yet receptive, to develop common ideals of national life and sentiment.

Referring to the disgraceful incidents which have taken place in the country within recent times, Mr. Hasan Imam said that the need was all the greater that young men's patriotic sentiment should be guided on proper lines and new spirit utilized in the interest of order, peace and progress. Nobody will have the wisdom, said the President, to say that students will be advancing the interests of their country if they rush into active politics. "But I hold strongly to the view," said Mr. Hasan Imam, "that it will be a sin on our part to leave you without guidance to evolve a code of political morals out of the perplexities of the present situation." He, with Mr. Arundale of the Benares Hindu College, advocated the imparting of political education to the College students.

He next referred to the condition of women and the depressed classes. Social obligations, he said, preceded politics and not politics social conditions.

A NUDDEA DACOITY.

SIX YOUTHS ARRESTED.

Information of what appears to be a well-planned dacoity committed in the Nuddea District reached on Thursday the Government Railway Police Sealdah. It is reported that a large body of young men armed with deadly weapons including guns suddenly appeared on Wednesday night in Haludbari Bazar and looted the shops carrying off cash and ornaments of considerable value. The Dowhitpur Police on receipt of the news opened an investigation. On Thursday the police arrested six youths who are alleged to be implicated in the dacoity.

Further particulars which reached the Government Railway Police at Sealdah on Friday, went to show that the six Bengali youths who have been arrested in connection with the dacoity committee on Wednesday night in Haludbari Bazar in the Nuddea District are residents of Calcutta and had proceeded to the Nuddea District. Some of them, it is said, are students, and their respective ages are from 18 to 25 years. They are also said to be respectably connected. On the morning following the dacoity the Police found the young men in a field near the Marwah Station, and as they were unable to render a satisfactory account of themselves they were arrested. No stolen property was found in their possession, neither have they made any statements yet of an incriminating character. The Police decline to disclose their names at present. Further enquiries are proceedings.



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FACTS AND OPINIONS

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House Searches.

One wonders what would happen in any European country if the police as a recompense for their utter inefficiency and detective incapacity were armed with the power and allowed to use it freely of ransacking the houses of respectable citizens, man-acking the property of absent occupants and leaving it unsold and unprotected, carrying off the business books of Presses, newspapers and other commercial concerns, the private letters of individuals, books publicly sold and procurable in every bookshop violating the sanctity of correspondence between wife and husband, searching the persons of ladies of the house even though it be by female hands and trampling on the sanctity of the home, the dignity of the person and the respect which every race worthy of existence holds to be dearer than itself. And all this in spite of the fact, exemplified a hundred times over, that these inquiries are wholly infructuous and can serve no purpose but harassment and exasperation. Usually the searches are undertaken, if we do not err, on the vague information of disreputable hirelings used as spies and informers, the movements of being approved or to save the trouble of guarding

innocent men, and confessions to the police of arrested prisoners made either for the same purpose or dictated by a morbid vanity and high-headed braggadoero which invents facts and details in order to give dignity to petty crime and magnitude to small and foolish undertakings. The ludicrously irrelevant and needless nature of the articles which are usually the reward of the whole activity merits sufficient consideration. Even in the wide-proclaimed privacy demanded of by the authorities, were in fact, is it conceivable that respectable men, knowing this police to be on the alert, would risk liberty and property by storing valuable books, ornaments or treasured correspondence in their houses? We are aware that the right of house search is a necessary weapon in the hands of authority for the suppression of crime, but it was never meant that this should be misused in order to supply the place of detective ability in the Police. House searches are unwarrantable unless the information on which they proceed is precise, reliable and highly probable. Judging from results, we come of these epithets can be applied to the numerous searches which are now becoming a standing feature of life in Bengal. And if the search of the persons of ladies is to become another common feature of life in

domestic visits, we fear that the patience of a people passionately sensitive on these matters will not long endure the strain. Surely the higher authorities ought to have sufficient good sense to draw the inevitable conclusion from experience, perceive the limitation of this weapon and, if not for the possible evil consequences of creating still greater disaffection, yet for its barren utility, renounce its excessive use.

Social Reform and Politics.

There are two methods of progress, two impelling motives from which great changes and far-reaching reforms can be effected. One is the struggle of selfish interests between man and man, class and class, working out progress by ignoble strife, the forced compromise and convenient barrier to the lower kind of politics. The other is the impulse and clash of mighty ideas, noble aspirations, great national or humanitarian aims, the ideal which inspires mankind in its upward march and creates empires and nations. Both are freely used by the Masters of the world in His careful providence and various economy. Often they are intermingled. But it cannot be doubted which is most healthful to the individual, the nation and the race. The social result worked out by a bitter and selfish struggle between opposing and lower classes, labor

and Capital, is one thing; the harmony created by a mighty enthusiasm, such as led the aristocracy of Japan to lay down their exclusive privileges and, without reserve, call upon the masses to come up and share their high culture, their seats of might and their ennobling traditions is quite another. Hindu society in the mofussil is now bitterly divided, and tends more and more to be convulsed, by the new aspirations of the lower castes and the inability of the higher to decide how they will meet the demand. It is a bad sign that the action of both sides tends more and more to be selfish and narrow, political in the worst sense of the word. To barter help in Swadeshi or faithfulness to Hinduism for local privileges, or to bribe the masses to Swadeshim by petty and calculated concessions will tend neither to the genuineness of the Swadeshi sentiment, nor the strength of the national movement, nor the dignity and purity of our religion. It is an evil and foreign principle which has entered into our system, one of the many evil results of our disastrous contact with European civilisation at a time of national weakness and disintegration and our attempt to assimilate it without first vindicating our inner liberty and establishing ourselves as free agents. A great social revolution in this ancient society ought only to come as the fruit of a mighty national, humanitarian and religious impulse. The fault of the present state of things rests largely with the waning insight and statesmanship of the Brahmins. Formerly, they would not have been wanting either in concerted action, largeness of view or skillfulness of device. It was not their wont to stand still in an inert and impossible conservatism but to recognise circumstances and meet them without sacrificing the essence of their religion or the basic principles of Hindu society.

The Deogha Sadhu

Recently some of the Bengali papers have contained detailed information of the feat of a Sadhu who buried himself for some days not, as in the wellknown Panjab case, giving up his outward consciousness and entering into the *jala samadhi* or inert inner existence but in full possession of his

outer senses and conversing at times from his living tomb with visitors outside. The correspondent of the *Bengaler* tells us that the local people were dissatisfied with the Sadhu because the peculiar power he evinced was unattended by any moral elevation or true ascetic qualities. It is a general delusion that the power thus shown is a very great and almost supernatural *siddhi* and ought to be in the possession only of very highly developed souls. A false Indian tradition is partly responsible for the error; partly, it is due to the supreme ignorance of the deeper secrets of our being which belongs to the limited and self-satisfied materialistic Science of Europe now dominant in our midst. There is nothing wonderful in the feat of the Deoghur sadhu, which was the result of the conquest of the breath, *pranayam*, achieved by certain physical and mental processes and not necessarily dependent on moral or spiritual progress. The *kumbhak* or retention of the *prana*, dispensing with the process of inbreathing and outbreathing, is the final achievement of the process and the *kumbhak* can, when thoroughly conquered, be continued for an indefinite period. Given the power of *kumbhak*, it is obvious that one can stay under water or earth or in a room hermetically sealed for as long as the state continues. The power of stopping the heartbeats, dispensing with the process of breathing, and other of the outworks of Yogic knowledge and achievement are being slowly established in order to break down the exclusive pride of European Science and prepare for a new order of knowledge and a greater science to which its dogmatic narrowness is bitterly and scornfully opposed.

THE GREAT ELECTION.

It is not often that we care to dwell lengthily on the incidents of English politics in which, as a rule, India is not concerned nor effected by the results. A Bradrick to a Hamilton or a Morley to a Brodrick succeeds, and the sublime continuity of British policy, continuous in nothing else but this one determination to maintain absolutism in India,

takes care that India shall have no reason to interest herself in Imperial affairs. The present crisis in England, however, is so momentous and its results so incalculable that it is impossible to say that India will not be effected by its gigantic issues. The importance of the election turns not upon the issues of the Budget, though these are of no small magnitude, but upon the great constitutional question of the House of Lords and its veto. The veto of the House of Lords is the drag on the Parliamentary locomotive. It is the one obstacle that stands between England and a peaceful revolution. It is true that this veto has been exercised very sparingly and only when the Liberals have introduced measures of a revolutionary character or containing clauses which meant a too rapid subversion of ancient landmarks and safeguards; but this is precisely the use in the British Constitution of the otherwise useless, ineffective and somnolent upper House. It has used the veto if not with perfect wisdom, yet with a moderation and an eye to its own safety that betokened at least a perfect discretion. In spite of this reserve the obstruction offered by the Lords to Liberal measures and their complacent acceptance of conservative legislation has become more and more exasperating to the Liberal party and has often threatened a collision which was averted either by the submission of the Lords or the support of its obstructive policy by the electors at the polls. So long as the social preponderance of the aristocracy and the possession of land and wealth, on which that preponderance rested, was not touched, the Lords have submitted to the gradual loss of political preponderance and the slow advance of England from an aristocratic to a middle class rule and even from a middle class rule to a limited democracy, limited by the existence of the Lords themselves and the restriction of the franchise. A new force, a fatal solvent of established institutions, has entered European politics with the steady slow irresistible advance of Socialism, and England, long exempt from the working of this great tide of idealistic thought, is being more and more swiftly undermined, its cherished ideals sapped, its ad-

administrative and social structure threatened by the wash of the advancing waters. The uneasiness engendered in the more richly propertied classes by this advance of the destroyer has come to a head as a result of the provisions of the Budget by which the land, emblem and guarantee of English Conservatism, of the inviolability of private property and the survival of the old world society in its most vital features, has been subjected to substantial taxation. The innovation creates a probability of continual nibbling until under the empire of a growing Socialism, land is nationalised, its proprietors bought out, and aristocracy destroyed. The Lords have either to resist the process in its first step or make up their minds to gradual extinction.

The question for the Upper House is how they will resist. It is open to them either to reject the Budget altogether—a measure of too drastic severity, to throw out the Land clauses, a device which will expose the Peers to the charge of violating the unwritten Constitution for the selfish purpose of saving their own pockets and throwing the burden of taxation on the middle class and the working men,—or to amend the Budget so as to lighten the land taxes and deprive them of their more inoffensive features. The last device has the disadvantage of being no more than a palliative, while it amounts to as serious a breach of the financial privilege of the House of Commons as the others. The omens point to a rejection of the bill by the Peers, but we doubt whether they will care to incur the odium of so disturbing the finances of the country. In all probability they will amend and leave to the Ministry the responsibility of dissolving Parliament with no Budget sanctioned and the insecurity to the taxpayers resulting from this unprecedented and anomalous situation. The burden of choice will then fall upon the Commons, who must either submit to the destruction of the first and most essential safeguard of popular liberty in England, the popular control of taxation and the Exchequer, or take up the challenge given by the Peers. The first course is unthinkable. No Liberal Ministry especially, would care to go down to

posterity as having betrayed the people of England and the future of democracy by such a sacrifice of the palladium of British liberty. Mr. Asquith may either dissolve as soon as the Lords refuse to withdraw their amendments or he may ask the King to create a number of Liberal Peers large enough to swamp the Conservative majority in the Lords, or he may at once bring in a bill for the limitation of the veto of the upper House and dissolve upon it so as to raise definitely the question of the veto as the one real issue before the electors. The first course has this great disadvantage, that the real issues may be covered over by the clamour of the Conservative party against the socialistic trend of the new taxation and by the cry of Tariff Reform. By dint of repeated iteration the conservatives have created an impression in many minds that the present Ministry is deeply tinged with Socialism and the Budget a deliberate attack on property. The effect this cry is having on the mind of the wealthier classes is shown by the number of defections in the Liberal ranks, not so many, however, as might have been expected,—and the diminution of the Liberal vote at the bye elections. The Budget opens the door to Socialism, but is in none of its provisions Socialistic, the only real novelty of importance being the land taxes which have their counterpart in countries the reverse of Socialistic. The Ministry is itself a curious conglomeration of Moderates, Radicals, and extreme Radicals, but there is not a single socialist in its ranks and many of its members are avowedly anti-Socialistic in their temper and opinions. Nevertheless, the cry is having its effect on the susceptible British elector and, unless it is met, will impel a great number of Liberal seats. The cry of Tariff Reform has its charm for a certain number of working men, but is not in itself so formidable as the catchword of Property in Danger. To dissolve upon the rejection of the Budget will have the effect of preventing a clear issue from being raised and confusing the public mind by the entanglement of three separate questions, Socialism and the Budget, Free Trade or Tariff Reform, and the veto of the House of Lords. The Ministry have everything to lose, the Oppo-

sition everything to gain by this confusion of issues.

The second device is being urged upon the Prime Minister by some of his supporters who are rather shortsighted politicians than men with the outlook of the statesman. The temporary difficulty would no doubt be surmounted, but it is a matter of unfailing experience that Liberal Peers so created gravitate in a very short time to Conservatism. If these Peers had to be actually created, the Liberal Ministry would very soon be face to face again with a similar situation, and the drastic remedy of doubling the bulk of the House of Lords could not be repeated ad infinitum. On the other hand, if the Peers yielded in order to avoid so great an indignity to their rank and order, they would do so under the most rigorous compulsion and be all the more eager to hamper and distress their victors in less vital matters. Mr. Asquith would avoid a particular difficulty, but only to perpetuate the great stumbling block of all Liberal Ministries—a permanently Conservative Upper House. On the other hand he has a chance, if he boldly seizes on this issue, avoiding a fight on the weaker points of the Budget, of forcing to the forefront a great constitutional issue in which everything liberal or even truly conservative in England ought to be on his side, and destroying at one blow and for ever this perpetual thorn in the side of Liberalism and obstacle to radical legislation.

The drastic device of swamping the Lords with newly created Liberal Peers will be too much needed shortly to be thrown away now. When in the new Parliament, the bill for the limitation of the Peers' veto has been carried through the Commons, it will have to be carried through the Lords as well before it can receive the King's sanction and become law, and, since the Lords as they are will not consent to their own nullification, it is only by the swamping device that this great resolution can be effected. The only question is whether the bill should be brought in before or postponed till after the election. To bring in the bill before, pass it formally through the Commons without permitting much debate and immediately dissolve for a mandate from the country, would be

the boldest but also the best policy for Ministers. It would definitely raise the question as the one issue of the election and, if confined to the limitation and not the destruction of the veto, so as to avoid the charge of destroying the constitution, would rally the whole force of Liberalism behind Mr. Asquith. We do not know whether the course has suggested itself to the tacticians of the party, but it seems to us that it gives the only chance of a really effective and victorious electioneering campaign.

With all this, what are the chances of a Liberal victory? Very small, unless the Labour-Socialist vote is conciliated. The great feature of the recent bye-elections has been the repeated splitting of the democratic vote between Labourite and Liberal, the substantiality of the Labour vote and the consequent defeat of the Ministerial candidate and return of the Conservative in spite of a democratic majority in the constituency. For the Socialist party this is the right policy, by their independent attitude on an occasion of such vital importance to convince the Liberals that they cannot hope to exist as a power without coming to terms with the Socialist vote. But for the Liberals to accept a triangular contest would be sheer suicide. It would mean either a Conservative majority, not in the country for the pendulum has not swung back so far—but in the House, or a Conservative Ministry with the Irish Nationalists holding the balance of power. It would be well worth Mr. Asquith's while to give the Socialist-Labour faction the 30 seats they hope to win, on condition of holding the other Liberal seats secure from competition. But an accommodation of this kind would mean an alliance with Socialism, as well as with Ireland, and some very drastic social legislation in the next Parliament. It is difficult to gauge the weight of the Moderate element in the cabinet and it may be strong enough to face defeat rather than permit such an alliance.

We have dealt with this subject at length, partly in order to draw the attention of our readers to the issues and in hope of a great and critical

election in a democratic country. The introduction of democratic institutions in India, more genuine than the present Reform Scheme, cannot be long delayed, and it will be well for those of us who think to study their working in the European country which serves as a model to others. But beyond this aspect of the elections, there is a deeper interest to us Indians in the great constitutional struggle now at hand. The abolition or limitation of the Lords' veto is a question of supreme importance to the Indian politician. When the time comes, and it is coming surely—that popular assemblies have to be established in India, the veto of the Lords will be the one instrument that reaction will use to stay reform for a long season. It is that instrument which has baffled Irish Nationalism. If it continues to exist it will baffle Indian Nationalism also. Although, therefore, Liberal and Conservative are one in their attitude towards India, every Indian patriot must watch with keen interest the result of the struggle and desire, not the success of the departing Ministry, but victory for the destroyers of the Lords' veto.

SUFFRAGISTS AND SUFFRAGETTES.

(COMMUNICATED.)

There will be found, in another column, the manly letter written by Messrs. Brailsford and Nevins jointly to the London Times, in explanation of their recent resignation of much-valued appointments on the *Daily News*. Incidentally the letter calls attention to the very significant struggle now going on in England for the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women. Women in England are in the position of the subject peoples in the Empire. Being to the full as well-educated and intelligent as the men, and having been made aware through journalism, literature, the modern consolidation of information, and their own essays at practical life and public work generally—of many great interests which require to be voiced, the inevitable has happened. They demand to see the end of a gross anomaly. The process of feminine emancipation must be completed.

The civic individuality of woman must be recognised. She must be empowered to vote at Parliamentary elections on an equal footing with man.

It is believed that with the enfranchisement of women a new moralising influence of immense proportions will be thrown into the scale of politics. The sale of narcotics and intoxicants, the regulation of employment, the protection of public morality, the marriage laws, are all to be interfered with to the benefit of humanity as a whole. We hope so. To us of the East with our more matriarchal institutions, the political futility of Western women, allowed to work for men but not to compete against them in the franchise, has long been a somewhat puzzling spectacle. The day may very possibly arrive, when in a nationalised India, our own women may make the same demand as these. If so, however, we can hardly imagine a similar resistance. The immense value of feminine opinion on all questions directly or indirectly bearing on the graver social interests, is self-evident to the Oriental mind. Meantime, as an Indian woman was heard to reply when approached on the subject by feminine agitators, "Our men have not yet got their votes, so we must act, not talk!"

It is the history of the movement for women's enfranchisement that makes its value for ourselves so great. Throughout the lives of the present generation, the English have been accustomed to an annual moving of Parliament on behalf of the vote for women, as regular and as ineffective as the annual budget speeches of Indian members in the Viceregal Council. The body of opinion in favour of the vote was undoubtedly growing, and indeed a time came when almost every educated English woman, apart from the politics of her family was understood to belong to it. Even the men were being won over and were accustomed to score honours in after-dinner speeches and on similar occasions by slowly and deliberately saying that a highly cultivated and intelligent woman might possibly be as well qualified for the vote as an ignorant peasant or factory hand.

Suddenly, however, within the

Boal Boal Soaps are unrivalled in the market.

last few years a woman arose who had the courage to declare that all this was very pretty fooling. This woman, Mrs Pankhurst, was in earnest about the matter. It is said of her that she is not a woman, but an idea,—and that idea, votes for women. In a moment the sweet slumbers of the constitutional advance were broken. The era of violence and menace had begun. No politeness restrained these women. One remembers the news of the flag with the words "Votes for women" pushed through the grille of the Ladies Gallery in the House of Commons and waved before the astonished legislators. The signal thus given has been followed up by a hundred measures each one more unpleasant to staid persons than the last. Meetings have been interrupted. Doors have been besieged. Stones have been thrown. Officials have been pestered in their homes. Women of some of the highest families in England have been arrested for disorder and violence in the streets. The thing has in fact become so common that no one is any longer ashamed of it. It is even a trifle 'smart' to be able to speak of one's feminine relatives languishing in prison, undergoing the week of fasting and being subjected to the indignity of the stomach tube.

To the amazement of the world, however, women who had been supposed to be charming toys easily fooled by a little flattery, having no power to act and no real force at their command, were suddenly discovered to be in possession of inexhaustible courage and determination. They were proved capable of intense moral earnestness, able to give themselves over to a principle, remorseless in logical faculty and conscious of an unity of purpose which was tantamount to efficient organisation.

They are supremely inspired, but not by any means so well organised in their resistance as they might be. Anyone who has seen the speech of a Cabinet Minister interrupted by them some twelve or fifteen times, will realise how very much more trouble they could have given by concerted disturbance in many directions at once. Womanlike, they make up

for their want of strategy by a reckless expenditure of heroism, and the power of martyrdom for a cause is found to grow on every bush.

The first effect of the new movement was to reveal the immense volume of constitutional opinion that already existed in favour of the enfranchisement of women. This opinion would never perhaps have become effective without the friction-edge provided by Mrs. Pankhurst's agitation, but it existed, and it included almost all that was distinguished or note-worthy among women. Fortunately, while not participating in the methods of the violent agitators, these Englishwomen have too much political good sense to fight against each other. Each party recognises the value of the other to the cause which they have at heart. The Constitutionalists constantly give public expression to their feelings of gratitude and admiration for the self-sacrifice undergone by the rival party. And if the Extremists do not say as much about the Constitutionalists, it is very evident that their silence is due, not to any repudiation of the drowsy partner, but to the fact that they deal in acts and not in words. The little party of reaction organised by Mrs Humphry Ward is just of sufficient consequence to prove that a conviction against the vote is non-existent amongst Englishwomen. The women of England must be reckoned as unanimous on the question of their own enfranchisement. The party of violence is the edge and the party of constitutionalism the blade of the movement. The two are in complete harmony and each tacitly accepts the work done for it by the other.

Now let us note the results of the work done. The agitators have used all weapons and have not hesitated to apply their political influence against the Government at bye-elections. It is true that they have to deal with an executive saturated with imperialism demoralised by the Government of subject races, and still fresh from the spectacle of the Boer War. Very few are left of those generous souls who can regard this as one more of those gallant movements of em-

ancipation that make up the history of humanity. Very few are those who would still make sacrifices on behalf of the great ideals of impartiality and freedom for which England once believed herself to stand. Very few are seeking to eliminate the corrosive of party resentment from their own treatment of political prisoners. Yet the women have succeeded in making their own need one of the questions of the day. "They have embarrassed the Government, injured it at bye-elections and exposed its chiefs to the just ridicule of the country."

There can be no doubt that by the mutual assistance of Constitutionalists and Extremists, suffragists and suffragettes, the question of woman's suffrage will be one of the first dealt with by the next Ministry.

THE BRAIN OF INDIA.

IV.

We have stated, as succinctly as is consistent with clearness, the main psychological principles on which the ancient Indians based their scheme of education. By the training of Brahmacharya they placed all the energy of which the system was capable and which could be spared from bodily functions, at the service of the brain. In this way they not only strengthened the *medha* or grasping power, the *dhi* or subtlety and swiftness of thought conception, the memory and the creative intellectual force making the triple force of memory, invention and judgment comprehensive and analytic, but they greatly enlarged the range, no less than the intensity, of the absorbing, storing and generative mental activities. Hence those astonishing feats of memory, various comprehension and versatility of creative work of which only a few extraordinary intellects have been capable in Occidental history, but which in ancient India were common and usual. Mr. Gladstone was considered to be the possessor of an astonishing memory because he could repeat the whole of Homer's *Iliad*, beginning from any passage suggested to him and flowing on as long as required, but to a Brahmin of the old times this would have been a proof of a capa-

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market"

city neither unusual nor astonishing, but, rather, petty and limited. The many-mindedness of an Eratosthenes or the range of a Herbert Spencer have created in Europe admiration or astonished comment; but the universality of the ordinary curriculum in ancient India was for every student and not for the exceptional few, and it implied, not a range of many subjects after the modern plan, but the thorough mastery of all. The original achievement of a Kālidāsa accomplishing the highest in every line of poetic creation is so meretricious to the European mind that it has been sought to cleave that mighty master of harmonies into a committee of three. Yet it is paralleled by the accomplishment in philosophy of Śhrīkrishna in a short life of thirty-three years and dwarfed by the universal mastery of a possible spiritual knowledge and experience of Śrī Rāmkrishna in our own era. These instances are not so common as the others, because pure creative genius is not common, but in Europe they are, with a single modern exception, non-existent. The highest creative intellects in Europe have achieved sovereignty by limitation, by striving to excel only in one field of a single intellectual province or at most in two; when they have been versatile it has been by sacrificing height to breadth. But in India it is the greatest who have been the most versatile and passed from one field of achievement to another without sacrificing an inch of their height or an iota of their creative intensity, easily, unflinchingly, with an assured mastery. This easy and unfading illumination crowning the unfading energy created by Brahmacharya was due to the discipline which developed *sat-twa* or inner illumination. This illumination makes the acquisition of knowledge and all other intellectual operations easy, spontaneous, swift, decisive and comparatively unfatiguing to body or brain. In these two things lies the secret of Aryan intellectual achievement. Brahmacharya and *sattwic* development created the brain of India; it was perfected by Yoga.

It is a common complaint that our students are too heavily burdened with many subjects and the reading of many books. The complaint is utterly true, and yet it is equally

true that the range of our studies is pitifully narrow and the books read miserably few. What is the reason of this paradox, the justification of these two apparently contradictory truths? It is this, that we neglect the basis and proceed at once to a superstructure small in bulk, disproportionately heavy in comparison with that bulk, and built on a foundation too weak to bear even the paltry and meagre edifice of our imparted knowledge. The Indian brain is still in potentiality what it was; but it is being damaged, stunted and deaced. The greatness of its innate possibilities is hidden by the greatness of its surface deterioration. The old system hampered it with study in a foreign language which was not even imperfectly mastered at a time when the student was called upon to learn in that impossible medium a variety of alien and unfamiliar subjects. In this unnatural process it was crippled by the disuse of judgment, observation, comprehension and creation, and the exclusive reliance on the deteriorating relies of the ancient Indian memory. Finally, it was beggared and degraded by having to deal with snippets and insufficient packets of information instead of being richly stored and powerfully equipped. The new system of National education seeks to undo the evil by employing the mother tongue, restoring the use of the disused intellectual functions and providing for a richer and more real equipment of information, of the substance of knowledge and the materials for creation. If it has not triumphantly succeeded, that is partly because it has to deal with minds already vitiated by the old system and not often with the best even of these, because its teachers have themselves seldom a perfect grasp of the requirements of the new system, and because its controllers and directors are men of the old school who cling to familiar shibboleths and disastrous delusions. But in the system itself there is a defect, which, though it would matter less in other epochs or other countries, is of primary importance in this period of transition when bricks have to be made out of straw and the work now done will determine the future achievement of our nation. While calling itself national,

it neglects the very foundations of the great achievement of our forefathers, and especially the perfection of the instrument of knowledge.

It is not our contention that the actual system of ancient instruction should be restored in its outward features,—a demand often made by fervid lovers of the past. Many of them are not suited to modern requirements. But its fundamental principles are for all time and its discipline can only be replaced by the discovery of a still more effective discipline, such as European education does not offer us. The object of these articles has been to indicate the nature and psychological ideas of the old system and point out its essential relation of cause and effect to the splendid achievements of our ancestors. How its principles can be reapplied or be completed and to some extent replaced by a still deeper psychology and a still more effective discipline is a subject for future handling.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER VIII. (Continued.)

The path of the soldiers took them precisely by the road where the Brahmacharin had stood in the highway near the jungle and gazed round him. As soon as they arrived near the hill, they saw under it, on the top of a mound, a man standing. Catching sight of his dark figure silhouetted against the moonlit azure sky, the havildar said, "There is another of the rogues; catch him and bring here; he shall carry a load."

At that a soldier went to catch the man, but, though he saw the fellow coming to lay hold on him, the watcher stood firm; he did not stir. When the soldier laid hands on him, he said nothing. When he was brought as a prisoner to the havildar, even then he said nothing. The havildar ordered a load to be put on his head; a soldier put the load in place, he took it on his head. Then the havildar turned away and started marching with the cart. At this moment a pistol shot rang suddenly out and the havildar, pierced through the head, fell on the road and breathed his last. A soldier shouted, "This rascal has shot the havildar," and seized the

luggage-bearer's hand. The bearer had still the pistol in his grasp. He threw the load from him and struck the soldier on the head with the butt of his pistol; the man's head broke and he dropped further proceedings. Then with a cry of "Huri! Huri! Huri!" two hundred armed men surrounded the soldiery. The men were at that moment awaiting the arrival of their English captain, who, thinking the decoits were on him, came swiftly up to the cart and gave the order to form a square; for an Englishman's intoxication vanishes at the touch of danger. The sepoys immediately formed into a square facing four ways and at a farther command of their captain lifted their guns in order to fire. At this critical moment someone wrested suddenly the Englishman's sword from his belt and with one blow severed his head from his body. With the rolling of the Englishman's head from his shoulders the unspoken command to fire was silenced for ever. All looked and saw a man standing on the cart, sword in hand shouting loud the cry of "Huri! Huri!" and calling "Kill, Kill the soldiers." It was Bhavananda.

The sudden sight of their captain helpless and the failure of any officer to give the command for defence, soon kept the soldiers for a few moments passive and appalled. For a moment the soldiers took advantage of this opportunity to slay and wound many, reach the carts and take possession of the money chests. The soldiers lost courage, accepted defeat and took to flight.

Then the man who had stood on the mound and afterwards assumed the chief leadership of the attack, came to Bhavananda. After a mutual embrace Bhavananda said,

Brother Jivananda, it was to good purpose that you took the vow of our brotherhood." "Bhavananda," replied Jivananda, "justified be your name." Jivananda was charged with the office of arranging for the removal of the plundered treasure to its proper place and he swiftly departed with his following. Bhavananda alone remained standing on the field of action.

WHO?

In the blue of the sky, in the green of the forest

Whose is the hand that has painted the glow?

When the winds were asleep in the womb of the ether,

Who was it roused them and bade them to blow?

He is lost in the heart, in the cavern of nature,

He is found in the brain when He builds up the thought;

In the pattern and bloom of the flowers He is woven,

In the luminous net of the stars He is caught;

In the strength of a man, in the beauty of woman,

In the laugh of a boy, in the blush of a girl;

The hand that sent Jupiter spinning through heaven,

Spends all its cunning to fashion a curl.

These are His works and His veils and His shadows,

But where is He then? by what name is He known?

Is He Brahma or Vishnou, a man or a woman,

Bodied or bodiless, twin or alone?

We have love for a boy who is dark and resplendent,

A woman is lord of us, naked and fierce;

We have seen Him a muse in the snow of the mountains;

We have watched Him at work in the heart of the spheres.

We will tell the whole world of His ways and His cunning,

He has rapture of torture and passion and pain;

He delights in our sorrow and drives us to weeping,

Then lures with His joy and His beauty again.

All music is only the sound of his laughter,

All beauty the smile of His passionate bliss;

Our lives are His heart-beats, our rapture the bridal

Of Krishna and Radha, our love is their kiss.

He is strength that is loud in the blare of the trumpets

And He rides in the car and He strikes in the spears.

He slays without stint and is full of compassion,

He wars for the world and its ultimate years.

In the sweep of the worlds, in the surge of the ages,

Ineffable, mighty, majestic and pure,

Beyond the last pinnacle seized by the thinker

He is throned in His seats that forever endure.

The Master of man and his infinite Lover,

He is close to our hearts had we vision to see.

We are blind with our pride and the pomp of our passions,

We are bound in our thoughts where we hold ourselves free.

It is He in the sun who is ageless and deathless

And into the midnight His shadow is thrown.

When darkness was blind and engulfed within darkness

He was seated within it, immense and alone.

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TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—You allowed one of us a few weeks ago to cite in your columns passages from speeches by Mr. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley which defined the attitude of the older Liberalism towards political offenders. They held that only "base and degrading crimes" could properly be visited with humiliating punishments, they denounced the forcing of prison dress and other similar indignities on Irish agitators, and produced a formidable list of precedents to show that for many generations it had been the practice of both parties to accord the honours of war to political prisoners. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, in dealing with the suffragist prisoners, persists in his unfilial reading of Liberalism. He insists on classing women who are fighting for an idea with ordinary criminals, and to the hunger strike he has now replied with the loathsome expedient of the stomach-tube. The women protested against humiliating punishments; he proceeds to make the infliction of these humiliations possible by a method which, besides being certainly nauseating and probably dangerous, is an unpardonable outrage on human dignity.

To say that the alternative is to abandon all thought of punishing these prisoners is to reason loosely. Two courses are open to Mr. Gladstone. He may release the women after five or six days of total starvation, a punishment which was thought adequate until they happened to choose the Prime Minister as the object of their demonstrations. He may also transfer them to the first division. The stomach tube is not required in order to render imprisonment possible. It is required in order to make possible punishment in the second and third divisions. We observe that some Liberals are now discovering that persons who have been guilty of violence are not political offenders. But most of our noteworthy political prisoners, from Smith O'Brien to Dr. Jameson, were the leaders in violence incomparably more formidable than anything which these women have yet attempted.

There are, we take it, two main reasons for discriminating in favour of Political prisoners. In the first place they are commonly persons of high character who possess (to use the words which Mr. W. E. Gladstone quoted from Burke) that noble sensitiveness which "feels a stain like a wound." In the second place no Government party or class can be trusted, without the check of some such tradition as this to deal fairly with its opponents. After the alternate Whig and Tory prosecutions of the seventeenth century, our forefathers had seen enough of the libertine malice of ignominious punishments. There is evidence for those who read the Liberal party Press, that in present instance the corrosive of party resentment is at work. The oldest of the Liberal *dailies* has circulated the baseless legend that at Birmingham a deliberate attempt was made to "assassi-

nate" the prime Minister. Its Parliamentary correspondent has announced that on learning of the sufferings of these women in prison. Liberal members (who seem to have laughed at Mr. Hardie's honourable protest) had no room for any emotion save one of sympathy for their "great leader" in his "peril."

But the clearest evidence of this vindictive spirit is the Home Secretary's unflagging pursuit of those militant adversaries. Three of the Liverpool demonstrators who have just emerged from gaol after the misery and exhaustion of their fast are now about to be prosecuted for damage done to the prison furniture to the extent respectively of 1s, 6d., and 3d. For this they have already been punished in prison. We must say nothing that might prejudice their trial but it is legitimate to note that when the Home Secretary determined to ignore the traditional maxim *De minimis non curat lex*, he can hardly have failed to foresee the consequences. These women (if found guilty) will again be sentenced, will again reply by a hunger strike and will then be tortured by the stomach-tube. There can be no explanation of this pursuit save a determination to break the spirit and degrade the self-respect of women whose real crime is that they have embarrassed the Government, injured it at bye-elections and exposed its chiefs to the just ridicule of the country.

The train of cause and effect is only too clear. At the outset the Government treated the movement grew under persecution. Exasperation beget violence, and with suffering came a bravery and a spirit of self-sacrifice which no penalty can crush. The weeks as they pass are bringing us nearer to the phase of moral tragedy. To our minds the graver responsibility will fall on the members of a nominally democratic party who have turned their backs upon a gallant movement of emancipation, and, above all, on the "great leader" whose obstinate refusal to listen to the appeals even of the constitutional women has made at each repetition a multitude of converts to violence.

Lest we should seem in our strictures on Liberalism and its organs in the Press to be guilty of an inconsistency, we wish to take this opportunity of stating that, despite our warm approval of the Budget, we have resigned our positions as leaders-writers on the *Daily News*. We cannot denounce torture in Russia and support it in England, nor can we advocate democratic principles in the name of a party which confines them to a single sex.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

H. N. BRAILSFORD.
HENRY W. NEVINSON.

THE BAHRAICH POLICE CASE.

AN IMPORTANT JUDGMENT.

Mr. T. K. Johnston, I. C. S. Additional Sessions Judge of Bahraich, delivered judgment in the case of King Emperor

versus Thakur Jagannath Singh, Inspector of Police, Bahraich; Wazir Ali and Jai Mohammad Sub-Inspectors; Wajid Hussain, constable clerk to the late Abdul Hasham, Luchman, Najaf Khan and Ram Kubir, constables; Ishor Nath, Thekdar and Panch of Balrampur Estate, and sentenced them to rigorous imprisonment for seven, five and four years respectively, Wajid Hussain to eighteen months and others to rigorous imprisonment for one year while Ram Saran Bhat was acquitted. The facts of the case were that on the 12th October, Jagannath Singh made special reports to Mr. Chamber, the Joint Magistrate, that a number of dacoits had assembled in the house of one Seligram with an intention to commit a dacoity that night in Jokalpur. Inspectors Jagannath Singh and Abdul Hakim Khan with the other accused started at about 11 p.m. for Kuti near Jokalpur where the dacoits had assembled and succeeded in effecting the capture of 13 men, while others about 15 or 20 in number made good their escape. On 31st March, 1909, Inspector, Abdul Hakim Khan made a remarkable statement to Mr. Williamson Asst. Supdt. of Police, that the affair of Kuti was prearranged and that the story about the dacoits was a pure invention with the result that Mr. Williamson communicated with the District Magistrate which led to the arrest of all those concerned in this game. Hakim Khan shot himself the same evening. Fifty-seven witnesses were examined for the defence. After discussing the oral and documentary evidence for the prosecution and defence the learned Judge held that the evidence defence witnesses appeared to him to show a strong contrast with that on the side of the prosecution. Important prosecution witnesses had complicated story to tell and all had been examined once before and some of them twice. Even with these advantages little result was obtained from the cross-examination. Defence witnesses, on the other hand, had broken down under cross-examination, although they had fewer opportunities. A number of entries in the police diaries had been found, which corroborated the prosecution witnesses and there was no such entries, contradicting them except those which appeared to have been made with the definite object in view.

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NEWS.

THEFT OF DYNAMITES.

Information reached the Burdwan district police that another theft of dynamites has been committed from a colliery in Kalipahari. The exact quantity which was stolen is not yet known, but is believed to be a large quantity. The theft of dynamites in Kalipahari is not the first of its kind as there was a similar occurrence only a few months ago at Kalipahari from a colliery belonging to a Coal Company in which dynamites worth several hundred rupees were stolen in addition to several heavy charges which were stocked there for the purpose of blasting. A vigorous police inquiry is proceeding to the matter but so far without any satisfactory result.

MR. KEIR HARDIE AND THE KING.

Mr. Keir Hardie M. P. speaking at Sunderland said: "I hope it is not true that the King is intervening in this Budget dispute. So long as the King remains outside of Party politics he does no harm and can be tolerated. The moment the Throne begins to interfere in politics it is not only the Coronet of the Peer that would then go into the melting pot but the Crown would go along with it." The Labour Party demanded four things:—That every child should have plenty to eat, every strong man should work that every aged person should have comfort; that all should have freedom.

COMILLA NOTES.

The case under section 108 C. P. Code against Babus Harndayal Nag, Jnanranjan Guha, Profulla Chandra Gupta, Asurn Kumar Chakravarti of Chandpur, was fixed for hearing on the 6th November before the District Magistrate. They appeared and filed separate written statements. The case will be taken up here on the 20th November. As no witness for the prosecution were present to lay the, Magistrate has ordered issue of summons against witnesses for the prosecution. The accused were required to give fresh bail for Rs 500 each. Babus Upendra Mohon Mitra Bhudhar Das, Kamini Kumar Dutt, Fabbas Chandra Chowdhury pleaders appeared for the defence.

"DESHSEWAK" SEDITION CASE.

An appeal has been filed by Mr. R. Dixit Bar-at law in the Court of Mr. Drake Brockman Judicial Commissioner in the case in which one Shambhuroo Gadgil, ex-Editor *Deshsewak* vernacular news paper was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of one-thousand rupees under section 144A for criticising the Birth day honours list. The grounds of appeal are that the sanction was not sufficient in law for initiation of these proceedings that important questions were disallowed in the cross-examination as irrelevant and that the articles were not in themselves seditious.

NEWS.

KARACHI SEDITION CASE.

In the case against Virumal Begraj, proprietor of the Edward Press Sukkur and two others the accused were committed to the Sessions for trial.

TATA IRON WORKS.

The plant which is now being erected in connection with the Tata Iron Works will be of the most modern type including eighty coke ovens, two Modern blast furnaces an electrical generating station developing 3,000 kilowatts, a Martin steel works with 40 ton furnaces and mixer as well as rolling plant the total annual capacity being 120,000 tons of pig iron rails etc. Specially cheap transport forms have been secured from the Indian railway authorities who have already placed an order with the concern for 200,000 tons of rails, and everything possible appears to have been done to ensure the success of the undertaking.

THE PATIALA SEDITION CASE.

News about extradition of Jwalapershad in connection with the Patiala case is unfounded. One accused named Fulchand has been released by the police but Charanjilal who was bailed out by the Special Tribunal has not been yet released. There is no knowing when the cases will come up for hearing before the Special Tribunal.

The news is going the round of the Press that the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab has voted rupees ten thousand for the defence of the Patiala sufferers. The news needs a little correction. The matter came up before the Executive Committee and after a good deal of discussion it was decided that the general Sabha because the Executive body had no power to vote be asked to vote Rs. 10,000 in aid of the Arya Samajists at Patiala if it is found that their only crime is that they are Arya Samajists. Lala Rashan Lal Bar-at-law was appointed to watch the case on behalf of the Sabha. So it is found that the Arya Samajists at Patiala were put into prison and bundled up before the Court simply because they to the Arya Samaj the belonged Sabha will spare no pains to defend them.—*Arya Patrika*.

NEWS.

DELHI BACKSLIDING.

With reference to "Lucky Day" sales, a gentleman who has just come from Delhi, informs us that business in bideshi piece-goods has for some months past shown a decided upward tendency in the old capital. Last year we had the satisfaction to report that the piece-goods markets in that city were almost deserted. Delhi, as is well-known, is the principal emporium for imported cotton and woolen fabrics in Northern India, and the woeful condition of that great bideshi mart was a joyful sight from the Swadeshi point of view. But we are informed that a change has come over the scene. The local bideshi bazar, which for the last several years seemed to be on the verge of being shut up, has sprung into new bustle and activity. Indeed the demand for bideshi stuff has been so brisk that in some cases, the loss suffered by the wholesale and retail dealers in bideshi has been recouped.—*A. B. Patrika*.

THE LUCKY DAY SALES.

The *Patrika* writes:—Ancient the sales of bideshi piece-goods on the "Lucky Day" of the Marwari merchants which fell on Sunday before last, the "Empire" learns from a "thoroughly reliable source," that the sales amounted to about 22,000 packages. This, says the paper, is "up to anticipations all things considered." The Lucky Day transactions are considered to be the best of the progress or otherwise of Swadeshi in Calcutta and general tone of elation of the Anglo-Indian press in this connection deserves the notice of all Swadeshi workers. Interspersed in the "Empire's" article on the subject there are passages, however, which considerably qualify the hopeful outlook of bideshi business based on Lucky Day doings, for example, a few lines below the remark that the sales were "up to anticipations," we read that "it was rather a dull time, generally speaking." Further down we are told—this year's sales were very moderate owing in all probability, to the lack of ready stocks, for Manchester goods." Again, "there was not much doing in arrivals (i.e., piece-goods just imported)." Finally we come upon the reassuring statement: "It is said that indigenous stuffs are selling well just now." So even the "Empire" cannot make out that Swadeshi is receding and bideshi gaining ground. All that can be gathered from the figures quoted in the Anglo-Indian journals is that business in bideshi goods is perhaps not so hopelessly dull as it has been lately.

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NEWS.

A CHANGE.

The Delhi correspondent of the *Tribune* writes:—The news will be read with surprise that Mr. Western, M. A. Principal of the Local St. Stephen's Mission School, has turned a *sanyasi* and joined the *Brotherhood of the Imitation of Christ*. It would be interesting to note that the brotherhood has its ardent supporter in Mr. Stokes, who recently came from America and the chief aim is to help mankind and lead a very simple life. Mr. Western, M. A., is, as our leaders are aware, the Examiner of the B. A. and M. A. papers of the Punjab University and the most learned scholar in mathematics having passed the Tripos at Cambridge and been declared as the Senior Wrangler there. Mr. Western has already left his fashionable rooms in the S. P. C. Mission House and is living in a very small room in the School Boarding House. A *dhoti*, a long over-garment, a rug and a matting form the necessities of his daily life. Mr. Western will remain in the school for six months more till the return of Mr. Marsh, the Principal of the School, and then leave all educational work and remain with the poor and devote his time with the masses. It is further being stated that Mr. Western will lead a very simple life and found a "Gurukul" at Kotegurh in Simla Hills, but this matter still requires verification. However Mr. Western's action is an example of true self-sacrifice and will be an eye-opener to most of the Indians. Mr. Western is already maintaining himself on six rupees a month.

POONA DEFAMATION CASE.

The District Magistrate of long, was engaged in hearing the case in which Nilkunt Waman Bhide pleader and Gan-Gangadhar Kandolikar printer and publisher of the "Bharat Bhushan" Press were charged by the Honble Mr. G. K. Gokhale with defamation. The District Magistrate in the 21st ultimo granted warrants against both who were released on bail. Apte represented Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Baptista, Bar-at-Law, from Bombay with four local pleaders defended Mr. Bhide. The second accused on tendering an apology and offering to give donation of two hundred rupees to Kurjes Widow's Home and a similar amount of the Depressed Classes Mission the complainant agreed to withdraw the charges and accept the apology. Kandolikar was accordingly acquitted. On examination of the Hon Mr. Gokhale expressed his willingness to accept the apology. The case against Mr. Bhide was proceeded with. Complainant stated that the object of publishing the stanzas by the accused was to lower him in estimation of the public. The stanzas also imputed that the complainant was intriguing with British Government with whom he was installing himself and had brought about the ruin of Mr. Tilak who was extremely popular and his sole object was to turn the current of popular feeling against the complainant. There was not a particle of

truth in what the complainant stated in this and other stanzas. The accused held the complainant as a great boaster and that he could ruin any body he liked and lastly that he had drawn the noose around Mr. Tilak's neck to let him swing. A Sub-Inspector of Police and the printer and publisher and an expert were then examined. The cross examination being reserved the case was adjourned. The application for a long postponement was opposed by the prosecution.

DAMAGES AGAINST THE "DAILY EXPRESS."

In the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Grantham and a special jury an action was tried in which Lala Lajpat Rai sued the proprietors of the *Daily Express* for a libel contained in an article published in July, 1907, alleging that the plaintiff had submitted to the Amir of Afghanistan a plot for "the delivery of India from the British Raj." The defendants admitted that they had published defamatory matter concerning the plaintiff and tendered an apology.

The jury found for the plaintiff with £50 damages.

Plaintiff's counsel, Mr. David, said the plaintiff in May, 1907, was deported from India and the defendants said he was deported on a charge which, by their pleadings, they admitted they could not substantiate. He was sent to Mandalay without trial. On June 27, 1907, a correspondent of the *Daily Express* in Simla sent a letter Home which was published on July 16th. It was headed; 'Mystery of an Exile.' 'Why an arch-Indian agitator was deported.'

Mr. G. C. Nerang, Professor of English literature at Lahore, gave evidence denying that Lajpat Rai was a leader of the seditious movement, though he had advocated home rule for India at meetings at India House.

Mr. Justice Grantham is summing up said:—The plaintiff was deported by Lord Morley. No one was deported by Lord Morley. No one was more careful of the liberty of the subject than Lord Morley, and everyone had the greatest confidence in him, and he justified that confidence. The plaintiff was deported, and on the evidence they knew the plaintiff had taken part in meetings got up for the purpose of agitation. Rumours got about, and two months afterwards the defendant's correspondent in Simla sent over a report stating the reason why the plaintiff was deported. That reason was untrue, and they had to assume that there was no truth in it at all. The defendants did not justify the libel. The plaintiff wanted an apology that would rehabilitate his character.

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

FARMING.

It is understood that the Burma Government have granted a lease of Victoria Island in the Mergui Archipelago, to a European capitalist for farming and other purposes.

OIL FIELDS.

A revision of the oil-field maps of certain India oil reserve in the Yenang-Yaung field, in the Magwe District, has recently been completed by the Burma Land Records Department.

RUBBER IN BURMA.

Eight special leases of land, covering a total area of 760 acres, have been granted by the Burma Government for rubber cultivation and stock and dairy farming in the Hantha-waddy District.

BURMA TIN.

The tin mines in South Burma are reported to have given an output of 1,887 cwts. valued at £11,015 during the year 1908. This production is above the average of that of the past five years, but is not indicative, it is said, of any real development of the industry.

A COTTAGE INDUSTRY.

The rearing of the Eri-silk worm promises, it is reported, to develop into a useful cottage industry in parts of the Madras Presidency.

INDIAN COAL FOR CEYLON.

The Ceylon Government has now ordered about 72,000 tons of Indian coal from the East India Coal Company for requirements during the next year.

CEYLON RICE IMPORTS.

Rice imports into Colombo from January 1st to October 23rd totalled nearly three million bags, or an increase of 355,472 bags, as compared with the corresponding period of last year.

HILL PADDY FROM JAVA.

The Ceylon Board of Agriculture has just received a consignment of hill paddy from Java. The paddy is to be experimented with in both wet and dry cultivation.

IRON PLOUGHS.

The Secretary of the Ceylon Board of Agriculture has just returned from a visit to Tissa, the large paddy country in the island and supplies some interesting information regarding the use of

light iron ploughs in paddy cultivation. Some 4,000 acres are to be brought under cultivation by the end of November, and light iron ploughs are being used with the greatest success. Cattle are used in the absence of buffaloes, for ploughing and we are told that a pair of bulls with these ploughs can do as much as dozen pairs with native ploughs, or a dozen cattle puddling—another of the primitive local systems of cultivation. The use of the iron ploughs should be greatly extended with the success which has attended the experiments. Considerable time and labour is saved while the work is better done than when the antiquated native ploughs are used.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

The leading feature of the Department of Agriculture work in the United Provinces last year was the development of public interest in the improvement of agriculture and stock-breeding and the rise of the demand for labour-saving appliances. This increase of public interest was not without influence on the position of the subordinate service, which is now beginning to win recognition in the eyes of parents. The demand for agricultural machinery has arisen chiefly among landholders and the larger cultivators, and is in fact the effect of the rising wages of labour; but, on the other hand, it testifies to the success of the Department in winning the confidence of the people and in adapting implements to local needs. The Director of Agriculture is confident that the movement now started will make rapid progress and result in the establishment of an important implement industry in the country. The implements principally in demand at the present time are water-lifts, tillage implements, sugar machinery and miscellaneous articles. In the case of water-lifts (hand-power chain pumps for low lifts from canals and lakes) the demand was greater than the Department could meet, owing to the drought and scarcity of labour in October last year—(*C. and M. Gazette*).

MR. STEAD ON SWARAJ CASE.

Last Week Mr. Modak, the agent of *Swaraj* in Bombay who was convicted a few days ago under Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code, was released from jail he having served out the full term of his imprisonment. It will be remembered that the Bombay High Court, in its judgment on an appeal by the accused for revision of the finding of the lower Court confirmed the view of the lower court that the article which formed the subject matter of the prosecution, was highly seditious. The latest issue of the *Review of Reviews* has notable observations about the Magisterial finding in the *Swaraj* case. Mr. Stead is of opinion that the Magisterial judgment demonstrates to the civilised world and to Lord Morley, "the fantastic outrages on the liberty of the press which may be committed under the shelter of Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code." The article under charge, says Mr. Stead, is an article "the usefulness of which to all those who are anxious for the maintenance of law and order in India can hardly be exaggerated. If Mr. B. Chander Pal, who has given proofs of his detestation of the whole evil system of terrorism had not written this article of his own motion, Lord Morley could hardly have spent a thousand rupees more profitably for the Indian Government than by paying Mr. B. Chander Pal a fee to make so careful, so judicious, and so well-informed a study of causes which led to the apparition of the Bomb in India." The editor of the *Review of Reviews* pities Lord Morley at the spectacle of the former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who was always writing papers on *Ætiology* of crime in Ireland, being confronted by the judicial utterance of Mr. Aston, the trying Magistrate in the said case. Mr. Stead writes "I do not hesitate to characterise this as an unwarrantable outrage upon the most elementary principles of a free press and I justify my assertion by carefully reprinting the strongest passages from the incriminating

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article leaving it to Mr. A. H. S. Aston to apply to the *Review of Reviews* if he pleases article 121A of the Indian Penal Code. And in order to facilitate his action and that of the prosecuting authority I say frankly that I publish it for the purpose of exciting discontent with his administration of the press law in order to obtain either a reform in the law or an improvement in its administration. Man ought never to be content to sit down under wrong, and the good citizen when subjected to injustice is rightly in a chronic state of disaffection. After quoting the strong passages from the article Mr. Stead thinks that it is an "earnest denunciation of Bombthrowing and a grave state-manlike inquiry into the causes which led to the outbreak of crime." He further says "Mr. Morley would certainly denounce this as an outrage when he was editing the *Pall Mall Gazette* in Forster's time. What does Lord Morley think of a decision which practically declares that any attempts to explain the origin of crime is in itself criminal? Is this the way India is to be governed the Atoms will succeed in making Englishmen as disaffected as the Indian Nationists." Mr. Stead's objection to the Magisterial decision is so strong that in an editorial note in the same number of the *Review of Reviews* he observes: "If the *Securaj* suppressed it may be necessary to publish an Indian edition of the *Review of Reviews* for the purpose of allowing the non criminal constitutional masses of our Indian fellow-citizens an opportunity of discussing problems of the first Imperial importance without the risk of being throttled by police Magistrates who cannot distinguish between an examination of the causes of disaffection and an incitement to disaffection."

THE FERRER DEMONSTRATION.

Extraordinary scenes have taken place as a sequel to those reported last week following upon the execution of Senor Ferrer, the alleged instigator of the Barcelona riots. A demonstration of sympathy with Senor Ferrer was organised in London, and a crowd of ten thousand persons with red flags marched from Trafalgar Square to the Spanish Embassy in Grosvenor Gardens by way of Whitehall and Victoria Street, and succeeded in reaching it, despite frequent charges of horse and foot police. The Embassy was guarded by a strong force of police and escaped damage, the crowd dispersing after booing loudly.

Hand-to-hand fighting occurred in the streets, missiles were thrown and sticks and umbrellas were used as weapons. A demonstration was made outside Westminster Cathedral, and a priest was threatened. The police were unable to stop the march of the rioters, and not a single arrest could be made.

The conspicuous features in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon were the flag of black crepe and the white banner with a black border on which was printed in black letters the words "To hell with the murderer, Alfonso." The appearance of this last banner which was not displayed until the meeting had well advanced was the signal for loud cheering. Mr. E. E. Green, an ex-Church Clergyman, who presided over the principal group read various messages including one from the Countess of Warwick. She wrote "I hope Sunday's meeting will be grand. No words are too strong to express Europe's horror at the murder of Ferrer. I wish I could be there."

Speeches of the most violent kind were delivered at the Trafalgar Square demonstration by Mr. Victor Grayson and a number of other Socialists.

Mr. Grayson declared that the shooting of Ferrer was not only the death of one great and worthy man: it was an insult to the intelligence of Europe. "I believe the price of Ferrer's life will be paid," he said, "and not long from now. If there were a head knocked off from Spain it would only serve to show that there was not much in it. If the heads of every King in Europe were torn from their trunks to-morrow it would not pay half the price of Ferrer's life. If all those heads were rolled in the dirt to-morrow they would not have one like that of Ferrer's who, by his acts as a loyal son, lost his life for the people of the world. If the Tsar of Russia had been kept out of Great Britain, if we had shut the door in his face and said 'tyrants like you stink in our nostrils,' there would never have been this murder in Spain. He referred to the Tsar as a dirty monster and concluded by saying that 'this crime would lay not at the door of the people, but at the door of King Edward the Seventh.'"

ATTACK IN THE COMMONS.

Mr. Grayson followed up his action at the demonstration by a further attack

in the Commons. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the leader of the Labour Party asked whether Sir Edward Grey would state what action if any was taken on behalf of the Government to prevent the shooting of Senor Ferrer by the Spanish Government without trial in a civil court.

Sir Edward Grey answered. His Majesty's Government cannot depart from the rule not to interfere or to express opinions concerning matters of internal administration in other European countries where no British subject or treaty rights are involved.

Mr. Pete Curran suggested that if the Foreign Office had used its influence to prevent the judicial murder of one of Spain's most distinguished Citizens.

"Rubbish" shouted Mr. Belloc.

Then Mr. Grayson moved the adjournment of the House to discuss it as a definite matter of urgent public importance.

The speaker helped him to put his motion into proper form.

Mr. Grayson said the urgency lay in the fact that there were now being tortured in the dungeon of Montjuich prisoners accused on charges similar to those against Senor Ferrer. He wanted them tried in a fair civil court where witnesses would be allowed on behalf of the prisoner.

Only 18 members rose to support the motion instead of the requisite 40, and leave was therefore refused. Then Mr. Grayson, exclaimed "shame, cowards," while Mr. Will Thorne is reported as shouting: "I hope those who signed the death-warrant will be sent to heaven by chemical parcel post."

Violent scenes have taken place in the Belgian Chamber, where violent speeches were made by the Socialist Deputies against the Spanish throne, and fresh demonstrations have taken place throughout Italy.

From Barcelona comes a report that the Crown Counsel who prosecuted Ferrer has been assassinated.

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No. 20.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

A Hint of change.

The end of our long waiting for the advent of strength into the hearts and minds of the people may yet be distant, but one sign of an approaching change is growing more and more manifest, the intense yearning for a field, an outlet, a path open to the pent up activities of an awakened nation. Arising from long sleep and torpor, the nation threw itself with energy into a field of activity which seemed immeasurably vast and full of a glorious promise. One would have said that no one could stop that mighty outpouring of enthusiasm, unselfishness and heaven-aspiring force. But there was a flaw, a source of weakness. Our past defects, hesitations, timidities, weaknesses, vices, arrogance, light-headedness, selfishness, scepticism, inconstancy, our readiness to succumb to difficulties, to despair at the first check,—all these things were in us, trampled down by the inrush of higher feelings and a greater and nobler energy, but not thrown out, not utterly replaced. The nation had entered headlong into a wonderful sadhana, but without knowledge, without the deliberate *sankalpa*, the requisite *diksha*. It was the only way it could be begun. But the sadhak has to have *chaitanyam* before

he can attain realisation; he must cleanse his bosom of much perilous stuff. That cleansing is done partly by replacing the lower feelings by the higher, cowardice by courage, hatred by love, weakness by strength, partly by working out the evil in imagination or action and rejecting it as it comes up into the mind or the life. It was the first process that took place in the beginning of the movement, it is the second that is now in progress. In the first years of the movement a nation of cowards became heroes, sceptics became blind believers, the light-minded full of serious purpose, men eaten up by selfishness martyrs and ascetics, waverers full of tenacity, the low, loose and immoral inspired by a high and generous idealism and purity. But the work was not complete. In the groundwork of the new nation the old evil stuff lingered, and therefore God trampled our work to pieces in order to have it out, so that it might be seen, recognized and rejected. It was that work the repressions and reforms have come to do, and it is almost done. Had we gone on in our first victorious rush, unhampered and undefeated, we would have entered the kingdom of Swarnaj with an imperfect national character, full of temporarily repressed vices which would have come to the surface as soon as the great stimulus

of a successful struggle had been removed, and the last state of the nation might have been worse than its first; at any rate there would have been infinite troubles, reverses and disasters for the liberated nation, such as are in store for a nation like Persia where the struggle for freedom has not been sufficiently intense, arduous and complicated in its features to purify the people and build its character. It is well to have done with our troubles, reverses and defeats before the end is gained, so that we may enter our kingdom pure and strong. We ought now to be able to recognize what it was that has made us fail in the hour of trial; for there can be no doubt that we have partially failed. To recognize the defects is to reject them, and with the will to rise, will come the means which will help to raise us. The spirit of the nation is rising, again. Only it must be clearly recognized that the old outlets are not the right one. Solid and thorough work, self-discipline by means of noble and orderly action, this is the path by which we shall arrive at a higher national character and evolution.

Protentious shams.

In an unguarded moment our friend and India's, the Statesman of Chowringhee, has for once blurted out the truth. While, in common with other Anglo-Indian papers it designs in strains of dithy-

rambic eloquence on the magnitude of the reforms the Government in its deep, wise and impossibly sagacious generosity has given and this thrice blessed country has been privileged to receive, it inadvertently admits that the Legislative Councils, as they hitherto existed, were pretentious shams. As we point out in our article this week, the new Councils differ in no way from the old except in being more pretentious. The old were shams because they gave no control to the people while affecting to listen and give consideration to the popular voice, which was, as a matter of fact, only heard to be ignored,—except in very occasional instances which only accentuated the sense of dependence on the caprice of the colonial governors. The new Councils are of precisely the same character, and the only differences of importance are the non-official majority—so carefully arranged as to secure a permanent popular minority, the increased number of the elected members, and the facilities given for debate. With a permanent popular minority and the denial of all control, this is mere heaping of guilt on the surface of the toy. The Indian papers have recognised the nugatory character of the reforms and the tone of cold dissatisfaction in their comments is very marked. When the Councils begin to work, even the Moderates will realise that the new Councils are not only void of any true principle of popular representation and control, but injurious to the interests of the people.

The Municipalities and Reform.

Under the new conditions, the municipalities and District Boards form a substantial part of the electorate and return a certain proportion of the members. We do not think we exaggerate when we say that the only chance of any really independent popular representatives entering the new Councils is provided by these bodies. The University member or one or two of the landholders may occasionally assert independence, but the chances, at present, are in favour of their belonging to that type of representatives who are satisfied if they can pose as representatives of the nation by merely refusing to agree with the Government in all the details of their

policy and measures. The one chance of a robust and healthy opposition lies in the election of independent men by the Municipalities and, to a lesser extent, by the District Boards. They will, however, be in a hopeless minority and will always be liable to disqualification by any of the engines provided for that purpose in the rules, if they support their opposition in the Council by agitation in the country. And we have yet to see what changes will be made in the District Boards and Municipalities under the new policy. Great hopes have been entertained that, whatever may be done in the councils, the municipalities will be made really free and popular bodies, and, we remember, that expectation was urged at the Hughly Conference as a reason for not rejecting the reforms. We doubt whether this expectation will be any more fruitful than the hopes of a great advance towards popular institutions in the reform of the Councils. Under the new scheme the municipalities are the only weak point in the Government armour, and we rather fancy the Government will follow the policy of thorough and mend that point as well. Time will show whether we or the Moderates are right. So far we have always been right in these matters and they have always been wrong, the new Councils being only the latest of numerous instances during the last few years.

Police Unrest in the Punjab.

The action of some of the statesmen of this country seems to be guided by the principle that the best way to bring about a particular object is to try and promote its opposite. They certainly desire the political unrest to cease, but their action seems to be carefully calculated to prolong it. No more irritating action could have been taken in the present state of the public mind than the persistence in sedition-hunting which is being practised on a large scale in the Punjab. There is not the least sign of trouble or violence or even widespread agitation of any kind in that province. The causes which excited agitation and violence formerly were purely local and, with the removal of the cause, the effect, as it was bound to do, disappeared. Since then, the

Punjab has been profoundly quiet, and the opposition to the Convention Congress and the convocation of the Hindu Sabha, presided over by the inoffensive a personage as Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, were the only signs of life it gave. We wonder, is it the first-mentioned activity which has led to the raids, searches and arrests? The almost universal opposition to a body which has faithfully excluded the Nationalists and enjoys the support and patronage of Mr. Gokhale, may seem to the authorities a certain sign of widespread seditious feeling in the land. Is it by stirring up sedition with a police pole that the Punjab bureaucrats think they can get rid of unrest?

THE REFORMED COUNCILS.

—ooo—

The great measure which is to carry down the name of Lord Morley to distant ages as the inaugurator of a new age in India,—so at least all the Anglo Indian papers and not a few of the Moderates tell us,—is now before us in all its details. The mountains have again been in labour, and the mouse they have produced this time is enormous in size and worthy of the august mountains that produced him, but not the less ridiculous for all that. What is it that this much-trumpeted scheme gives to a people which is not inferior in education or intellectual calibre to the Turk, the Persian and the Chinese who already enjoy or are in sight of full self-government? There are four elements which have always to be considered in a change of this kind, first, the nature of the electorate, second, the composition of the body itself, thirdly, the freedom of election, fourthly, the scope, functions and powers of the assemblies. There is not one of these points in which the people have really gained they are hardly one of them in which there not worse off than under the old system.

What change has been made in the electorates? Except that they have been increased in number, we do not see that there has been any real change at all, and an increase in number is of no value in itself, but only if the number of elected members represent a force sufficient to give the people its proper weight

in the legislation and administration of the country. We shall show under the third head that we have gained nothing in this direction. On the other hand not only classes was formerly the case, but creed has been made the basis of representation and, therefore, unless the Hindus have the strength of mind to boycott a system which creates a distinction insulting as well as injurious to the community, this measure, while giving us not an atom of self-government, will be a potent engine for dividing the nation into two hostile interests and barring the way towards the unity of India. Formerly, there were only two classes in India, the superior European and the inferior Indian; now there will be three, the supreme European, the superior Mahomedan and the inferior Hindu. This is loss number one, and it is no small one, to the Mahomedan no less than the Hindu. The official of course gains.

Even if there is no democratic or even semi-democratic basis of election—merely small established bodies which can in no sense be called the people,—something might be gained if the Councils were so composed as to give a preponderance or powerful voice to independent elected representatives. That is what the Councils profess to do and that is why so much parade is made of the non-official majority. What are the facts? In the Viceroy's Council there are to be thirty-five avowedly Government members, twenty-eight being officials and seven nominated. Of the twenty-five elected members eleven will be sent from the new Councils all over India; as we shall show from the Bengal examples these Councils will contain a predominant pro-Government vote even among the non-official members and their representatives will be therefore pro-Government men. That makes forty-six reliable votes for the Government. Of the remaining thirteen two will be Europeans who will naturally side with the Government; that makes forty-nine. Of the remaining eleven five will be specially elected Mahomedan representatives and, as under the new system the Mahomedans are a favoured class depending for the continuance of that favour on good behaviour, that means another five reliable votes for the Government, which makes fifty-four. Of

the remaining six all are representatives of the landholding class who dare not be too independent,—although they will no doubt oppose in small matters, which they can do with impunity as there is not the slightest chance of the Government being defeated. The consequence will be that on the Viceroy's Council there is not any reasonable chance of there being a single independent member representing the people. This startling result of the Reforms may not seem at first credible, but if our argument is carefully followed, it will establish itself. No doubt, one or two men like Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pherozshah Mehta or Dr. Rash Behari Ghose will be admitted by permission, but that privilege we had on better terms under the old system.

Let us pass to the Bengal Councils and establish our position. In East Bengal there will be twenty-two nominated and two specially nominated against eighteen elected members establishing at once a standing Government majority of six. Of the eighteen who might oppose, there will be four members who in the nature of things are bound to be Europeans and four specially elected Mahomedan members, which at once raises the reliable Government vote to thirty-two; five representatives of District and Local Boards, who, from the preponderance of Mahomedans on those bodies, are bound to be Mahomedans, two representatives of landholders of whom one at least is likely to be a Mahomedan and the other, being a landholder, cannot afford to be too independent. There remain three members of Municipal bodies who are all likely to be independent, if the elections are not interfered with by indirect pressure. Therefore, out of forty-two members only three are likely to be independent members. It is needless to point out that the representative of the non-official members on the Viceroy's Council is sure to be a pro-Government man.

We pass on to West Bengal where things ought to be better. Here there are twenty-two nominated against twenty-six elected members, giving at first sight a non-Government majority of four. But we have to subtract from the apparent majority and add to the apparent minority four members from

European or predominatingly European 'constituencies', four Mahomedan members and the member for the University, now practically a department of the Government. That gives a Government vote of thirty-one and a possible opposition vote of seventeen. Of these again five are representatives of the landholders who cannot be independent to any notable extent and of whom only one or two are likely to be independent at all. There are therefore, only twelve votes of which we can any hope, the representatives of the Boards and Municipalities. Here also the independent section of the community is hopelessly ineffective in numbers. Only four of these will be representatives of Bengal and this is one of the most joyous results of the policy of partition and deportation plus co-operation which is the basis of the new measure. Here again the chances of an independent representative being returned to the Viceroy's Council are small on paper, nil in reality.

When we come to the freedom of the electors in choosing their representatives, we find restrictions so astonishing as at once to expose the spirit and purpose of these reforms. The Boards and Municipalities which alone represent in a faint degree the people are debarred from electing anyone not a member of these bodies. Thus at one blow it is rendered impossible for a popular leader like S. J. Motilal Ghose, unless the Government choose to nominate him, to be on these amazing Councils. Farther, anyone dismissed from Government service, e. g. S. J. Surendranath, sentenced at any time to imprisonment or transportation, e. g. Mr. Tilak, or bound down, e. g. mofussil leaders like S. J. Anath Bandhu Guha or S. J. Hardayal Nag, the leading men of Mymensing and Chandpur respectively, or declared by the authorities to be of undesirable antecedents, e. g. Lala Lajpat Rai, S. J. Aswini Kumar Datta, S. J. Krishna Kumar Mitra and all Nationalists and agitators generally, are ipso facto incapable of representing the people under these exquisite reforms.

After all this it may seem a waste of time to go into the question of the scope, functions and powers of the Councils. They may briefly be summed up by saying that the councils have no scope

and no powers, and that they have also no functions except to talk, but by no means freely and no longer at large. We certainly do not object to the rule that no member shall talk for more than fifteen minutes at a stretch; our only regret is that the maximum could not be fifteen seconds. But since to talk inconclusively and ask questions which need not be answered unless the Government likes, is the only activity allowed to the august councillors, it seems like adding injury to insult to hedge in this windy privilege with so many restrictions. The restrictions placed on the putting of interpellations would rule out of order half the questions in the House of Commons. It is curious how carefully the Government has guarded itself against anything which might inconvenience it or put it into a corner. Even to ask any question about the conduct or character of persons except in their official or public capacity, is banned, so that, for instance, if an official misconducts himself in a flagrant manner, so long as he can say that he has done it in his private capacity, the Government cannot be questioned as to the truth of the matter or its intentions with regard to the peccant individual. With a little legal ingenuity we think there is hardly any question, not of the baldest and most insignificant character, which could not be brought under the restricting clauses. And, to crown all, the President is given the power of disallowing any question on the ground that it will inconvenience the State, in other words himself and his Government, and he may disallow any supplementary questions without any reason whatever! Any resolution may be disallowed for a similar reason or absence of reason. When we add that Native States are held sacrosanct from discussion, the Military similarly safeguarded, and that no value need be attached to the resolutions of the Council on the Financial Statement and no resolutions at all can be proposed or passed on the Budget, we think we have said all that is necessary to paint in its true colours the glorious liberality of this most wonderful and unheard of reform. We heartily congratulate Lord

Morley, Lord Minto and their advisers on the skill with which the whole thing has been framed, the Moderates on the glorious price for which one or two of their leaders have sold the popular cause, the Hindus on their humiliation and the country generally on the disillusionment, we hope the final disillusionment which these Councils, when they meet, will bring about far more successfully than could have been done by any Nationalist propaganda.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

I

There is a tendency in modern times to depreciate the value of the beautiful and overstress the value of the useful, a tendency curbed in Europe by the imperious insistence of an age-long tradition of culture and generous training of the aesthetic perceptions; but in India, where we have been cut off by a mercenary and soulless education from all our ancient roots of culture and tradition, it is corrected only by the stress of imagination, emotion and spiritual delicacy, submerged but not yet destroyed, in the temperament of the people. The value attached by the ancients to music, art and poetry have become almost unintelligible to an age bent on depriving life of its meaning by turning earth into a sort of glorified anthep or beehive and confusing the lowest, though most primary in necessity, of the means of human progress with the aim of this great evolutionary process. The first and lowest necessity of the race is that of self-preservation in the body by a sufficient supply and equable distribution of food, shelter and raiment. This is a problem which the oldest communistic human societies solved to perfection and without communism it cannot be solved except by a convenient but inequitable arrangement which makes of the majority slaves provided with these primary wants and necessities and ministering under compulsion to a few who rise higher and satisfy larger wants. These are the wants of the vital instincts, called in our philosophy the prana bosh, which go beyond and dominate the mere animal wants, simple, coarse and indiscriminating, shared

by us with the lower creation. It is these vital wants, the hunger for wealth, luxury, beautiful women, rich foods and drinks, which disturbed the first low but perfect economy of society and made the institution of private property, with its huge train of evils, inequality, injustice, violence, fraud, civil commotion and hatred, class selfishness, family selfishness and personal selfishness, an inevitable necessity of human progress. The Mother of All works through evil as well as good, and through temporary evil she brings about a better and lasting good. These disturbances were complicated by the heightening of the primitive animal emotions into more intense and complex forms. Love, hatred, vindictiveness, anger, attachment, jealousy and the host of similar passions,—the chitta or mind-stuff suffused by the vital wants of the prana, that which the Europeans call the heart—ceased to be communal in their application and, as personal wants, clamoured for separate satisfaction. It is for the satisfaction of the vital and emotional needs of humanity that modern nations and societies exist, that commerce grows and Science ministers to human luxury and convenience. But for these new wants, the establishment of private property, first in the clan or family, then in the individual, the institution of slavery and other necessary devices the modern world would never have come into existence; for the satisfaction of the primary economic wants and bodily necessities would never have carried us beyond the small commune or tribe. But these primary wants and necessities have to be satisfied and satisfied universally, or society becomes diseased and states convulsed with sedition and revolution.

The old arrangement of a mass of slaves well fed and provided and a select class or classes enjoying in greater or less quantity the higher wants of humanity broke down in the mediæval ages, because the heart began to develop too powerfully in humanity and under the influence of philosophy, ethics and religion began to spread its claim beyond the person, the class, the family, the clan to the nation and to humanity or to all creation. A

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temporary makeshift was invented to replace slavery, called free labour, by which men were paid and bribed to accept voluntarily the position of slaves, contenting themselves with the coarse satisfaction of the animal necessities and in return providing by their labour the higher wants of their masters now called superiors or higher classes. This also has become a solution which will no longer serve. The whole of humanity now demands not merely the satisfaction of the body, the *anna*, but the satisfaction also of the *prana* and the *chitta*, the vital and emotional desires. Wealth, luxury, enjoyment for oneself and those dear to us, participation in the satisfaction of national wealth, pride, lordship, rivalry, war, alliance, peace, once the privilege of the few, the higher classes, of prince, burgess and noble are, now claimed by all humanity. Political, social and economic liberty and equality, two things difficult to harmonize, must now be conceded to all men harmonized as well as the present development of humanity will allow. It is this claim that arose, red with fury and blinded with blood, in the French Revolution. This is democracy, this Socialism, this Anarchism; and, however fiercely the privileged and propertied classes may rage, curse and denounce these forerunners of Demogorgon, they can only temporarily resist. Their interests may be hoary and venerable with the sanction of the ages, but the future is mightier than the past and evolution proceeds relentlessly in its course trampling to pieces all that it no longer needs. Those who fight against her fight against the will of God, against a decree written from of old, and are already defeated and slain in the *karan jagat*, the world of types and causes where Nature fixes everything before she works it out in the visible world. *Nihatah purvaneva*.

The mass of humanity has not risen beyond the bodily needs, the vital desires, the emotions and the current of thought sensations created by these lower strata. This current of thought sensations is called in Hindu philosophy the *manas* or mind, it is the highest to which all but a few of the animals can rise,

and it is the highest function that the mass of mankind has thoroughly perfected. Beyond the *manas* is the *buddhi*, or thought proper, which, when perfected, is independent of the desires, the claims of the body and the interference of the emotions. But only a minority of men have developed this organ, much less perfected it. Only great thinkers in their hours of thought are able to use this organ independently of the lower strata, and even they are besieged by the latter in their ordinary life and their best thought suffers continually from these lower intrusions. Only developed Yogins have a *vishuddha buddhi*, a thought organ cleared of the interference of the lower strata by *chitta-shuddhi* or purification of the *chitta*, the mind-stuff, from the *prana* full of animal, vital and emotional disturbances. With most men the *buddhi* is full of *manas* and the *manas* of the lower strata. The majority of mankind does not think, it has only thought sensations; a large minority think confusedly mixing up desires, predilections, passions, pre-judgments, old associations and prejudices with pure and disinterested thought. Only a few, the rare aristocrats of the earth, can really and truly think. That is now the true aristocracy, not the aristocracy of the body and birth, not the aristocracy of vital superiority, wealth, pride and luxury, not the aristocracy of higher emotions, courage, energy, successful political instinct and the habit of mastery and rule,—though these latter cannot be neglected,—but the aristocracy of knowledge, undisturbed insight and intellectual ability. It emerges, though it has not yet emerged, and in any future arrangement of human society this natural inequality will play an important part.

Above the *buddhi* are other faculties which are now broadly included in the term spirituality. This body of faculties is still rarer and more imperfectly developed even in the highest than the thought organ. Most men mistake intellectuality, imaginative inspiration or emotional fervour for spirituality, but this is a much higher function, the highest of all, of which all the others are coverings and veils. Here we get to the fountain, the source to which we return, the goal of human evolution. But

although spirituality has often entered into humanity in great waves, it has done so merely to create a temporary impetus and retire into the souls of a few leaving only its coverings and shadows behind to compose and inform the thing which is usually called religion. Meanwhile the thought is the highest man has really attained and it is by the thought that the old society has been broken down. And the thought is composed of two separate sides, judgment or reason and imagination, both of which are necessary to perfect ideation. It is by Science, philosophy and criticism on the one side, by art, poetry and idealism on the other that the old state of humanity has been undermined and is now collapsing, and the foundations have been laid for the new. Of these Science, philosophy and criticism have established their use to the mass of humanity by ministering to the luxury, comfort and convenience which all men desire and arming them with justification in the confused struggle of passions, interests, cravings and aspirations which are now working with solvent and corrosive effect throughout the world. The value of the other side, more subtle and profound, has been clouded to the mass of men by the less visible and sensational character of its workings.

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ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER IX

Mohendra had descended from the cart, wrested a weapon from one of the sepoys and made ready to join in the fight. But at this moment it came home clearly to him that these men were robbers and the plunder of the treasure the object of their attack on the soldiery. In obedience to this idea he stood away from the scene of the fight, for to help the robbers meant to be a partner in their ill-doing. Then he flung the sword away and was slowly leaving the place when Bhavananda came and stood near him. Mohendra said to him, "Tell me, who are you?"

Bhavananda replied, "What need have you to know that?"

"I have a need" said Mohendra. "You have done me to-day a very great service."

"I hardly thought you realized it," said Bhavananda, "you had a weapon in your hand and yet you stood apart. A landholder are you, and that's a man good at being the death of milk and ghee, but when work has to be done, an ape."

Before Bhavananda had well finished his tirade, Mohendra answered with contempt and disgust, "But this is bad work,—a robbery!"

"Robbery or not," retorted Bhavananda "we have done you some little service and are willing to do you a little more."

"You have done me some service, I own," said Mohendra "but what new service can you do me? And at a dacoit's hands I am better unhelped than helped."

"Whether you accept our proffered service or not," said Bhavananda "depends on your own choice. If you do choose to take it, come with me. I will bring you where you can meet your wife and child."

Mohendra turned and stood still. "What is that?" he cried.

Bhavananda walked on without any reply, and Mohendra had no choice but to walk on with him, wondering in his heart what new kind of robbers were these.

CHAPTER X

Silently in the moonlit night the two crossed the open country. Mohendra was silent, sorrowful, full of pride, but also a little curious.

Suddenly Bhavananda's whole aspect changed. No longer was he the taciturn serious of aspect, calm

of mood; no longer the skilful fighter, the heroic figure of the man who had beheaded the English captain with the sweep of a sword; no longer had he that aspect with which even now he had proudly rebuked Mohendra. It was as if the sight of that beauty of plain and forest, river and numerous streams, all the moonlit peaceful earth, had stirred his heart with a great gladness: it was as if Ocean were laughing in the moonbeams. Bhavananda became smiling, eloquent, courteous of speech. He grew very eager to talk and made many efforts to open a conversation, but Mohendra would not speak. Then Bhavananda, having no other resource, began to sing to himself.

"Mother, I bow to thee!

Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother
of might,

Mother free!"

The song astonished Mohendra and he could understand nothing of it. Who might be this richly watered, richly fruited Mother, cool with delightful winds and dark with the harvests? "What Mother?" he asked.

Bhavananda without any answer continued his song.

"Glory of moonlight dreams
Over thy beaches and lordly
streams;

Glad in thy blossoming trees,
Mother, giver of ease,
Laughing low and sweet!
Mother, I kiss thy feet.
Speaker sweet and low!
Mother, to thee I bow.

Mohendra said, "That is the country, it is not the Mother."

Bhavananda replied, "We recognize no other Mother. 'Mother and Motherland is more than heaven itself.' We say the motherland is our mother. We have neither mother nor father nor brother nor friend, wife nor son nor house nor home. We have her alone, the richly-watered, richly-fruited, cool with delightful winds, rich with harvests—"

Then Mohendra understood and said, "Sing it again." Bhavananda sang once more.

Mother, I bow to thee!
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother of
might,

Mother free.

Glory of moonlight dreams
Over thy beaches and lordly
streams;

Glad in thy blossoming trees,
Mother, giver of ease,
Laughing low and sweet!
Mother, I kiss thy feet,
Speaker sweet and low!
Mother, to thee I bow.

Who hath said thou art weak
in thy lands,

When the swords flash out in
seventy million hands
And seventy million voices roar
Thy dreadful name from shore
to shore?

With many strengths who art
mighty and stored,
To thee I call, Mother and
Lord!

Thou who savest, arise and save!
To her I cry who ever her
foemen drove

Back from plain and sea
And shook herself free.

Thou art wisdom, thou art law,
Thou our heart, our soul, our
breath,

Thou the love divine, the awe
In our hearts that conquers
death.

Thine the strength that nerves
the arm,

Thine the beauty, thine the
charm.

Every image made divine

In our temples is but thine.

Thou art Durga, Lady and
Queen,

With her hands that strike
and her swords of sheen,

Thou art Lakshmi lotus-throned,
And the Muse a hundred-toned.

Pure and perfect without peer,
Mother, lend thine ear.

Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,

Dark of hue, O candid-fair

In thy soul, with jewelled hair

And thy glorious smile divine,

Loveliest of all earthly lands,

Showering wealth from well-
stored hands!

Mother, mother mine!

Mother sweet, I bow to thee

Mother great and free!

Translator's note. It is difficult to translate the National Anthem of Bengal into verse in another language owing to its unique union of sweetness, simple directness and high poetic force. All attempts in this direction have been failures. In order, therefore, to bring the reader unacquainted with Bengali nearer to the exact force of the original, I give the translation in prose line by line.

I bow to thee, Mother,
richly-watered, richly-fruited,
cool with the winds of the south,
dark with the crops of the
harvests,
the Mother!
her strands rejoicing in the glory
of the moonlight,
her lands clothed beautifully with
her trees in flowering bloom,
sweet of laughter, sweet of speech,
the Mother, giver of boons, giver
of bliss!
Terrible with the clamorous
shout of seventy million
throats,
and the sharpness of swords
raised in twice seventy
million hands
Who sayeth to thee, Mother, that
thou art weak?
Holder of multitudinous strength,
I bow to her who saves,
to her who drives from her the
armies of her foemen,
the Mother!
Thou art knowledge, thou art
conduct,
thou our heart, thou our soul,
for thou art the life in our
body.
In the arm thou art might,
O Mother,
in the heart, O Mother thou art
love and faith.
It is thy image we raise
in every temple.
For thou art Durga holding her
ten weapons of war,
Kamala at play in the lotuses
and Speech, the goddess, giver
of all lore.
To thee I bow!
I bow to thee, goddess of wealth,
pure and peerless,
richly-watered, richly-fruited,
the Mother!
I bow to thee Mother
dark-hued, candid,
sweetly smiling, jewelled and
adorned,
the holder of wealth, the lady
of plenty,
the Mother!

AN IMAGE.

Rushing from Troy like a cloud on the plains the
Trojans thundered,
Just as a storm comes thundering thick with the dust
of kingdoms,
Edged with the devious dance of the lightning, so all Troas
Loud with the roar of the chariot, loud with the vaunt
and the war-cry,
Rushed from Troywards gleaming with spears and rolled
enormous.
Joyous as ever Paris led them glancing in armour,
Brilliant with gold like a bridegroom, playing with
death and battle
Even as in his chamber he played with beautiful Helen.
Touching her body rejoiced with low and lyrical laughter,
So he laughed as he smote his foemen. Round him the arrows,
Round him the spears of the Argives sang like
voices of maidens
Trilling the song of bridal bliss, the chant hymeneal:
Round him the warriors fell like flowers strewn at a bridal.
Red with the beauty of blood.

ATROBINDO GHOSE.

INDIAN COUNCILS REFORM.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

NOTIFICATION.

In exercise of the power conferred by section 8, sub-section (2), of the Indian Councils Act, 1909 (9 Edw. 7, ch. 4), the Governor-General in Council has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India in Council, appointed the 15th day of November, 1909, as the date on which the provisions of the said Act shall come into operation for all purposes and for all Councils in British India.

In exercise of the power conferred by section 6 of the Indian Councils Act, 1909 (9 Edw. 7, Ch. 4), the Governor-General in Council has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India in Council, made the following Regulations for the nomination and election of Members of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal:—

ELECTION AND NOMINATION.

1. (1) The Members of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shall ordinarily consist of—

A.—Members elected by the classes specified in Regulation II, who shall be twenty-six in number:

B.—Members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, with the sanction of the Governor-General, who shall not exceed twenty-two in number and of whom (a) not more than seventeen may be officials, and (b) two shall be non-official persons to be selected, one from the Indian commercial community and one from the planting community.

(2) In addition to the forty-eight members above specified, the Lieutenant-Governor may nominate two more persons, whether officials, or non officials, having expert knowledge of subjects connected with

proposed or pending legislation, to be members of the Council:

Provided that it shall not be lawful for the Lieutenant Governor to nominate so many official persons under these Regulations that the majority of all the members of the Council shall be officials.

II. The twenty-six elected members specified in Regulation I shall be elected as follows, namely:

- (i) By the Corporation of Calcutta 1 member.
- (ii) By the University of Calcutta 1 member.
- (iii) By the municipal commissioners 6 members.
- (iv) By the district boards 6 members.
- (v) By the landholders 5 members.
- (vi) By the Mahomedan community 4 members.
- (vii) By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce 1 member.
- (viii) By the Calcutta Trades Association 1 member.

III. The election of the members specified in Regulation II shall be effected by the electorates and in accordance with the procedures respectively prescribed in the Schedules annexed to these Regulations.

IV. No person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Council if such person—

- (a) is not a British subject or (b) is a female or (c) has been adjudged by a competent civil court to be of unsound mind or (d) is under twenty-five years of age or (e) is an uncertificated bankrupt or an undischarged insolvent, or (f) has been dismissed from the Government service or (g) has been sentenced by a criminal court to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, or to transportation or has been ordered to find security for good behaviour under the Code of Criminal Procedure and sentence or order not having subsequently been reversed or remitted, or the

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offendered pardoned or (h) has been debarred from practising as a legal practitioner by order of any competent authority or (i) has been declared by the Lieutenant-Governor to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would in his opinion, be contrary to the public interest:

Provided that in cases (f), (g), (h) and (i) the disqualification may be removed by an order of the Lieutenant-Governor in this behalf.

V. No person shall be eligible for election under any sub-head of Regulation II unless he possesses the qualifications prescribed for candidates in the Schedule regulating elections under that sub-head.

VI. No person shall be qualified to vote at any election held under these Regulations if such person,—

(a) is a female or (b) is a minor or (c) has been adjudged by a competent civil court to be of unsound mind.

VII. Every person who is elected or nominated under these Regulations to be a member of council shall before taking his seat make, at a meeting of the Council, an oath or affirmation of his allegiance to the Crown in the following form namely:—

"I A. B., having been elected nominated a member of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true allegiance to His Majesty the King Emperor of India His heirs and successors and that I will faithfully discharge the duty of the office upon which I am about to enter.

LOWER TO FISCAL SEATS VACANT.

VIII. (1) If any person (a) not being eligible for election is elected under these Regulations, or (b) having been subject to any of the disabilities stated in clause (c) (e) (f) (g) or (h) of Regulation IV, or fails to make the oath or affirmation prescribed by Regulation VII within such time as the Lieutenant-Governor may consider reasonable, the Lieutenant-Governor shall by notification in the local official Gazette declare his election or nomination to be void or his seat to be vacant.

(2) When any such declaration is made the Lieutenant-Governor shall, by notification as aforesaid, call upon the electorate concerned to elect the person, within such time as may be prescribed by such notification, or shall with the sanction of the Governor-General nominate another person, as the case may be.

(3) If any person elected at such fresh election is not eligible for election, the Lieutenant-Governor may with the like sanction, nominate any person who is eligible for election by the electorate concerned.

IX. (1) If any person is elected by more than one electorate, he shall, by notice in writing signed by him and delivered to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, within seven days from the date of the publication of the result of such elections in the local official Gazette choose, or in his default the Lieutenant-Governor shall declare, for each of these electorates he shall de-

clare, for which of these electorates he shall serve, and the choice or declaration shall be conclusive.

(2) When any such choice or declaration has been made, the votes recorded for such person in any electorate for which he is not to serve shall be deemed not to have been who have expert knowledge of subjects connected with proposed or pending legislation shall hold office for three years or such shorter period as the Lieutenant-Governor may at the time of nomination determine.

(To be continued.)

NEWS.

SWADESHI IN CALCUTTA

A Swadeshi meeting was held at College Square on Sunday at 3-30 p.m. Babu Debi Prasanna Roy Chowdhuri was to have presided over the meeting. But owing to his unavoidable absence the chair was taken by Babu Lalit Mohan Das, M.A. The meeting opened with the well-known national song "Amar Desh." First all, Babu Syam Lal Goswami delivered an impressive speech dwelling upon our Swadeshi work during the last four years. He observed that every one of us was bound by a sort of national obligation to show his deep and heartfelt respect to the deportees. The best means to show this respect to them is to preserve Swadeshim in tact remaining strictly within the bounds of law. He then referred to the injuries caused by the recent cyclone to the poorest inhabitants of Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna and Barisal and added that if the Government do not readily open their fund the calamities of those poor will know no bounds. He was followed by Pandit Gispati Kabyatirtha Next Babu Haridas Dutt delivered a speech in support of the Swadeshi and boycott. In summing up the President remarked that boycott was the foundation stone of Swadeshim. We must not give it up. The meeting then dissolved.

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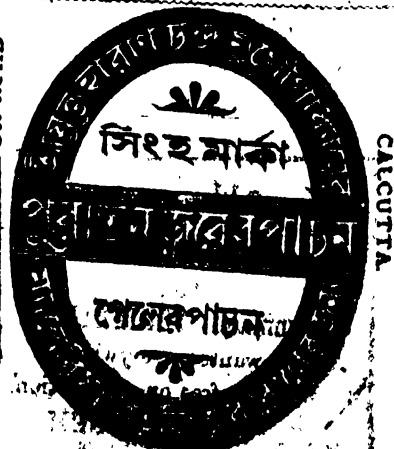
AHMEDABAD BOMB INCIDENT.

The "Advocate of India" commenting on the Ahmedabad bomb incident observes:—

"So far as we are able to judge there is absolutely nothing to connect it with the chain of recent crimes which disturbed other side of India and not a little evidence to suggest that is an outcome of any organised conspiracy of any kind. That it is serious enough that it has probably cost human life and that it might have been worse is quite undeniable as a particular act however inspired and with whatever motive, we would be the last to minimise it but we hope that until the facts are fully known no handle will be given to scaremongers who are always with us to turn this part of the country upside down and to fabricate conspiracies and plots which exist only in heated and fantastic imaginations. Until we have Bengal's justification for it and we believe there is no sign of it we have no desire to see this presidency overrun with colossal fabrications which accompanied actual wrong doing in Bengal. Within the bounds of possibility that crime has no reigen in the activity of Indian anarchists at all and that bombs were of firework type largely in use during the Dewali festival and quite capable, if carelessly handled of doing damage actually inflicted on an unfortunate bullock cart driver."

AGRA POLICE SUB-INSPECTOR'S CASE.

The case of Police Sub-Inspector Gajadhar Pershad has now gone up for revision before the Sessions Judge of Agra. This Police officer, it is alleged, severely assaulted some Indian residents, men and women living in his circle, keeping them under wrongful confinement and attempting to extort money from them. It will be remembered that the accused was discharged by the Joint Magistrate of Agra. The revision was filed by R. G. S. Sharma Bar-at-law One of the grounds is that the Lower Court should have committed the case to the Court of Sessions when it held that the injuries had been caused by the police and that there was substratum of truth and that it was unable to sift the truth from exaggerated statement The case continues to excite the greatest interest.



NEWS.

A MYSORE APPOINTMENT.

A correspondent writes to the "Hindu" alleging that the Government of India, contrary to the policy of non-interference, which, the Viceroy said at Udaipur, they were following in regard to Natives States, have advised the Mysore Government that the appointment of Mr. Setlur R. A. L. B. as a Puisne Judge of the Chief Court of Mysore was not desirable. The correspondent goes on to say that the Government of India's reason for this appears to be that Mr. Setlur when practising as an advocate at Bombay edited a book entitled "The Trial of Tilak" and then too it is rumoured that the Bombay Political Department had in its possession a letter written by Mr. Setlur to Mr. Tilak expressing sympathy with his propaganda. The Editor in a footnote states that he believes the correspondent's information to be generally correct but adds that the letter in question was written to a Nationalist leader in Calcutta at the time of the Sanat Congress expressing disapproval of Extremist tactics. This letter fell into the hands of the C. I. D. at one of the Calcutta house searches and was subsequently filed as an exhibit in the Alipore Bomb case and read in Court by Mr. Norton.

PUBLISHER OF TILAK VIRAH.

Mr. Ameerchand Nathu, publisher of "Tilak Virah," was asked and has furnished surety for Rs. 500 to Ahlen, the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

ANOTHER DACOITY.

Another dacoity of a serious nature is reported to have been committed at Rajnagore, a village in Manikganj. It is stated that some 40 to 50 persons dressed like gentlemen, some with hats and coats on, entered the house of one Gopisath Shah at midnight on Wednesday last, and after burning down the house and a local bazar decimated with Rs. 35,000 in cash. A special inquiry is going on. Details of dacoity and enquiry are yet wanting.

THE SHAHPUR MURDER JUDGMENT.

A Lahore Urdu daily says that the Hon'ble Malik Umar Hyat Tiwana has filed an appeal against that portion of the Chief Court judgment in the Shahpur murder case in which Mr. Justice Johnstone disbelieved the evidence of the Hon'ble Malik and passed remarks against him.

ANOTHER SEDITION CASE AT LAHORE.

Ziaul Huq, editor and proprietor of the defunct Peshawar paper, it is said, has been charged under Sec. 124A for seditious printings in his paper. It is further said that one of Ajit Singh's books is an adaptation from Seeley's Explanation of England.

NEWS.

POONA DEFAMATION CASE.

The hearing of Mr. Bhilde's case was resumed. Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in cross-examination said, the political parties made appearance three years since the Extremists wanted to knock down the agitation in England and representation to the Government. In India the 'ereed fixed the goal of Colonial Self-Government. The boycott resolution was dropped at Madras as the preamble of the resolution became useless by the Reform Scheme. The cross-examination is going on. The hearing will be resumed on the 22nd instant.

POLICE RAID AT LAHORE.

At the Lalchand Falukh Bande Mataram Book Agency the police captured and took away all copies of "Kaum Kistarah Zinda rathihai" or how nations are kept alive, "Sarkari mulazamat" or Government service, "quami talien" meaning national education. Lalchand's father applied for bail but the applicant was told by the District Magistrate to renew the application after the police had sent up the case. From Kishen Singh's house the police removed all copies of "Bandar Baut" meaning distribution by monkey, "Tahzebki Bezabtgi" meaning blemishes of European civilisation, "Bagi Masgih" meaning revolt of Christ, "Amanat me khiynat" meaning betrayal of trust, "Gadi" meaning mutiny, "Bhagabat" or revolutions, "Ungli pskatke pauncha pakra," meaning seizing wrist after holding fingers and photos of Tilak, countless swarms, correspondence and manuscripts or unpublished writings of sun Annaprasad and Ajit Singh. A local paper says:—Kishen Singh, Ajit Singh's brother, went to the City Police Superintendent for surrendering himself, but was informed there was only a search warrant. Swaran Singh is said to be suffering from consumption. The house of Bawa Dhanpat Rai, pleader, Kasur and father-in-law of Ajit Singh was searched at Kasur and so also Ajit Singh's house near Lyalpur.

DEATH OF GULAB BANO.

A Lahore paper reports the death of Gulab Bano, the heroine of the famous case.

NEWS.

LONDON HOME FOR INDIANS.

A hostel for Indian students, called Oriental Lodge, has been opened near Regent's Park with the object of affording young Indians insight into English social life.

Arrangements have been made for week-end visits to certain country houses.

No propaganda will be carried on in connection with the hostel and political discussions will be discouraged.

The household arrangements are thoroughly Indian with a native cook and waiters.

INDIANS IN BIRMINGHAM.

An unpleasant stir has been caused in Birmingham, says the correspondent of *Daily News* in that city, by the attitude adopted by the authorities towards coloured students at the university who are anxious to avail themselves of the military preparation afforded by the Officers' Training Corps. It is stated that two of the members of the Birmingham University contingent are Indians, and that by a War Office edict they have been disqualified from sitting for the examinations for commissions which are held in connection with the course. "India."

VICEROY ATTACKED.

While the Viceroy and Lady Minto were driving from the station at Ahmedabad to Rani Spair's tomb, two missiles were hurled at the carriage, one from the dense crowd which lined the streets.

The Sergeant of the Luni-killen Dragoons who was riding on the left of the carriage cleverly knocked the first aside with his sword. The second hit the Viceroy's Jemadar who was holding an umbrella over Lady Minto on his wrist and fell to the ground.

Their Excellencies were quite unmoved and drove on to the tomb as if nothing had happened.

They completed the programme at Ahmedabad and afterwards entertained the local officials at lunch on their train.

A report was then received that a passer-by hand subsequently picked up one of the missiles which exploded and caused him serious injuries but the result of the investigation is not yet known.

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NEWS.

BENGAL CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTIONS.

Maulvi Fakhruddin, the leading Mahomedan Vakil of the Patna Bar and Joint-Secretary to the Behar Provincial Muslim League, is a candidate for election to the Bengal Legislative Council by the special Mahomedan electorates of the Behar group.

As regards the election of two members to the Bengal Legislative Council by the Mahomedan electorate of Bengal Proper, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Gholam Quassim, zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, Chairman of the Municipality and of the local Board Basihat, member of the District Boards of the 24 Parganas and Khulna, is a candidate for one of the seats.

Mr. S. K. Hossain Bar-at-Law, Bhagalpur and Maulvi Mohammed Ishfuk, B. L., author of *The Mahomedan Law* and vakil of the High Court, Calcutta stand as candidates for the Bengal Council from the special Mahomedan electorate of Behar.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

THE CASE OF MR. LAJPAT RAI.

In the Commons, Dr. Rutherford asked the Under-Secretary for India whether he was aware that in the libel case of Lajpat Rai and the *Daily Express* the Secretary of State for India had deposed Mr. Lajpat Rai was used by the Judge in summing up to the jury, as a ground for mitigating the damages for the charges of sedition made against the plaintiff and not justified by the defendants, and whether the Secretary of State will make some amends to Mr. Lajpat Rai for the injustice done to him by deportation without charge or trial?

The Master of Elibank replied: "The Secretary of State finds no reason for taking any such action as is suggested in the question."

Mr. Mackarness: "Is it fair to Mr. Lajpat Rai that he should not know why he was deposed?"

"I have repeatedly informed the Hon. Member," said the Master of Elibank, "what the policy of the Government with regard to deportation is rightly or wrongly it was decided not to inform him of the grounds of his deportation."

THE GHULAB BANOO CASE.

Dr. Rutherford asked the Under-Secretary whether he had any official knowledge that the Executive Government of the Punjab had published an opinion totally disagreeing with the judgments of Mr. Justice Robertson and Mr. Justice Rattigan with regard to the conduct of the police in the Ghulab Banoo case?

Master of Elibank replied in the affirmative, and added: "So far as the Secretary of State is aware the observations of the Judges on the resolution have neither been asked for nor offered."

Dr. Rutherford: Is that fair to the Judges?

The Master of Elibank: There is no reason to suppose that the Judges will be dissatisfied with the course which has been taken by the Indian Government.

Mr. Rees: Did not the Executive Government agree with the Judge who had the witnesses before him and was able to judge of the conduct of the witnesses under cross-examination?

This Master of Elibank: Yes, the Chief Court in their judgment did not find that the allegation of torture against the police were proved, but that on the evidence before them there was a case for enquiry. The Local Government accepted this view, and after holding an inquiry arrived at the same conclusion as to the facts as did the Sessions Judge and the Assessors.

Mr. Byles: Is the Hon. Gentleman aware that the Government have overruled the decision of the Judges?

The Master of Elibank: No, Sir.

Dr. Rutherford: Is not this action of the Executive a dangerous innovation destructive of the independence of the Law courts?

The Master of Elibank: No, Sir. It is quite the custom in India for the Executive Government to conduct an inquiry when they think it best to do so.

Mr. Mackarness: Will the Hon. gentleman answer the question I have put to him twice, namely, were the police witnesses cross-examined?

The Master of Elibank: I am not able to answer that, but the Punjab Government conducted the inquiry into the whole circumstances, and the Hon. member may rest assured that they acted in the best interests of justice and fairness.

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NASIK SEDITION CASE.

APPEAL OF GANESH DAMODER SAVARKAR.

This morning on the Appellate Side of the Bombay High Court, the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar and the Hon. Mr. Justice Heaton resumed the hearing of the appeal preferred by Ganesh Damoder Savarkar, who, on the 9th June last, was convicted of sedition under Section 104A, and of attempting to wage war against the King under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code, by Mr. B. C. Kennedy, I. C. S., Sessions Judge of Nasik, and was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on the first charge and to transportation for life on the second charge, both sentences to run concurrently, and was further ordered to forfeit all his property to the Government.

Mr. Joseph Baptista, representing the appellants, commented at length on the poems on which the Sessions Judge had convicted the accused. Mr. Baptista's interpretations were on several occasions questioned by Mr. Justice Chandavarkar. The judgment was reserved.

MIDNAPUR ENQUIRY.

Mr. Mackerness asked whether at the Midnapur inquiry held by the Commissioner, Mr. Macpherson, the public were admitted and all the witnesses were offered for cross-examination, and whether the Master of Elibank is in a position to state the conclusion come to by Mr. Macpherson.

The Master of Elibank replied: The Secretary of State has not yet received either Mr. Macpherson's report or the detailed information which he would require to answer the question.

Mr. Mackerness: "Is it a fact that the Superintendent and Chief Constable have been most seriously implicated by this inquiry and have been given long leave of absence?"

The Master of Elibank: "I think that does not arise out of the question."

ANTI-SEDITION PROCLAMATION.

Mr. Rees asked a question relating to the proclamations of the Maharaja of Jyampur and the Raja of Rewa against sedition.

The answer was that Lord Morley expected to receive official copies of these proclamations in due course. When they came the Master of Elibank would communicate with Mr. Rees.

THE DEPORTATIONS.

Mr. Mackerness asked whether, in view of the intention of the Government of India to deport agitators from their homes without charge or trial, the Master of Elibank would say if the advocates of the policy of tariff reform in India, known as Swadehi, are considered by the Government to be agitators and whether he would recommend the Government to issue some authoritative definition of the offence of agitation so that British subjects in India may protect themselves against the risk of deportation and imprisonment for unlimited period?

The Master of Elibank: "I am not aware what the hon. member means by 'intention,' nor what knowledge he has of the frame of mind of the Government of India. As was stated in a reply to a question on March 25th, no British subject in India runs away any risk of the nature indicated unless his conduct is such as to satisfy the Governor-General in Council that it is necessary to detain him in order to secure the British dominions from internal commotion. The Secretary of State is not prepared either himself to make or to order the Government of India to make any further statement by way of definition."

Mr. Mackerness: "May I ask the hon. gentleman whether he adheres to the declaration made by himself on Aug. 5th in this House that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to remove from their sphere of operations all agitators?"

The Master of Elibank: "I did not say that. I said it was the intention of this country to maintain order, and if it was necessary agitators would have to be dealt with according to the law."

Mr. Rees: "May I ask whether the Pundits of the India Office endorse the translation of Swadehi as Tariff Reform?"

Mr. Lupton: "It is not a fact that the chief charge against the men deported was that they were in favour of what is called Tariff-Reform?"

OPIUM IN ASSAM VALLEY.

The Master of Elibank, replying to Sir Herbert Roberts, admitted that the consumption of opium has increased of recent years in the Assam Valley districts and he quoted figures.

Sir H. Cotton: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that in the preceding six years when I had the honour of administering the Province, there was practically no increase in consumption?"

The Master of Elibank did not reply.

THE THANA "HINDU PUNCH" CASE,

THE JUDGMENT.

On Monday, 18th October, 1900, at Thana Mr. J. L. Bieu, District Magistrate, delivered his judgment in the rule calling on Krishnaji Kashinath Phadke, printer and publisher of the "Hindu Punch" and many other persons who might be concerned to appear before him to show cause why the conditional rule confiscating the paper should not be made absolute. Following is the full text of the judgment:—

The question for discussion is whether the conditional order issued by me under Sub-section (1) of Section 3 of Act VII of 1900 in respect of the printing press used for the printing and publishing of the *Hindu Punch* and all copies of this newspaper, shall be made absolute under sub-section (5) of the same Section. This involves the further question whether the *Hindu Punch* contains any incitement to murder or to act of violence.

The respondents appear in answer to the conditional order. They are Krishnaji Phadke who is the Printer and Publisher of the *Hindu Punch*, and Dhondo Kashinath Phadke, his brother, who is the Proprietor and Manager of the Arnodaya Press in Thana at which the *Hindu Punch* is printed. On their first appearance the respondents handed in written statements. In his statement Krishnaji Phadke declared his willingness to bind himself to discontinue the publication of the *Hindu Punch* and disclaimed any intention on his part that the newspaper should convey any incitement against Mr. Gokhale. Similarly Dhondo Phadke declared his readiness to undertake not to allow the further printing of the *Hindu Punch* by his press. Both respondents expressed regret for the appearance in the newspaper of matter which Government considered objectionable. Their pleader suggested that these undertakings should be accepted and the proceedings withdrawn. The act, however, provides no direction in the matter. The direction that if the Magistrate is satisfied that the newspaper contains matter of the nature specified in Sub-section (1) he 'shall' make the conditional order absolute, is imperative. Moreover, there would be no legal means of making the proposed undertakings binding on the respondents. I accordingly declined to consider the arrangement proposed.

In support of the order, copies of the issue of the *Hindu Punch*, dated the 17th March and 23rd August 1900, which contain the incriminatory articles worded "Namdar lost by a drop" and "is Namdar Shakar or Mazumdar?" have been put in together with the copies of the issues of the 21st and 28th July and the 10th August which contain a series of which that of the 23rd August forms part and of a cartoon appearing in the issue of the 18th August. Translations of these articles or of extracts have also been put in their correcters being

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vouched for by the assistant to the Oriental Translator to Government. The other articles of the series headed, "Is Nandur Shakar or Mazumdar?" and the cartoon are adduced merely and establishing the identity of Mr. Gokhale with "Nandur" but the point is not contested by the respondents.

The article headed "Nandur lost by a drop" bitterly reproaches Mr. Gokhale for his speech at the Madras Congress and declares the futility for the purpose of retrieving his lost reputation in the eyes of the "nationalist party" of his interpellations in Council on behalf of the Bengal deportees. It contains the following significant passage: "Do whatever you like but you have committed an unpardonable sin at Madras, and death is the only punishment for it. Those things will certainly not pass away from the minds of the people until you come to your natural end."

The article of the 25th August is the concluding one of the series in which Mr. Gokhale is held up to gross obloquy and bitter vilification for his alleged perfidy towards his country by his repudiation and denunciation of the methods of the extremist or "nationalist" party in his public speech recently delivered at Poona, his conduct and character being unfavourably compared with those of the notorious self-seeking Mazumdar and the clownish Shakar. In this article, which is a resume of the conclusions arrived at in the preceding ones, Mr. Gokhale is represented as causing "the cruel murder" of the extremist party by his vile accusations and false charges against them. As dealing blows from behind and in the dark, as being inspired by malice against his own people, as meanly endeavouring to get his co-sharer killed by another person and so appropriate the entire property to himself. He is compared with the traitor Nandu and declared by his speech to have committed 'infanticide,' namely, the murder of the young nation. Interspersed with all this vituperation and invective are injunctions to keep as far from such a person as possible, and disown him, and a statement that it is not possible to hear the blows dealt secretly and in the dark by men such as Mr. Gokhale, and that he will have to undergo to-day or to-morrow the same expiation which Ramshastri of the Peshwa's time prescribed to Raghoba Dada, viz, the sacrifice of his life. Finally, there occurs the following passage "It may perhaps be considered proper to wish long life to officials, nay every to tyrannical officials, under the British Raj. But we must with a full and swelling heart offer only this prayer to God: Take up and carry away at once this Nandur from amongst us, or at once throw him into the jaws of beasts of prey."

On behalf of the respondents it is contended in the first place but even granted that the articles contain an incitement to murder or the infliction of violence on Mr. Gokhale, the Act is not applicable to cases of incitement against a particular and specific individual which can be dealt with under the appropriate sections of the Penal Code. Its object, it is argued,

is to prevent the dissemination of matter which advocates murder and acts of violence in the abstract by preaching that they are legitimate or commendable. But such a limitation of the scope of the Act is obviously inadmissible. If there is incitement to murder or to acts of violence, such incitement must necessarily be directed against a single individual or body or class of individuals or against humanity in general is immaterial so far as the question of the applicability of the Act is concerned.

The next contention is a denial that the articles in question contain any incitement to murder or to commit an act of violence on Mr. Gokhale. This is based on their interpretation as dealing exclusively with Mr. Gokhale's political entity of career and having no physical application to him. It is pointed out that throughout the articles such expressions as the "branding" of the nationalist party, "the striking of the breast," the attempt to "throw a noose" round the "neck" of the party are all used metaphorically and not literally and in the concrete and that therefore the references to the death of Mr. Gokhale, to the expiation which he must suffer etc, must also be given the same metaphorical interpretation. In the first article the expression "natural end" following immediately after the statement that death is the only punishment for Mr. Gokhale's offence, precludes the idea of a physical death. The Marathi word "Shashun" which has been rendered as punishment is capable of being applied to a self-inflicted punishment, an atonement in fact, and the meaning of the sentence is that Mr. Gokhale should give up all hopes of a further public career, that he should commit political suicide. In reference to his the expiation ordained or Raghoba Dada, viz. self-immolation supports this idea. The Marathi word rendered as expiation means a penance which is prescribed at the request of the sinner himself and inflicted by himself. The prayer for the removal of Mr. Gokhale for his physical annihilation but merely his retirement from the political arena, is addressed to God, not to man.

This ingenious interpretation may possibly apply to the first article which was written before Mr. Gokhale's utterances at Poona at a time when the writer had not the same motives for hatred of Mr. Gokhale as appear subsequently to have inspired him, but it is difficult to reconcile it with such expressions appearing in the in the latter article, written under the stress of very different emotions, as 'he will have to undergo to-day or to-morrow the very expiation' and "throw him into the jaws of beasts of prey." There is little in them which suggest or is even barely compatible with the idea of a voluntary withdrawal as a self-inflicted penance from the political scene.

I am not however concerned with the subtleties or mental reservations which the writer of the article may have had in his mind at the time he composed them. What I am concerned with is the question whether the articles are or are not an incitement to violence and in that respect

I have considered the effect which they are likely to produce on the minds of the public to whom they are addressed.

I have not the least hesitation in saying this effect must be one of very strong incitement to murder and violence. The writer is appealing to the members of the extremist, or as he prefers to call it, the nationalist party. Mr. Gokhale is held up to extermination as a traitor to that party, an enemy of his own people, a man who is "piercing with his nails the throat" of the young nation. He is warned that the time will come when he will have to expiate his crimes by the sacrifice of his life. It is improper to wish him a long life, but on the contrary God should be implored to remove him to wild beasts. A more potent incitement to murder and violence could not well be imagined.

I am satisfied, therefore, that the articles in *Hindu Punch* contain matter of the nature specified in Sub-section (1) of Section (3) of Act VII of 1908, and under Sub-section (5) of that Section I make my conditional order of forfeiture absolute.

The respondent Dhondo Kashinath Phadke has presented an application in which he states that only one machine and two frames of type are used for printing the *Hindu Punch* and prays that the order may be made in respect of those particular portions of his printing press only. I do not see how it is practicable to discriminate between particular portions of a press. It may be that the other portions of the press could not be used for printing the paper without introducing certain modifications in its size and appearance, but this would not be a bar to its production by the press which is the object of this preventive measure. I cannot, therefore, entertain the application. The order of forfeiture will extend so the whole of the printing plant and material of the Arunodaya Press by which the *Hindu Punch* has been declared by its Publisher under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1887, to be printed and to all copies of that newspaper, wherever.



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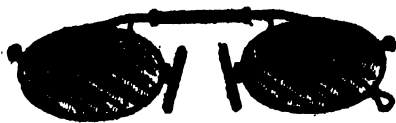
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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Bomb Case and Anglo-India.

The comments of the Anglo-Indian papers on the result of the appeal in the Alipur case are neither particularly edifying nor do they tend to remove the impression shared by us with many thoughtful Englishmen that the imperial race is being seriously demoralized by empire. From the *Englishman* we expect nothing better, and in fact we were agreeably surprised at the comparative harmlessness of its triumphant article on the day after the judgment. Its reference to the nonsense about there being no sedition in India and no party of Revolution leaves our withers unwrung. We ourselves belong to a party of peaceful revolution, for it is a rapid revolution in the system of Government in India which is the aim of our political efforts, and it is idle to object to us that there have been no peaceful revolutions and cannot be. History gives the lie to that statement, whether it proceeds from Mr. Gokhale or from Anglo-India. We have also always admitted that there is a Terrorist party, for bombs are not thrown without hands and men are not shot for political reasons unless there is Terrorism in the background. All we have contended,—and our contention is not

overthrown by the judgment in the Alipur appeal, which merely proves that the conspiracy was not childish, and by no means that it was a big or widespread organisation,—is that the attempt of the Anglo-Indian papers to blacken the whole movement, and especially the whole Nationalist party, is either an erroneous or an unscrupulous attempt, and the disposition of the police to arrest every young Swadeshi worker as a rebel and a dacoit is foolish, wrong-headed, often dishonest, and may easily become fatal to the chances of a peaceful solution of the dispute between the Government and the people. The *Englishman*, however, represents a lower grade of intellect and refinement to which these considerations are not likely to present themselves. The average respectable Englishman is better represented by the *Statesman*, and the one dominating note in the *Statesman* is that of regret that the Courts had to go through the ordinary procedure of the law and could not effect a swift dramatic and terror-striking vindication of the inviolability of the British Government. One would have thought that a nation with the legal and political traditions of the English people would have been glad that the procedure of law had been preserved, the chances of error minimised and the State still safeguarded; and that no ground

had been given for a charge of differentiating between a political and an ordinary trial to the prejudice of the accused. It is evident, however, that the type of Englishman demoralized by empire and absolute power considers that, in political cases, the Law Courts should not occupy themselves with finding out the truth, but be used as a political instrument for vengeance and striking terror into political opponents.

The Nadiya President's Speech.

We congratulate Mr Aswini Banerji on the able and vigorous speech delivered by him as the President of the Nadiya Conference. He took up an attitude which was at once manly and free from excess or violence. For ourselves the first point we turned to was the pronouncement on the Reform. We do not think the judgment of the country on this ill-conceived measure could have been put with greater truth and force than in the periods of goodhumoured contempt and irony, scathing yet in perfectly good taste, in which Mr Banerji disposed of the claims of the Reform Scheme to be a measure of popular self-government. If all public men take the same attitude, the day of a true measure of popular control will be much nearer than if we affect a qualified satisfaction with this political bauble. As Mr. Banerji forcibly pointed out,

it does not provide for a popular electorate, it does not admit of the election of popular leaders, it does not create a non-Government majority, or, as we would add, even the reasonable possibility of a strong opposition on essential points. What has the country do to do with a reformed Council stripped of these essentials? The job-hoofs, the self-seekers, the nonentities who wish to take advantage of the exclusion of distinguished and leading names in order to enjoy at the expense of the country's interests, the kudos and substantial advantages of a seat on the Councils will scramble for the newly-created heaven: that is the kind of co-operation which the Government will get from the non-Mussulman part of the nation under this scheme. The country remains sullen and dissatisfied.

Mr Macdonald's visit.

The tour undertaken by Mr Ramsay Macdonald in India has been cut short by the call from England summoning him home to take his part in the great struggle which is the beginning of the end of Conservative and semi-aristocratic England. In the peaceful revolution which that struggle presages and in which it must sooner or later culminate, Mr Macdonald's party stands to be the final winners. It is the semi-Socialistic Radical element in the Ministry attracted toward the Labour party to which the precipitation of this inevitable struggle is due. The Labour party is now predominatingly Socialistic and is purging itself of the old individualistic love-ven which looked forward to no higher ideal than an eight hours day, Old Age pensions and Trade Union politics. The Labour members, Messrs Burt and Fenwick, who represent this old-world element, have received notice to quit from the Labour organisations which helped them into Parliament and much nonsense of a kind familiar to

the progress of their lifelong supporters by fighting the representatives of the new aspirations in the interests of a middle class-party. Mr Macdonald belongs to the new thought, but he is, we believe, one of those who would hasten slowly to the goal. He has not the rugged personality of Mr Keir Hardie, but combines in himself, in a way Mr Hardie scarcely does, the old culture and the new spirit. He has as broad a sympathy and as penetrating an intelligence as Mr Nevins, but not the latter's quick intensity. Nevertheless, behind the slow consideration and calm thoughtfulness of his manner, one detects hidden iron and the concealed roughness of the force that has come to destroy and to build, some hint of the rugged outlines of Demogorgon, the claws of Narasingha. For every man is not only himself, he is that which he represents. Mr Macdonald has been reserved and cautious during his visit and has spoken out only on the Reforms and Reuter, nor have his remarks on these subjects passed the limits of what any sincere Liberal would hold to be a moderate statement of the truth. Mr Macdonald is one who does not speak out the whole of himself, he is a politician born, and born politicians do not care to outpace by too great a stride the speedily accomplishable fact. Whatever wider vistas they may see beyond, they prefer to move steadily towards them rather than to speak of them. So far as an Englishman can help India, and that under present circumstances is hardly at all, he certainly wishes to help. It is not his fault that the blindness of his countrymen and the conditions of the problem in India make men like him, perforce, little better than sympathetic spectators of the passionate struggle between established privilege and a nation in the making that the world watches now in India.

STEAD AND THE SPIRITS.

—oOo—

Considerable attention has been attracted and excitement created by the latest development of Mr. W. T. Stead's agency for communicating with spirits which he calls Julia's Bureau. The supposed communications of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield and other distinguished politicians

on the question of the Budget have awakened much curiosity, ridicule and even indignation. The ubiquitous eloquence of Lord Curzon has been set flowing by what he considers this unscrupulous method of pressing the august departed into the ranks of Liberal electioneering agents, and he has penned an indignant letter to the papers in which there is much ornate Curzonian twaddle about sacred mysteries and the sanctities of the grave. If there is anything at all in the alleged communications from departed souls which have become of increasing interest to the European world, it ought to be fairly established that the grave is nothing but a hole in the earth containing a rotting piece of matter with which the spirit has no farther connection, and that the spirit is very much the same after death as before, takes much interest in small, trivial and mundane matters and is very far from regarding his new existence as a solemn sacred and mysterious affair. If so, we do not see why we either should approach the departed spirit with long and serious faces or with any more unusual feelings than curiosity, interest and eagerness to acquire knowledge of the other world and communication with those we knew and loved in this, in fact, the ordinary human and earthly feelings existing between souls sundered by time and space, but still capable of communication. But Lord Curzon still seems to be labouring under the crude Christian conception of the blessed dead as angels harping in heaven whose spotless plumes ought not to be roughly disturbed by human breath and of spiritual communication as a sort of necromancy, the spirit of Mr. Gladstone being summoned from his earthly bed and getting into it again and tucking himself up comfortably in his coffin after Julia and Mr. Stead have done with him. We should have thought that in the bold and innovating mind of India's only Viceroy these coarse European superstitions ought to have been destroyed long ago.

It is not however, Lord Curzon but Mr. Stead and the spirits with whom we have to deal. We know Mr. Stead as a pushing and original journalist, not always over refined or delicate either in his actions or expressions, skilful in the advertisement of his views,

excitable, earnest, declamatory, loud and even hysterical, if you will, in some of his methods, but certainly neither a liar nor a swindler. He does and says what he believes and nothing else. It is impossible to dismiss his Bureau as an imposture or mere journalistic reclame. It is impossible to dismiss the phenomena of spirit communications, even with all the imposture that unscrupulous moneymakers have imported into them, as unreal or a deception. All that can reasonably be said is that their true nature has not yet been established beyond dispute. There are two conceivable explanations, one that of actual spirit communication, the other that of vigorously dramatised imaginary conversations jointly composed with wonderful skill and consistency by the subconscious minds, whatever that may be, of the persons present, the medium being the chief dramaturge of this subconscious literary Committee. This theory is so wildly improbable and so obviously opposed to the nature of the phenomena themselves, that only an obstinate unwillingness to admit new facts and ideas can explain its survival, although it was natural and justifiable in the first stages of investigation. There remains the explanation of actual spirit communication. But even when we have decided on this hypothesis as the base of our investigation, we have to be on our guard against a multitude of errors; for the communications are vitiated first by the errors and self-deceptions of the medium and the sitters, then by the errors and self-deceptions of the communicant spirits, and, worst of all, by deliberate deceit, lies and jugglery on the part of the visitants from the other world. The element of deceit and jugglery on the part of the medium and his helpers is not always small, but can easily be got rid of. Cheap scepticism and cheaper ridicule in such matters is only useful for comforting small brains and weak imaginations with a sense of superiority to the larger minds who do not refuse to enquire into phenomena which are at least widespread and of a consistently regular character. The true attitude is to examine carefully the nature of the phenomena, the conditions that

now detract from their value and the possibility of removing them and providing perfect experimental conditions which would enable us to arrive at a satisfactory scientific result. Until the value of the communications are scientifically established, any attempt to use them for utilitarian, theatrical or yet lighter purposes is to be deprecated, as such misuse may end in shutting a wide door to potential knowledge upon humanity.

From this point of view Mr. Stead's bizarre experiments are to be deprecated. The one redeeming feature about them is that, as conducted, they seem to remove the first elementary difficulty in the way of investigation, the possibility of human deceit and imposture. We presume that he has got rid of professional mediums and allows only earnest-minded and honourable investigators to be present. But the other elements of error and confusion are encouraged rather than obviated by the spirit and methods of Mr. Stead's Bureau. First, there is the error and self-deception of the sitters. The spirit does not express himself directly but has to give his thoughts at third hand; they come first to the intermediary spirit, Julia or another, by her they are conveyed to the human medium and through him conveyed by automatic or conscious speech or writing to the listeners. It is obvious how largely the mind of the medium and, to a smaller but still great extent, the thought-impressions of the other sitters must interfere, and thus without the least intention on their part, rather in spite of a strong wish in the opposite direction. Few men really understand how the human mind works or are fitted to watch the processes of their own conscious and half-conscious thought even when the mind is disinterested, still less when it is active and interested in the subject of communication. The sitters interfere, first, by putting in their own thoughts and expressions suggested by the beginnings of the communication, so that what began as a spirit conversation ends in a tangle of the medium's or sitters' ideas with the little of his own that the spirit can get in now and then. They interfere not only by suggesting what they themselves think or

would say on the subject, but by suggesting what they think the spirit ought dramatically to think or say, so that Mr. Gladstone is made to talk in interminable cloudy and circumambient periods which were certainly his oratorical style but can hardly have been the staple of his conversation, and Lord Beaconsfield is obliged to be cynical and immoral in the tone of his observations. They interfere again by eagerness, which sometimes produces replies according to the sitters' wishes and sometimes others which are unpleasant or alarming, but in neither case reliable. This is especially the case in answers about the future, which ought never to be asked. It is true that many astonishing predictions occur which are perfectly accurate, but these are far outweighed by the mass of false and random prediction. These difficulties can only be avoided by rigidly excluding every question accompanied by or likely to raise eagerness or expectation and by cultivating entire mental passivity. The last however is impossible to the medium unless he is a practised Yogin, or in a trance, or a medium who has attained the habit of passivity by an unconscious development due to long practice. In the sitters we do not see how it is to be induced. Still, without unmotional indifference to the nature of the answer and mental passivity the conditions for so difficult and delicate a process of communication cannot be perfect.

Error and self-deception from the other side of the veil cannot be obviated by any effort on this side, all that we can do is to recognise that the spirits are limited in knowledge and cabined by character, so that we have to allow for the mental and moral equation in the communicant when judging the truth and value of the communication. Absolute deception and falsehood can only be avoided by declining to communicate with spirits of a lower order and being on guard against their masquerading under familiar or distinguished names. How far Mr. Stead and his circle have guarded against these latter errors we cannot say, but the spirit in which the sittings are conducted, does not encourage us to suppose that scrupulous care is taken in these

respects. It is quite possible that some playful spirit has been enacting Mr Gladstone to the too enthusiastic circle and has amused himself by elaborating those cloudy-luminous periods which he saw the sitters expected from the great deceased Opportunist. But we incline to the view that what we have got in this now famous spirit interview, is a small quantity of Gladstone, a great deal of Stead and a fair measure of the disembodied Julia and the assistant psychics.

THE ALIPUR JUDGMENT.

—000—
The judgment of the Appeal Court in the Alipur Case has resulted in the reduction of sentences to a greater or less extent in all but two notable instances, and on the other hand, the maintenance of the finding of the Lower Court in all but six cases, on five of which there is a difference of opinion between the Chief Justice and Justice Carnduff. So long as these cases are still subjudice, we reserve our general comments on the trial. At present we can only offer a few remarks on special features of the judgment. The acquittal of the Maratha, Hari Balkrishna Kane, must give universal satisfaction, as his conviction in the absence of any evidence in the least establishing his guilt would have been a gross miscarriage of justice. The rejection of Section 121 and the consequent elimination of the death sentences, is also a result on which the Government and the country may both be congratulated. Even in the case of actual political assassins the infliction of the death sentences, however legally justifiable, is bad policy. Death sentences for political crimes only provide martyrs to a revolutionary cause, nerve the violent to fresh acts of vengeance and terrorism, and create through the liberation of the spirits of the dead men a psychical force making for further unrest and those passions of political revolt and fierceness to which they were attached in life. The prolongation of terrorism is undesirable in the interests of the country; for, so long as young men are attached to these methods of violence, the

efforts of a more orderly though not less strenuous Nationalism to organise and spread itself must be seriously hampered. We are glad to note that the Chief Justice has in no case condemned an accused on the evidence of the watch-witnesses alone. Such evidence is always suspect in the eyes of the people of this country and the gross blunders, if they were no worse, committed by several of the police witnesses in this case deprive their identifications of all evidential value. Once the confessions were admitted as entirely voluntary and entirely true, the fate of the confessing prisoners and of those directly implicated by them as active members of the society was a foregone conclusion. The conviction of an accused on such a serious charge when there is no clear incriminating evidence against him except the confessions of others, is no doubt permissible under ordinary jurisprudence when these confessions create a moral certainty in the mind of the judge; but if this rule sometimes prevents the escape of the guilty, it not seldom lends itself to the punishment of the innocent. Of more importance, however, and the one serious flaw we are disposed to find in the Chief Justice's judgment, is the exaggerated importance attached to familiarity and intimacy between the leaders of the conspiracy and those whose guilt was open to doubt. When there is a secret conspiracy, it is inevitable that there should be numbers of men intimately associated with the members, perhaps even co-operating with them in surface political action, who are yet in entire ignorance of the close and dangerous proceedings of their friends. It was a recognition of this obvious fact that largely governed Mr. Beachcroft's findings; but we cannot help feeling that neither he nor the Appeal Court, ignorant, like all Englishmen, of the actual workings of the National Movement, have given sufficient weight to this consideration. As a result, the benefit of the doubt has not been extended where it should have been extended. Already it was a general conviction in the public mind that one innocent man had been convicted and succumbed to the rigours of jail life, while two are hopelessly con-

demned to the brutal and brutifying punishments by which European society avenges itself on the breakers of its laws,—we refer to the Kabiraj brothers found by Mr Beachcroft to be innocent of conspiracy and therefore presumably innocent tools of conspirators. There is an uneasy sense that some at least have been added to the list by the judgment in appeal. Even if it be so, however, the judges have done their best, and the European legal system has always been a lottery by which it is easy, without any fault on the part of the judge, for the guilty to escape and the innocent to suffer. It is perhaps one of the necessary risks of joining in Nationalist movements to be liable to be confounded in one fate with secret conspirators who happen to be associates in social or legitimate political relations, and when the C. I. D. throws its nets with a generous wideness, we ought not to whine if such accidents bring us into the meshes. The State must be preserved at any cost. In any case, the whole country must be grateful to Sir Lawrence Jenkins for the courtesy, patience and fairness with which he has heard the case and given every facility to the defence, an attitude which might with advantage be copied by certain civilian judges in and outside the High Court and even by certain Judges, not civilians, in other provinces.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

II

—000—

The activity of human thought divides itself broadly into two groups of functions, those of the right hand, contemplation, creation, imagination, the centres that see the truth, and those of the left hand, criticism, reasoning discrimination, inquiry, the centres that judge the truth when it is seen. In education the latter are fostered by scientific and manual training, but the only quality of the right hand that this education fosters is observation. For this reason a purely scientific education tends to make a man keen and clear-sighted within certain limits, but narrow, hard and cold. Even in his own sphere the man without the training of the right

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hand can only progress in a settled groove; he cannot broaden the base of human culture or enlarge the bounds of science. Tennyson describes him as an eye well practised in Nature, a spirit bounded and poor, and the description is just. But a cultivated eye without a cultivated spirit makes by no means the highest type of man. It is precisely the cultivation of the spirit that is the object of what is well called a liberal education, and the pursuits best calculated to cultivate the growth of the spirit are language, literature, the Arts, music, painting, sculpture or the study of these, philosophy, religion, history, the study and understanding of man through his works and of Nature and man through the interpretative as well as through the analytic faculties. These are the pursuits which belong to the intellectual activities of the right hand and while the importance of most of these will be acknowledged, there is a tendency to ignore Art and poetry as mere refinements, luxuries of the rich and leisurely rather than things that are necessary to the mass of men or useful to life. This is largely due to the misuse of these great instruments by the luxurious few who held the world and its good things in their hands in the intermediate period of human progress. But the aesthetic faculties, entering into the enjoyment of the world and the satisfaction of the vital instincts, the love of the beautiful in men and women, in food, in things, in articles of use and articles of pleasure, have done more than anything else to raise man from the beast, to refine and purge his passions, to ennoble his emotions and to lead him up through the heart and the imaginations to the state of the intellectual man. That which has helped man upward, must be preserved in order that he may not sink below the level he has attained. For man intellectually developed, mighty in scientific knowledge and the mastery of gross and subtle Nature, using the elements as his servants and the world as his footstool, but undeveloped in heart and spirit, becomes only an inferior kind of Asura using the powers of a demigod to satisfy the nature of an animal. According to our traditions and memories of the old

world, of such a nature was the civilisation of old Atlantis, submerged beneath the Ocean when its gentleness and its wickedness became too heavy a load to the earth to bear, and our own legends of the Asuras represent a similar consciousness of a great but abortive development in humanity.

The first and lowest use of Art is the purely aesthetic, the second is the intellectual or educative, the third and highest the spiritual. By speaking of the aesthetic use as the lowest, we do not wish to imply that it is not of immense value to humanity, but simply to assign to it its comparative value in relation to the higher uses. The aesthetic is of immense importance and until it has done its work, mankind is not really fitted to make full use of Art on the higher planes of human development. Aristotle assigns a high value to tragedy because of its purifying force. He describes its effect as katharsis, a sacramental word of the Greek mysteries which in the secret discipline of the ancient Greek Tantries, answered precisely to our chittasuddhi, the purification of the chitta or mass of established ideas, feelings and actional habits in a man either by *sanyama*, rejection, or by *bhoga*, satisfaction, or by both. Aristotle was speaking of the purification of dangerous passions and emotions in the heart through imaginative satisfaction in poetry but the truth his idea contains is of much wider application and constitutes the justification of the aesthetic side of art. It purifies by beauty. The beautiful and the good are held by many thinkers to be the same and, though the idea may be wrongly stated, it is, when put from the right standpoint, not only a truth but the fundamental truth of existence. According to our own philosophy the whole world came out of *ananda* and returns into *ananda*, and the tripple term in which *ananda* may be stated is Joy, Love, Beauty. To see divine beauty in the whole world, man, life, nature, to love that which we have seen and to have pure unalloyed bliss in that love and that beauty is the appointed road by which mankind as a race must climb to God. That is the reaching to *Vidya* through *Avidya*, to the One Pure and Divine through

the manifold manifestation of Him, of which the Upanishad repeatedly speaks. But the bliss must be pure and unalloyed, unalloyed by felt-rearings, emotions, unalloyed by pain and evil. The sense of good and bad, beautiful and unbeautiful which afflicts our understanding and our senses, must be replaced by *akhandarasa*, undifferentiated and unbridged delight in the delightfulness of things, before the highest can be reached. On the way to this goal full use must be made of the lower and abridged sense of beauty which seeks to replace the less beautiful by the more, the lower by the higher, the mean by the noble.

At a certain stage of human development the aesthetic sense is of infinite value in this direction. It raises and purifies conduct by instilling a distaste for the coarse desires and passions of the savage, for the rough, uncouth and excessive in action and manner, and restraining both feeling and action by a striving after the decent, the beautiful, the fit and the good which received its highest expression in the manners of cultivated European society, the elaborate ceremonious life of the Cōlācāran, the careful *achar* and etiquette of Hinduism. At the present stage of progress this element is losing much of its once all important value and, when over-stressed tends to hamper a higher development by the obstruction of soulless ceremony and formalism. Its great use was to discipline the savage animal instincts of the body, the vital instincts and the lower feelings in the heart. Its disadvantage to progress is that it tends to trammel the play both of the higher feelings of the heart and the workings of originality in thought. Born originally of a seeking after beauty, it degenerates into an attachment to form, to exterior uniformity, to precedent, to dead authority. In the future development of humanity it must be given a much lower place than in the past. Its limits must be recognized and the demand of a higher truth, sincerity and freedom of thought and feeling must be given priority. Mankind is apt to bind itself by attachment to the means of its past progress forgetful of the aim. The bondage to formulas has to be outgrown and in this again it is the sense of a

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higher beauty and fitness which will be most powerful to correct the lower. The art of life must be understood in more magnificent terms and must subordinate its more formal elements to the service of the master civilizers, Love and Thought.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER X.

Mohendra saw the robber as he sang the wedding tears. In wonder he asked "Who are you?" Bhavananda replied "We are the Children."

"What is meant by the Children?" asked Mohendra, "Whose children are you?"

Bhavananda replied, "The children of the Mother."

"Good," said Mohendra, "Do the children worship their mother with theft and looting? What kind of filial piety is that?"

"We do not thieve and loot," answered Bhavananda.

"Why, just now you plundered the carts."

"Is that theft and looting? Whose money did we plunder?"

"Why, the ruler's."

"The ruler's! What right has he to the money, that he should take it?"

"It is his royal share of the wealth of the country."

"Who rules and does not protect his kingdom, is he a ruler at all?"

"I see you will be blown one day from the cannon's mouth by the sepoys."

"I have seen your rascal sepoys more than once; I dealt with some to-day too."

"Oh, that was not a real experience of them; one day you will get it."

"Suppose it is so, a man can only die once."

"But what profit is there in going out of one's way to die?"

"Mohendra Singha," said Bhavananda, "I had a kind of idea that you were a man worth the name, but now I see you are what all the rest of them are, merely the death of gloom and milk. Look you, the snake crawls on the ground and is the lowest of living things, but put your foot on the snake's neck

and even he will rise with lifted hood. Can nothing overthrow your patience then? Look at all the countries you know, Magadh, Mithila, Kashi, Kanchi, Delhi, Cashmere, in what other country do men from starvation eat grass? eat thorns? eat the earth white ants have gathered? eat the creepers of the forest? where else are men forced to eat dogs and jackals, yes, even the bodies of the dead? where else can men have no ease of heart because of fear for the money in their chests, the household gods on their sacred seats, the young women in their homes, the unborn children in the women's wombs? Ay, here they rip open the womb and tear out the child. In every country the relation with the ruler is that of protector and protected, but what protection do our Mussulman rulers give us? Our religion is destroyed, our caste defiled, our honour polluted, our family honor shamed and now our very lives are going the same way. Unless we drive out these vice-besodden longbeards, the Hinduism of the Hindu is doomed."

"How will you drive them out?" asked Mohendra.

"By blows."

"You will drive them out single handed? With one slap, I suppose."

The robber sang:

"Who hath said thou art weak
in thy lands,

When the swords flash out in
seventy million hands

And seventy million voices roar
Thy dreadful name from shore
to shore?"

"But," said Mohendra, "I see you are alone."

"Why, just now you saw two hundred men."

"Are they all Children?"

"They are all Children."

"How many more are there of them?"

"Thousands like these, and by degrees there will be yet more."

"Even if there were ten or twenty thousand, will you be able with that number to take the throne from the Mussulman?"

"What army had the English at Flassy?"

"Can Englishmen and Bengalees be compared?"

"Why not? What does physical strength matter? Greater physical strength will not make the bullet fly farther."

"Then," asked Mohendra, "why is there such a difference between an Englishman and a Mussulman?"

"Take this first," said Bhavananda, "an Englishman will not run away even from the certainty of death. A Mussulman runs as soon as he perspires and roams in search of a glass of sherbet. Next take this, that the Englishman has tenacity; if he takes up a thing, he carries it through. Don't care, is a Mussulman's motto. He is giving his life for a hire, and yet the soldiers don't get their pay. Then the last thing is courage. A cannon ball can fall only in one place, not in ten; so there is no necessity for two hundred men to run from one cannon ball. But one cannon ball will send a Mussulman with his whole clan running, while a whole clan of cannon balls will not put even a solitary Englishman to flight."

"Have you all these virtues," asked Mohendra.

"No," said Bhavananda, "but virtues don't fall from the nearest tree. You have to practise them."

"Do you practise them?"

"Do you not see we are san nyasins? It is for this practice that we have made renunciation. When our work is done, when our training is complete, we shall again become householders. We also have wives and daughters."

"You have abandoned all these ties, but have you been able to overcome Maya?"

"The Children are not allowed to speak falsely and I will not make a lying boast to you. Who has the strength to conquer Maya? When a man says, 'I have conquered Maya' either he never had any feeling or he is making a vain boast. We have not conquered Maya, we are only keeping our vow. Will you be one of the Children?"

"Until I get news of my wife and daughter, I can not say anything."

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"Come then, you shall see your wife and child."

The two went on their way; and Bhavananda began again to sing Bande Matarani.

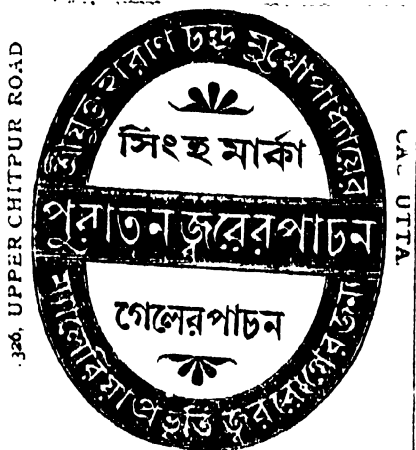
Mohendra had a good voice and was a little proficient in singing and fond of it; therefore he joined in the song, and found that as he sang the tears came into his eyes. Then Mohendra said, "If I have not to abandon my wife and daughter, then initiate me into this vow."

"Whoever" answered Bhavananda, "takes this vow, must abandon wife and child. If you take this vow, you cannot be allowed to meet your wife and daughter. Suitable arrangements will be made for their protection, but until the vow is crowned with success, to look upon their faces is forbidden."

"I will not take your vow," answered Mohendra.

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ALIPUR BOMB CASE.

SENTENCES REDUCED. ONE ACQUITTED.

At the High Court on Tuesday their Lordship the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Carnduff delivered judgment in the well-known Alipur Bomb Case appeals. After dealing with the sentences that was meted out to the appellants in the lower court and a careful perusal of the general facts of the case His Lordship stated that :—

In support of the appeals the appellants had urged that the convictions were bad in law and further that they were not justified by the evidence on record. All the arguments had been carefully considered and weighed. Several legal objections had been advanced against the appeals now under consideration. Objection had been taken that Barindra being a European British subject, the Magistrate was bound to commit him to the High Court; and that the rest of the accused should have been similarly committed in compliance with the provisions of Section 452. It was admitted that Barindra was a European British subject, but it was contended that he had waived his right as such. His Lordship held that the first four points raised had been covered by the decision of this court in the case of King against Kyros. In the light of the decision His Lordship was of opinion that Barin had relinquished his right to be tried as a European British subject and on the facts of the case His Lordship held that Barindra did actually relinquish that right and that the Court of Sessions had completed jurisdiction to dispose of the case.

It was next argued that there was no jurisdiction to take cognisance of the different sections under which the accused had been convicted, namely, Sections 121, 121 A and 122 of the Indian Penal Code. The authority in this case had come from the Local Government. After reading that authority His Lordship said that on the 16th May, a complaint was presented in the form of an allegation made in writing to Mr. Birely and after giving the names of the appellants mentioned in the first batch Inspector Purna Chandra Biswas submitted a complaint charging the members of the Secret Society under various sections which included Sections 121, 121A and 122. On that very day Purna Chandra Biswas was examined and he stated in his complaint as well as personally that permission had been given to him by the Government of Bengal to prosecute certain persons under certain sections which included Sections 121, 122A, 122, 123 and 1241, P. C. After stating his complaint Biswas proceeded to state that those persons well engaged in conspiring to wage war against the

Government. On the strength of his order or complaint the Magistrate committed these appellants to the Court of Sessions for trial for offences under Sections 121, 121A, and 122 of the Indian Penal Code.

Two points arose in the connection. The first was a complaint under section 21 authorized by the Local Government and the second was a complaint in fact lodged under that Section. The question whether action could be taken under Chapter VI was more than a matter of law. The sanction of the Local Government should be specifically directed to particular section of Chapter VI and the order or authority should be preceded by a deliberate determination that proceedings should be taken in respect of a particular section of the Chapter and no other. His Lordship would hesitate to take a view of this Chapter which would give Government the discretion to entrust Section or the sections under which a prosecution should be undertaken to the zeal of an advocate. This order was passed on the 17th of May. At that time of the most prominent of the persons arrested had made their confessions. Although the Local Government had not before it all the details of the evidence afterwards adduced, it must have been aware of the facts on which reliance was now placed as regards the charge under section 121, and yet the order did not recite that section. Then again the notice or authority to complain did not mention section 121 but only those sections specified in the recital. Could it under the circumstances contend that a true reading of the order was that it was intended to cover section 121? His Lordship thought not. He could not read the recital to the order without coming to the conclusion that it had not been made to appear to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, that there was reason to believe that an offence had been committed under section 121, nor could His Lordship suppose that this view was not the result of careful deliberation. The order wound up with the words "or any other section of the said code, which may be found applicable to the said case." But order by whom? If it meant any one other than the Government, it involved a delegation of power, which could not be sustained. Mr. Norton had stated that he was instructed to state that it was not the intention of the Government to argue that section 121, was included in the order. Under the circumstances his Lordship held that the order of the 17th May did not authorize a complaint under section 121 of the I. P. C.

Mr. Norton had been argued that any defect in the complaint had been covered by an order by the Local Government when the case was under trial in the lower Court. It was clear that the so-called sanction was absolutely valueless. Finally it was argued that any defect in the commitment was cured by section 532 and reliance was placed on the cases of Queen vs. Norton and Queen against Tilak. His Lordship then briefly referred to the two cases and remarked that in the present there had been a want of

jurisdiction not only by the Magistrate but in the Court of Sessions. At no stage of the case had the provisions of section 196 been satisfied. The result was that the Court of Sessions had no jurisdiction to convict the first batch under section 121. His Lordship however thought it right to add that the conviction under Section 121 did not fail merely on the lack of jurisdiction. On merit also there was no evidence that the offence charged under that had been proved. His Lordship therefore held that the charge under section 121 could not be sustained. Hence, a charge could not be sustained. To Dast's objection that he was not allowed to cross-examine the witnesses, His Lordship held that the objection to the procedure on the ground of misjoinder of the parties was not well founded and must fail.

His Lordship then dealing with the merits said that before discussing with the detail of the individual cases, he would first deal with the objection that the confessions were not admissible. The involved a question Mr Birley purported to record the confessions under section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code. It was urged that the confessions did not come within the terms of section 161 and that there was no other section of the Code under which they could be brought. For the law relating to confessions they must first turn to the Evidence Act of which the law as to confessions formed a part.

After examining the provisions of the Code of 1898 and reading section 161, his Lordship observed that on the 11th May 1908 none of the conditions had been satisfied on which alone cognisance could be taken by Mr. Birley and following this train of reasoning therefore the confessions fall within the scope of section 161 of the Code after referring to the cases cited his Lordship said that his conclusion was that the enquiry had not been disturbed by anything in the cited cases. In the view that is the Lordship took it was unnecessary to consider whether the enquiry had not actually commenced on the 11th of May the confessions would have been admissible.

Then were the confession vitiated by the fact that in some instances and to some extent the statements made were in response to questions. As far back as 1898 it was held by Sir Brauer Peacock that statements made by a prisoner in answer to questions were admissible against him. Therefore statements elicited from a prisoner in answer to questions were admissible against him. As regards these confessions Mr. Norton had pointed out that some copies had been convicted of an attempt to wreck the Lieutenant Governor's train and were now undergoing imprisonment, while according to those confessions, the copies, though they had confessed to the offence, were innocent.

Mr. Norton who had appeared for the Crown in this case as well as in this had submitted that their Lordships should move the Government to set aside these proceedings. That, however, was not within their Lordships' province. His Lordship, however, had no doubt that the matter would be the subject of a careful enquiry by the Government. In his Lordship's opinion Mr. Birley had complied with all the provisions prescribed by Section 161 of the Code and in addition to that Mr. Birley had also got evidence at the trial confirming him in the fact that the confessions were voluntary. His Lordship held that the confessions had been properly

ly admitted in evidence by the Sessions Judge.

His Lordship next dealt with the evidence of what had been termed the watch or shadowing witnesses. The evidence of these witnesses was either general or specific. His Lordship then referred in detail to the evidence of these witnesses and remarked that there reports were not by any means simply notes. In his Lordship's opinion an error had been committed by the exclusion of those documents.

Although there might be some doubts for some disbelief still in its broad features the case for the prosecution was a genuine one and was not connected by the Police authorities. In this connection his Lordship wished to remark that Inspector Shamsul Alam discovered great commendation. As regards the searches, some of them were irregular. In the case of some of the searches there were not the two witnesses directed the Code while in the case of other searches, the witnesses did not conform to the statutory provisions imposed by the Code. With regard to the search at the garden, notwithstanding the evidence, his Lordship was doubtful as to whether the search list was completed at the garden. On the whole Lordship was not convinced that the search list was completed at the garden, but this was more a matter of fact than of substance. In the view his Lordship took this was only of importance in respect of exhibit 81 for in view of Anubindo Ghose's acquittal the discovery of exhibit 1121 lost its importance.

There was an enormous mass of documents, a great number of which had been made exhibit in this case. In dealing with documentary evidence it was necessary to keep carefully in mind the use to which it could be legitimately put. Referring to the comparison of handwriting his Lordship said that the Sessions Judge had stated earlier writing to be in the handwriting of one or other of the accused but whether this comparison took place with the help of the assessor or not was not known. No expert had been called in although there was a Government expert in handwriting. That the aid of a handwriting expert was of value was clearly the opinion of so distinguished a Judge as Justice Blackburn. After making such comparison as he could as to the accused's handwriting his Lordship was unable to hold that the handwriting had been proved by the method adopted. A confession was not evidence against a co-accused in the sense that conviction on that alone could be supported. It would, however, lend authority to other evidence and the confessions in this case had been largely employed for that purpose.

Among the documents used as evidence in this case were a number of copies of the *Yugantar* newspaper, the contention of the prosecution being that that newspaper was a "link of the conspiracy" turning to the articles of the *Yugantar* that had been put in his Lordship's report it was unnecessary that he should go into them. A large number of them had been read by Mr. Norton. His Lordship could not put his own views regarding these articles better than by adopting the languages which the Sessions Judge had used with regard to these articles which exhibited a burning hatred of the British race. His Lordship could not pass over consideration of the *Yugantar* articles without considering the skill and spirit with which they had been translated for the purpose of this case from the Bengali into English. As far as his Lordship could judge the translations had been to the spirit of the original while at the same time the translations had been expressed in a forcible English.

Turning to the legal aspect of these charges his Lordship said that as in his view no offence had been committed under section 121, he thought it right to refrain from making any comments as to the charge under that section. So far as conspiracy was charged the case rested on sections 121 A a conspiracy consisted not merely in the intention of two or more to do an unlawful act. One of the assessors in coming to the conclusion that there was no conspiracy seemed to have been influenced by the idea that there was no immediate danger but that a far off revolution was contemplated. Barindra in his confession no doubt spoke of a far-off revolution but went on to say that they wished to be ready for it and that they were collecting weapons in small quantities. Major Black had stated that judging from all the articles found he would take them value to be Rs. 500 to Rs. 600. There was no reluctance to use explosives to take human life and for assassinations. The conspiracy was not childish. Thought justify the charge of conspiracy there must be agreement, there need not be proof of direct meeting nor conversation nor need the parties be brought into each other's presence. The agreement might be due to a common concerted plan to carry out the unlawful design. Nor was it necessary that all should join the scheme from the first. Those that came in at a latter stage were equally guilty. As regards the evidence it was of a general character. From the nature of the case a large portion of the evidence was circumstantial. There was also a danger in a case like the present that suspicion might take the place of legal proof. A Judge however could not set himself above the law or mould it to suit the exigencies of a particular case.

The question of punishment is one of considerable difficulty. Those who have been convicted are not ordinary criminals. They are for the most part men of education of strong religious instincts and in some cases of considerable force of character. At the same time they have been convicted of one of the most serious offences against the State in that they have conspired war against the king and the punishment must be in proportion to the offence.

For the purpose of punishment Barindra Kumar Ghose, Ullashkar Dutt, Upendra Nath Bannerjee and Hem Chandra Datta may properly be grouped together for they were the leaders of the society and Ullashkar Dutt and Hem Chandra Datta actually manufactured bombs that were used. We sentence each of them to transportation for life.

The next class include Bibhuty Bhuvan Sircar, Bishi Kesh Kanjilal and Inda Bhuvan Roy, whose prominence in the society is shown by the part they took in one or other of the attempted outrages disclosed by the evidence in the case. We sentence each of them to transportation for a term of ten years.

We sentence each of the following Sudhir Kumar Sircar, Paresch Chandra Maullick, Abhinash Chandra Bhattacharya to transportation for a term of seven years.

We sentence Sishir Kumar Ghose and Nirapada Roy respectively to five years rigorous imprisonment.

Mr. Justice Conduff and I are divided in opinion as to the conviction of Sailendra Nath Bose, Birendra Chandra Sen, Sushil Kumar Sen, Krishnasibhan Sanjal and Indira Nath Nandy, in the case. With our opinions thereon must be laid before another Judge of the Court as provided in section 429 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

NEWS.

THE BURRAH DACTYLE.

The case of Sasi Sarkar, now on bail, who was alleged to be the ringleader of the Burrah dactyle and who now stands charged under section 19 of the Arms Act, has again been adjourned under similar circumstances. The defence prayed for transferring the case to the Sessions for trial, but the Magistrate heard the arguments from the pleaders of both sides and fixed 15th November to pass orders as to whether charges should be framed; but yesterday the Magistrate went through the Police diary and some additional witnesses should be examined. Summons were consequently issued against them.

HILAHADI SLEUTH CASE.

Mr. Hume at the outset said: My submission, your worship, is that there is no necessity of sending the case to the Sessions.

Babu Manojmohan: We have alternative prayers to make either the case may be sent to the Sessions or your Honour do kindly try the case taking another Bengali knowing Magistrate as your colleague.

Court remarked that by taking another gentleman with him he would only be creating a precedent.

Mr. Bose: No, your honour that was done in a defamation case previously tried by Mr. Pearson. It will be better for the accused if the case is sent to the sessions as we doubt the correctness of the translations. I may mention to your Worship that in the Chittagong solution case which recently came before the High Court by way of appeal, the Chief Justice regretted that the case was not tried at the sessions as the correctness of the translations was doubted. The desire of the Chief Justice may be carried out in this case.

Court: I will only see whether considering the gravity of the offence I can adequately punish the accused. I will consider no other ground.

Then the Magistrate framed charges under section 121A, I. P. C. against the accused.

The charges were read out and explained to the accused who pleaded not guilty.

The case stands adjourned till the 23rd instant for cross-examination.

FIDELITY MR. GOKHALE.

In the case in the Bombay High court in which Hon. Mr. Gokhale C. I. E. charged Krishnaji Kasmath Badke and the "Hind Agency" with libel claimed Rs. 10,000 damages.

Mr. Justice Macleod has today awarded Rs. 5,000 damages and costs against the first defendant. The second defendant proprietor of the "Hind Agency" tendered an apology and the case against him was withdrawn.

NEWS.

SAVARKAR'S CASE.

In the Bombay High court Justice Chandra Varkey and Heaton delivered judgment in an appeal preferred by Ganesh Damodar Savarkar who on 8th June last was convicted of sedition under section 51 A and of attempting to wage war against the King under Section 121 by Mr. Kennedy Sessions Judge Nasik, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on the first charge both sentence to run concurrently and was further ordered to forfeiture of all his property by the Government. The appeal was dismissed.

THE NARAIKUNGI FOR REVOLVER FINDING CASE.

The case of Brajabulla Das in connection with the revolver finding is fixed for the 26th November. Two prosecution witnesses are examined. Babu Bhubaneswar Dhan a leading Muktear appeared for the defence. Benode Behari Sen, parcel clerk of Naraingunge P. O. informed the Police about the revolver parcel. His salary is increased to Rs. 60 from Rs. 40. He is an inhabitant of Panchdoma in Naraingunj Sub-division.

SEQUEL TO MIDNAPUR BOMB CASE.

Babu Peary Mohan Das, father of Santosh Das of Midnapore has brought a suit claiming Rs. 10,000 as damages, for malicious prosecution against Mr. Weston, Babu Lal Mohan Guha and Mouli Mazhar Hui in the Court of the first Subordinate Judge of Midnapore. It is in contemplation to get the suit transferred to the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court.

A QUEER INCIDENT.

On the 16th instant a Bengali boy aged 12 years, brother of a Lahore journalist was accosted while going to school by a man and was engaged in a talk on Swadehi. The man when offered to provide the boy with a bomb and told him to take it home and use it when necessary. Upon this the boy got frightened and ran away to school.

THE SEERA DACTYLE.

Information has reached us that Babu Tinsawli Das of Mazipur has been arrested in his house on the 13th November. Another young man named Bhushan Chandra Mitter of Haridwar has also been arrested on suspicion in connection with this case.

NEWS.

THE AHMEDABAD INCIDENT.

Surendranath Ganeshpersad Banerji, a Bengalee aged about twenty was arrested at Nana's chowk Garden, yesterday morning while Viceroy's procession was to pass along that road. He was found loitering about and was arrested on suspicion. He is suspected of being connected in the bomb outrage at Ahmedabad and will be taken there for being identified by Mr. Barrow who says he had seen a young Hindu throwing something at the Viceroy's carriage and would be able to identify him if placed before him. Mr. Barrow visited the injured Hindu in Ahmedabad hospital and at once said he was not the man who threw the missile at the Viceroy. The dying deposition of the injured man was recorded yesterday, particulars of which are not made public.

In poster Pettigara of the Criminal Investigation Department Bombay arrested one Nandlal Pranshunker alias Kanchan Kumar, a resident of Omreth in the Khayra District on suspicion of his being concerned in the attempted bomb outrage at Ahmedabad. Nandlal is a young Hindu of twenty-five and had once been convicted of rioting in Bombay during the Tilak trial last year. He was arrested at Cowasji Patel Tank Road last evening and was placed to-day before Res Bahadur Setty of the Third Presidency Magistrate. Application was made to remand the accused in police custody. The accused opposed the application, stating that he had children and that his wife was ill. The Magistrate however granted the remand applied for. Kanchan Kumar will also be probably taken to Ahmedabad for identification by Mr. Barrow Commissioner Northern Division.

THE AGRA POLICE TORTURE CASE.

The Agra Police Torture case in which Sub-Inspector Gajadhar Prasad was charged with assault on men and women in his circle, wrongful confinement to extort money etc. has at last gone up for revision before the Sessions Judge of Agra and continues to create the greatest interest in local circles. It would be remembered that the Joint Magistrate of Agra had previously referred the charges and discharge to the Sessions. Against this decision a Special Appeal was filed a prayer for revision and this has now been granted at public

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Special Report on Industries, p. 10, para. 1.
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NEWS.

ANTI-HINDU WRITINGS IN THE "AFGHAN."

A meeting of the Hindus was held at Dera Ismail Khan to protest against the Anti-Hindu articles which appeared in the "Afghan." They have sent a memorial to the Local Government praying that action should be taken against the paper for setting class against class.

SUIT FOR DAMAGES.

The test suit for damages instituted by Babu Ananda Chandra Roy, President of the Dacca People's Association, against Khajeh Mahomed Yusuff Chairman of Dacca Municipality for having withdrawn permission already given to hold a boycott celebration in the Northbrook Hall, is one which is sure to excite considerable interest. The amount of damage is a paltry one—only Rs. 13, but it involves a great principle and as such the result will be anxiously awaited.

THE RAJNAGORE DACOITY.

In connection with the Rajnagore dacoity, the Kotwali Police, headed by Deputy Superintendent, Chakravarty, searched the house and the stationery shop of Dr. Provat Chandra Sen, proprietor of the Imperial Seminary, a local Entrance School, and after examining some books and documents, took away nearly Rs. 1,200 in ornament and cash.

The house of Rasik Babu, a jute merchant, was also searched and his son, Jogesh, an accused in the Janmasthanu stabbing case was arrested. The Police also took away a necklace of Jogesh's mother. The search continued for two hours from 1-30 A. M. Jogesh is in the lock-up. The money has been returned to Provat Babu.

The local C. I. D. have arrested two young men named Upendra Chakravarti and Hem Sen of Madhyadara Vikrampur in connection with the train dacoity near Sripur. They are now in the lock up and bail has been refused.

Shanti Chandra Mukherjee the boy who was arrested here some six months ago on a warrant issued by the Faridpur Magistrate in connection with Narin dacoity and subsequently refused bail has been discharged. The Magistrate will be moved to-day to grant him bail for Dacca Magistrate's charge.

There is yet no authentic details as to the daring post office robbery which was attempted at Malkangar Taltollah, near Dacca, three days ago. The postmaster and peon it seems were attacked with knives by the depredators, who killed them by cutting their throats. The post office safe, however, was left intact ostensibly, because the dacoits were unable to find the key as they hoped to do. There is no information as to whether the robbery was committed by bhadraklog youths, as is thought in the two recent dacoities already reported. The police are actively engaged making inquiries.

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NOTIFICATION.

(2) A member elected or nominated to fill a casual vacancy occurring by reason of absence from India inability to attend to duty, death acceptance of office or resignation duly accepted or otherwise, or a member nominated on failure of an electorate to elect an eligible person shall hold office as long as the member whose place he fills would have been entitled to hold offices if the vacancy had not occurred.

VACANCIES.

VI. (1) When a vacancy occurs in the case of a member who represents any interest specified in Regulation II or at any time within three months of the date when such a vacancy will occur in the ordinary course of events the Lieutenant-Governor shall by notification as aforesaid, call upon the electorate concerned to elect a person for the purpose of filling the vacancy within such time as may be prescribed by such notification.

(2) When a vacancy occurs in the case of a nominated member, the Lieutenant-Governor may, with the sanction of the Governor-General, nominate any person to the vacancy.

Provided that when a casual vacancy occurs in the case of an elected Member the election shall always be made by the same electorate as that which elected the Member whose place is to be filled and shall be subject to the same conditions in respect of eligibility of candidates for nomination as those which governed the election of such Member.

FAILURE TO ELECT.

XII. If within the time prescribed by notification issued under Regulation VIII, clause (1) or Regulation XI clause (1) the electorate concerned fails to elect, the Lieutenant-Governor may, with the like sanction nominate at his discretion any person who is eligible for election by such electorate.

QUORUM.]

XIII. The power of making laws and regulations or of transacting other business vested in the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shall be exercised only at meetings at which—

- (a) the Lieutenant Governor, or
- (b) the Vice-President appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor under section 4 of the Indian Councils Act, (c) 1909 or in the case of the discussions referred to in section 5 of the said Act, a member appointed to preside in pursuance of a rule made under that section, and ten or more members of the Council are present.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

XIV. (1) No election shall be valid if any corrupt practice is committed in connection therewith by the candidate elected.

(2) A person shall be deemed to commit a corrupt practice within the meaning of these Regulations—

(i) Who with a view to inducing any voter to give or to refrain from giving a vote in favour of any candidate offers or gives any money or valuable consideration or holds out any promise of individual profit or holds out any threat of injury, to any person, or.

(ii) Who gives, procures or abets the giving of a vote in the name of a voter who is not the person giving such vote.

And a corrupt practice shall be deemed to be committed by a candidate if it is committed with his knowledge and consent or by a person who is acting under the general or special authority of such candidate with reference to the election.

Explanation—A "promise of individual profit" includes a promise for the benefit of the person himself, or of any in whom he is interested.

XV. No election shall be invalid by reason of a non-compliance with the rules contained in the Schedules to the Regulations, or any mistake in the use of forms annexed thereto, if it appears that the election was conducted in accordance with the principles laid down in such rules and that such non-compliance or mistake did not affect the result of the election.

DISPUTES AS TO VALIDITY OF ELECTION.

XVI (1) If the validity of any election is brought in question by any person qualified either to be elected or to vote at such election on the ground of the improper rejection or reception of a nomination or of a vote or of any corrupt practice in connection with such election or for any time within fifteen days from the date of the publication of the result of such election in the local official Gazette, apply to the Local Government to set aside such election.

(2) The Lieutenant-Governor shall, after such enquiry (if any) as he may consider necessary declare by notification as aforesaid whether the candidate whose election is questioned or any or what other person was duly elected, or whether the election was void.

(3) If the election is declared void, the Lieutenant-Governor shall by notification as aforesaid call upon the electorate concerned to elect another person within such time as may be prescribed by such notification.

(4) If within the time so prescribed the electorate fails to elect the Lieutenant-Governor may with the sanction of the Governor-General nominate any

person who is eligible for election by such electorate.

FINALITY OF DECISIONS.

XVII. The decision of the Lieutenant-Governor on any question that may arise as to the intention construction or application of these Regulations shall be final.

FIRST ELECTIONS.

XVIII (1) As soon as conveniently may be after these Regulations come into force, Council shall be constituted in accordance with their provisions.

(2) For this purpose the Lieutenant-Governor shall by notification as aforesaid call upon the electorates referred to in Regulation III to elect members in accordance with these Regulations within such time as may be prescribed by such notification.

(3) If within time so prescribed any such class fails to elect the Lieutenant-Governor may nominate at his discretion for a period not exceeding six months any person who is eligible for election by such class.

RULES FOR ELECTION. BY THE CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA.

1. The member specified in Regulation II, sub-head (i) shall be elected by the Commissioners of the Corporation of Calcutta in accordance with the procedure hereinafter prescribed.

2. On or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf a special meeting of the Corporation shall be convened by the Chairman of the Corporation for the purpose of the election.

Provided that not less than fifteen clear days before the date fixed for such meeting the chairman shall send to each Commissioner a written notice informing him of the time and place fixed for such meeting.

3. (1) Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations, who is a Commissioner of the Corporation, may be nominated as a candidate for election.

(2) Such nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in Form I which shall be supplied by the Chairman to every Commissioner applying for the same.

(3) Each nomination paper shall be subscribed by two Commissioners as proposer and seconder.

Provided that no Commissioner shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers which are not received by the Chairman at least seven

clear days before the date fixed for the meeting shall be rejected.

5. (1) If one candidate is only duly nominated, the Chairman shall forthwith declare such candidate to be elected.

(2) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the Chairman shall forthwith prepare a list of such candidates containing their names and addresses, and shall cause such list to be posted in a conspicuous place at his office.

6. At the meeting at which the election is held the Chairman shall read out the names of all nominated candidates.

7. The voting shall be by ballot, and each Commissioner shall have one vote only.

8. When the counting of the votes has been completed by the Chairman, he shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes has been given to be elected.

9. Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the Chairman and in such manner as he may determine.

10. The Chairman shall report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

11. Any of the functions assigned to the Chairman of the Corporation under this Schedule may be delegated by him to the Vice-Chairman or Deputy Chairman.

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2. The member specified in Regulation II, sub-head (ii) shall be elected by the vote of the members of the Senate and Honorary Fellows of the University of Calcutta having a place of residence in India (hereafter referred to as electors).

(1) Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations who is entitled to vote under this Schedule, may be nominated as a candidate for election.

(2) Such nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in Form I which shall be signed by the returning officer and sent by him by registered post on or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf to each elector whose address in India has been registered at the office of the returning officer.

Provided that the nomination paper shall also be supplied to any such elector on his applying to the returning officer for the same at any time before the day appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers.

(3) Each nomination paper shall be subscribed by two electors as proposer and seconder.

Provided that no elector shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

4. Nomination papers which are not received by the returning officer before the day appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers shall be rejected.

(1) On the date and at the time and place appointed by the Local Government for the scrutiny of nomination papers every candidate and his proposer and seconder may attend, and the returning officer shall allow them to examine the nomination papers of all candidates which have been received by him as aforesaid.

(2) The returning officer shall examine the nomination papers and may, of his own motion or on objection made, reject any nomination paper on the ground that it does not comply with the provisions of rule 3, sub-rule (3), and his decision shall be endorsed upon such paper and shall be final subject to reversal by the Local Government in the

event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

(1) If one candidate only is duly nominated, the returning officer shall forthwith declare such candidate to be elected.

(2) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the returning officer shall forthwith publish their names and addresses in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe, and shall further cause their names to be entered in voting papers in Form II.

(3) On or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, the returning officer shall send by registered post to each elector then residing in India whose address has been registered at the office of the returning officer one such voting paper signed by the returning officer.

Provided that such a voting paper shall also be supplied to any such elector on his applying to the returning officer for the same at any time before the day appointed for the counting of votes, and that no election shall be invalidated by reason of non-receipt by an elector of his voting paper.

7. On the date and at the time and place appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, every elector desirous of recording his vote in the presence of the returning officer shall attend for the purpose, and after recording his vote on the voting paper in the manner prescribed therein deliver the same to the returning officer.

8. Any elector not desirous of recording his vote in the presence of the returning officer may send his voting paper by registered post to the returning officer after recording his vote thereon in the manner prescribed therein.

Provided that voting papers which are not received by the returning officer before the day appointed for the counting of votes shall be rejected.

(1) On receiving the voting papers the returning officer shall examine them to see whether they have been correctly filled up.

(2) The returning officer shall endorse "rejected" on any voting paper which he may reject, on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(3) The returning officer shall fold the lower portion of every paper, whether

valid or invalid, along the dotted line on the back so as to conceal the name of the elector, and shall seal down the portion thus folded with his official seal.

10. (1) The returning officer shall attend for the purpose of counting the votes on such date at such time and place as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf.

(2) Every candidate may be present in person, or may send a representative duly authorised by him in writing, to watch the process of counting.

The returning officer shall show the voting papers sealed as provided by rule 9 to the candidates or their representatives.

(4) If an objection is made to any voting paper on the ground that it does not comply with the instruction therein or to the rejection by the returning officer of a voting paper, it shall be decided at once by the returning officer, whose decision shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

(5) In such a case the returning officer shall record on the voting paper the nature of the objection and his decision thereon.

11. (1) When the counting of the vote has been completed, the returning officer shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes has been given to be elected.

(To be continued.)

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Mercy.

The outcry of the Moderates against the exclusion of their best men has led to certain concessions by which apparently the Government hope to minimise or obviate the formidable opposition that is slowly gathering head against the new Councils. These concessions remove not a single objectionable principle from the Bill. They are evidently designed to facilitate the admission into the Council of the two men in Bengal whose opposition may prove most harmful to the chances of the exceedingly skilful Chinese puzzle called the Councils Regulations by, which the consummate tacticians of Simla hope to preserve full control for the authorities while earning the credit of a liberal and popular reform. The modification by which men who have served three years on a Municipality become eligible even if they are no longer on any such body at the time of election, seems specially designed to admit Sj. Bhupendranath Bose who, with all the other well-known men of Bengal, was excluded by the careful provisions of the Scheme. But to have placated Si. Bhupendranath and at the same time disqualified the greater Moderate leader would obviously have been an infructuous concession. Accordingly, we are

now given to understand that the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to intimate to the most powerful man in Bengal that, if he stands for election, the disqualification under which he has been placed, will be waived as a special concession in his favour! We do not know what were the feelings of Sj. Surendra Nath when he was informed that this back-door had been opened to him by the indulgence of the bureaucracy to its dismissed servant. But to us the permission seems to be more humiliating and injurious than the original exclusion, - to Bengal, if not to Surendranath personally. As things stand, he cannot make use of the concession without forfeiting his already much-imperilled popularity and putting himself uselessly into a ridiculous and undignified position. If he stood now, the whole country would believe that his dissatisfaction with the Reforms was due to his personal exclusion and not to the vicious principles of the Scheme. He would enter not in his own right, but by the grace and mercy of the bureaucracy of whom he has been the life-long opponent. And to what end? To stand isolated or with a handful of ineffective votes against a solid phalanx of officials, Government nominees, Europeans, Mahomedans and lukewarm waverers or reactionaries. Sj. Surendranath gains nothing for himself or the

country by entering the Councils on these shameful terms, he gains every thing by holding aloof and standing out for better conditions.

An Ominous Presage.

The *Indian Daily News* nowadays plays the Statesman's abandoned role of the Friend of India. This journal has been recently harping on the necessity of the reform of the Municipalities and throwing out suggestions of the lines on which these reforms should be framed. We cannot imagine anything more ominous, more fatal to the little of self-government that we possess, than these suggested reforms. We pointed out in our article on the Reforms that under this scheme the Municipalities were the only weak point in the Government's armour and we uttered a prophecy that the Government would follow the policy of thorough and mend this vulnerable part. This is precisely what our Anglo-Indian "friend" earnestly and repeatedly calls on them to do without farther delay. The principle to be enforced is that same false, vicious and antedemocratic principle of the representation of separate interests which has made the new Reforms a blow straight at the heart of progress instead of an important step in progressive development. It is true that the *Daily News* deprecates separate electorates and advocates official control veiled and occasional instead of

official control insistent, naked and unashamed. But we know perfectly well that official control veiled and occasional, as in the universities, can be made as potent and effective a weapon for the suppression of independent action as official control direct and habitual. And if the European, the Mahomedan and the landlord are to predominate in the Municipalities as in the reformed councils and the representation of the "professional classes" carefully restricted, we do not care whether it is done by separate electorates or by some other equally careful manipulation of the electoral lists. The result will be the same. The *Daily News* seems to be inspired in its anxiety for reform by two lofty motives, the predominance of the European vote, wealthy but small in numbers, and the distinction of the predominance of the professional men who, under present circumstances, can alone represent educated India. On the Councils the non-official European representation is small, not in proportion to the numbers of its constituency, but in its comparative voting power, yet this class is on the whole satisfied, because it not only gets what it knows to be disproportionately large representation but can be sure of the co-operation of the official in furthering its interests. On the Municipalities, if the direct official control disappears, it will be necessary for the European vote to be dominant so as to prevent a combination of other elements from pushing other interests to the detriment of European privilege or monopoly. The distinction which this journal, in common with other Anglo-Indian papers, draws between men with a real stake in the country and educated men, who apparently because of their education have none, shed a flood of light on the kind of friendship which it cherishes for the people of this country.

Chowringhee Humour.

The *Statesman* as a friend was intolerable; as a humourist it is hardly less difficult to bear. There was an elephantine attempt at sardonic humour in a recent article in which it weightily urged the educated community to overlook defects and take full and generous advantage of the great opportunity from the benefits of which they have been excluded. That is the peculiar humour of these reforms.

They are a Barmecide's feast, gorgeous dishes and silver covers with only unsubstantial air inside, and even from that chameleon's feast the educated classes are carefully excluded, except in a pitifully infinitesimal degree. Yet the Anglo-Indian papers are indignantly remonstrating with the educated classes for not crowding to the table where there are no seats for them and feasting themselves fat on the dainty invisible meats which others are so eager to partake of. It may be asked why others are so anxious for these aerial privileges. Well, that is because it is only the educated classes who are really hungry for substantial political food, the others are eager to see and handle the gorgeous dishes and the silver covers, to say nothing of the kudos or of having dined at so rich a house and its material advantages to the individual. But the educated Hindus have had a surfeit of specious outsides and are learning to merge the interests of the individual in the good of the nation.

The Last Resort.

The resort to boycott is becoming instinctive in men's blood; not only in India but everywhere, men confronted by opposition of a nature which renders it impossible to deal with it effectively, take to boycott with an admirable spontaneity. The rapid spread of this ancient Indian device since China and India applied it for the first time on the gigantic Asiatic scale, is a sign of the times. We can naturally understand the feeling of discomfort which leads the Anglo-Indian papers to deprecate this move on the part of the Moderates. It is true that the reported agreement to boycott the Councils has been denied by representatives of Moderate opinion, but, whether a formal resolution to the effect was recorded or not at the momentous meeting in the Indian Association's rooms, it is this policy which the Moderates are following for the excellent reason that there is no other. As they pathetically complain, it is not they who have boycotted the Government but the Government which has boycotted them. That is not, of course, literally true. S. J. Ambikacharan Majumdar who has refused to stand as a candidate, is eligible under the Government rules; the disabilities in the way of S. J. Bhupendranath and Surendranath

have been waived or removed. But this the Government has taken care to ensure, that if they enter, and evidently the Government desires that they should enter, it shall be as grandiose nonentities, stripped of all powerful backing, individual voices and nothing more. Co-operation on such conditions would be the end of the Moderate party in Bengal and the absolute destruction of the Moderates is an event, which, we confess, we could not contemplate with equanimity. We need a party which will form a convenient channel through which the Government can glide gradually down the path of concession until events have educated our bureaucracy to the point of recognizing the necessity of negotiation with the Nationalists. We are therefore glad that the Government has made it imperative on the Moderates to answer boycott with boycott. We have expressed our admiration of the skill with which the Reform Regulations have been framed, but it is the skill of the keen-eyed but limited tactician, cleverly manipulating forces for a small immediate gain, not of the far-seeing political strategist. On the contrary, the framers have flung away supports which they ought to have secured and secured others which are either weak or unreliable. The nonentities who are scrambling for a seat in the Council cannot hold the fort for them; the support of the landholders is lacking in sincerity and they are, besides, a force the bureaucracy themselves have stripped ruthlessly of their ancient strength and leadership, which cannot now be recovered by a seat on the Councils: the Muslims have suddenly been raised by the amazingly shortsighted policy of Lord Morley into an eager, ambitious and pushing political force which will demand a higher and ever higher price for its support. On the other hand the Moderates have been humiliated in the sight of all India and made a general laughing stock, and the entire Hindu community, always the mightiest in potentiality in the land and now growing conscious of its might, has been put far on the way to becoming a permanent and embittered opposition. O wonders of Anglo-Indian statesmanship!

THE MEN THAT PASS.

Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt is dead. After a long life of the most manifold and untiring energy, famous, honored, advanced in years, with a name known in England as well as India the man always successful, always favoured of Fortune, always striving to deserve her by skill and diligence, type of a race that passes, of a generation that to younger minds is fast losing the appearance of reality and possibility, has passed away at the height and summit of his career before his great capacities could justify themselves to the full in his new station, but also before the defects of his type could be thoroughly subjected to the severe ordeal of the times that have come upon us. The landmarks of the past fall one by one and none rise in their place. The few great survivors here and there become more and more dignified monuments of the last century and less and less creators of the living present. New ideals, new problems, new men, almost a new race wholly different in mind, character, temperament, feeling, rise swiftly and wait till they can open the gates of the future and occupy the field of action.

The official, the Congress politician, the wellread litterateur, the Oriental scholar, the journalist, proficient in English and fluent of Western ideas, the professional man successful and sleek, these were the foremost men of the old generation, those who were in the eyes of all *sashita*, the best, in whose footsteps, therefore, all strove to follow and on whose pattern all formed themselves. An active, self-confident, voiceful generation making up by these qualities for the lack of height, depth and breadth in their culture and atoning for the unoriginal imitativeness to which they were doomed, by the fidelity in detail and framework of the imitation! In all but one of these lines of activity Mr. Dutt had achieved a high distinction among the men of his own generation, and we doubt whether another man could be pointed out among them so many-sided, so full of strength and hope and energy, so confident, so uniformly successful. Nature was

liberal to him of her gifts. Fortune of her favours. A splendid physique, robust and massive equipped him to bear the strain of an unceasing activity: a nature buoyant, sanguine, strong, as healthy as his frame, armed him against the shocks of life and commanded success by insisting upon it; an egoism natural to such a robust vitality seized on all things as its provender and enabled its possessor thoroughly to enjoy the good things of life, which it successfully demanded; a great tact and savoir faire steered him clear of unnecessary friction and avoidable difficulties; an unrivalled quickness of grasp, absorption and assimilation, more facile than subtle or deep, helped him to make his own all that he heard or read; a rapid though not ingenious brain showed him how to use his material with the best effect and most practical utility; and a facile pen and speech which never paused for a thought or a word, could always be trusted to clothe what he wished to convey in a form respectable and effective and so well put as to conceal the absence of native literary faculty and intellectual distinction. These were Nature's presents to him at his birth. Fortune placed him in a wealthy, wellread and wellknown family, gave him the best advantages of education the times could afford, sent him to England and opened the doors of the Civil Service, the pinnacle of the young Indian's aspiration in his days, and crowned him with the highest prizes that that highest of careers could yield to a man of his hue and blood. It is characteristic of his career that he should have died as Prime Minister of the Indian State which has been most successful in reproducing and improving upon the Anglo-Indian model of administration.

There were limits, as we have hinted, to the liberality of Nature. Of all the great Bengalis of his time Romesh Chandra Dutt was perhaps the least original. His administrative faculties were of the second order, not of the first; though he stood for a time foremost among the most active of Congress politicians and controversialists, he was neither a Ranade nor a Surendranath, had neither the gift of the organiser and political thinker nor

the gift of the orator; he had literary talent of an imitative kind but no literary genius; he wrote well on scholastic subjects and translated pleasantly and effectively, but was no great Sanskrit scholar; he cannot rank with Ranade or even with Mr. Gokhale as an economist, and yet his are the most politically effective contributions to economical literature that recent years have produced. It must be admitted that his activity and dexterity of work were far in excess of his literary ability or scholastic conscientiousness. It is doubtful, therefore, whether any of his voluminous work in many kinds will be much longer remembered, with the possible exception of his Bengali historical novels in which he touched highwater mark. His translation of the Rigveda by its ease and crispness blinds the uninitiated reader to the fact that it may be a very pretty translation but it is not the Veda. His history of ancient Indian civilisation is a masterly compilation, void of original research, which is rapidly growing antiquated. In fact, the one art Mr Dutt had in the highest degree and in which alone it can be said that he did not only well but best, was the art of the journalist and the pamphleteer. Originality and deep thought; are not required of a journalist, nor delicacy, nor subtlety, nor deep thought his success would be limited rather than assisted by such qualities. To seize victoriously on the available materials, catch in them what will be interesting and effective and put it brightly and clearly, this is the dharma of the journalist, and, if we add the power of making the most of a case and enforcing a given view with irresistible energy, dexterity and apparent unanswerableness, we shall have added all that is necessary to turn the journalist into the pamphleteer. No man of our time has had these gifts to the same extent as Mr. Dutt. The best things he ever did were, in our view, his letters to Lord Curzon and his Economic History. The former fixed public opinion in India irretrievably and nobody cared even to consider Lord Curzon's answer. "That settles it" was the general feeling every ordinary reader contracted for good after reading Romesh Dutt's brilliant and telling indictments.

Without the Economic History and its damning story of England's commercial and fiscal dealings with India we doubt whether the public mind would have been ready for the Boycott. In this one instance it may be said of him that he not only wrote history but created it. But all his works, with the exception of the historical novels, were rather pieces of successful journalism and electioneering than literature. Still, even where it was most defective, his work was always useful to the world. For instance, his Ramayan and Mahabharata, though they are execrable poetry and do unpardonable violence to the spirit of the original, yet familiarised the average reader in England with the stories of the epics and thus made the way easy for future interpreters of the East to the West. In brief, this may be said in unstinted praise of Romesh Chandra Dutt, that he was a gigantic worker and did an immense amount of pioneer spadework by which the future will benefit.

We have dwelt on this interesting and vigorous personality as one of the most typical of the men that pass, much more typical than greater or more original contemporaries. The work they did is over and the qualities with which they were equipped for that work will no longer sufficiently serve our purpose. An education at once more subtle and more massive, a great originality, force and range of intellectual activity, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, the glut of a giant for work and action, mighty qualities of soul, a super-human courage, self-abnegation and power to embrace and practise almost impossible ideals, these are the virtues and gifts India demands from the greatest among her sons in the future so that they may be sufficient to her work and her destinies. But such gifts as Romesh Dutta possessed are not to be despised. Especially did his untiring capacity for work and his joyous vitality and indestructible buoyancy make him a towering reproach to the indolent, listless, sneering and anaemic generation that intervened between him and the recent renaissance.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

III

The work of purifying conduct through outward form and habitual and seemly regulation of expression, manner and action is the lowest of the many services which the artistic sense has done to humanity, and yet how wide is the field it covers and how important and indispensable have its workings been to the progress of civilisation! A still more important and indispensable activity of the sense of beauty is the powerful help it has given to the formation of morality. We do not ordinarily recognise how largely our sense of virtue is a sense of the beautiful in conduct and our sense of sin a sense of ugliness and deformity in conduct. It may easily be recognised in the lower and more physical workings, as for instance in the shuddering recoil from cruelty, blood, torture as things intolerably hideous to sight and imagination or in the aesthetic disgust at sensual excesses and the strong sense, awakened by this disgust, of the charm of purity and the beauty of virginity. This latter feeling was extremely active in the imagination of the Greeks and other nations not noted for a high standard in conduct, and it was purely aesthetic in its roots. Pity again is largely a vital instinct in the ordinary man associated with *jugupsa*, the loathing for the hideousness of its opposite, *ghrina*, disgust at the sordidness and brutality of cruelty, hardness and selfishness as well as at the ugliness of their actions so, that a common word for cruel in the Sanscrit language is *nirghrina*, the man without disgust or loathing, and the word *ghrina* approximates in use to *kripa*, the lower or vital kind of pity. But even on a higher plane the sense of virtue is very largely aesthetic and, even when it emerges from the aesthetic stage, must always call the sense of the beautiful to its support if it is to be safe from the revolt against it of one of the most deep-seated of human instincts. We can see the largeness of this element if we study the ideas of the Greeks, who never got beyond the aesthetic stage of morality. There were four gradations in Greek ethical thought,

—the *euprepes*, that which is seemly or outwardly decorous: the *dikaion*, that which is in accordance with *dike* or *nomos*, the law, custom and standard of humanity based on the sense of fitness and on the codified or uncoded mass of precedents in which that sense has been expressed in general conduct,—in other words the just or lawful; thirdly, the *agathon*, the good, based partly on the seemly and partly on the just and lawful, and reaching towards the purely beautiful; then, final and supreme, the *kalon*, that which is purely beautiful, the supreme standard. The most remarkable part of Aristotle's moral system is that in which he classifies the parts of conduct not according to our idea of virtue and sin, *papa* and *punya*, but by a purely aesthetic standard, the excess, defect and golden, in other words correct and beautiful, mean of qualities. The Greek view of life was imperfect even from the standpoint of beauty, not only because the idea of beauty was not sufficiently catholic and too much attached to a fastidious purity of form and outline and restraint, but because they were deficient in love. God as beauty, Srikrishna in Brindavan, Shyamamundara, is not only Beauty. He is also Love, and without perfect love there cannot be perfect beauty, and without perfect beauty there cannot be perfect delight. The aesthetic motive in conducts limit and must be exceeded in order that humanity may rise. Therefore it was that the Greek mould had to be broken and humanity even revolted for a time against beauty. The *agathon*, the good, had to be released for a time from the bondage of the *kalon*, the aesthetic sense of beauty, just as it is now struggling to deliver itself from the bondage of the *euprepes* and the *dikaion*, mere decorousness, mere custom, mere social law and rule. The excess of this anti-aesthetic tendency is visible in Puritanism and the baser forms of asceticism. The progress of ethics in Europe has been largely a struggle between the Greek sense of aesthetic beauty and the Christian sense of a higher good marred on the one side by formalism, on the other by an unlovely asceticism. The association of the latter with virtue has largely driven the sense of beauty to the side of vice. The good must not be sub-

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ordinated to the aesthetic sense, but it must be beautiful and delightful, or to that extent it ceases to be good. The object of existence is not the practise of virtue for its own sake but ananda, delight, and progress consists not in rejecting beauty and delight, but in rising from the lower to the higher, the less complete to the more complete beauty and delight.

The third activity of aesthetic faculty, higher than the two already described, the highest activity of the artistic sense before it rises to the plane of the intellect, is the direct purifying of the emotions. This is the katharsis of which Aristotle spoke. The sense of pleasure and delight in the emotional aspects of life and action, this is the poetry of life, just as the regulating and beautiful arrangement of character and action is the art of life. We have seen how the latter purifies, but the purifying force of the former is still more potent for good. Our life is largely made up of the eight rasas. The movements of the heart in its enjoyment of action, its own and that of others, may either be directed downwards, as is the case with the animals and animal men, to the mere satisfaction of the ten sense organs and the vital desires which make instruments of the senses in the average sensual man, or they may work for the satisfaction of the heart itself in a predominately emotional enjoyment of life, or they may be directed upwards through the medium of the intellect rational and intuitional to attainment of delight through the seizing on the source of all delight, the Spirit, the satyam, sundaram, anandam who is beyond and around, the source and the basis of all this worldwide activity, evolution and progress. When the heart works for itself, then it enjoys the poetry of life, the delight of emotions, the wonder, pathos, beauty, enjoyableness, loveableness, calm, serenity, clarity and also the grandeur, heroism, passion, fury, terror and horror of life, of man, of Nature, of the phenomenal manifestation of God. This is not the highest, but it is higher than the animal, vital and externally aesthetic developments. The large part it plays in life is obvious, but

in life it is hampered by the demands of the body and the vital passions. Here comes in the first mighty utility, the triumphant activity of the most energetic forms of art and poetry. They provide a field in which these pressing claims of the animal can be excluded and the emotions, working disinterestedly for the satisfaction of the heart and the imagination alone, can do the work of katharsis, emotional purification, of which Aristotle spoke. Chittasuddhi, the purification of the heart, is the appointed road by which man arrives at his higher fulfilment, and, if it can be shown that poetry and art are powerful agents towards that end, their supreme importance is established. They are that, and more than that. It is only one of the great uses of these things which men nowadays are inclined to regard as mere ornaments of life and therefore of secondary importance.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

Prof. Jitendra Lal Bannerji on Western Civilisation.

—oO—

In his interesting and readable article on "Aravinda Ghosh—a study," Prof. Jitendra Lal Bannerji makes remarks which, I am sure, will be deplored by every right-thinking man in the country. I, of course, do not find fault with him for eulogising Mr. Aravinda Ghosh in the manner he does. Every man has the right to worship his hero. To speak the truth I sincerely respect Prof. Bannerji for being so good a hero-worshipper. He evidently does not belong to the class of men who find none to admire in this wide world. What I greatly deplore is the language he uses in characterising Western civilisation. "Western civilisation" we are informed "had lost its gloss and glamour for him. He had penetrated behind its glittering outer shell of painted brilliance and had sounded to the depth all its baldness, coarseness, barrenness and the barbarism of its inner significance." Now it is unnecessary to say anything in praise of Western civilisation. It is not on its trial and requires no defence. Even the greatest detractors of it pay homage to it in the daily acts of their life. Suffice it to say that if it had been anything like what Prof. Bannerji paints it to be, it would not have dominated the world and been in the ascendant. No sham ever endures in God's world. To call a civilisation which has produced Shakespeare and Milton, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelly and Byron, Goethe and Schiller, Tennyson and Browning, Descartes and Spinoza, Kant and Hegel,

Newton and Leibnitz, Darwin and Spencer, Carlyle and Emerson, and the list might be indefinitely prolonged, "bald, coarse, barren and barbarous" in its inner significance, is—well, what shall I say? Language of this sort is the stock in trade of the baser kind of journals in this country, but is quite unworthy of a man of culture like Prof. Bannerji. I particularly object to Prof. Bannerji's language because of the infinite mischief which the sentiment it expresses is doing in this country. It is the seamy side of the nationalist movement in Bengal and is sure, if unchecked, ultimately to destroy whatever good has come out of it. A man who respects himself respects others. Respect for others is the correlative of self-respect. "Be a person and respect others as persons," is, according to a great philosopher, a fundamental principle of practical life. What is true of individual life is also true of national life. A self-respecting nation respects other nations and a nation that does not respect other nations, does not in reality respect itself, in spite of appearances to the contrary. It is especially necessary for us, at the present stage of our progress, not to allow the faculty of admiration to grow weak. It is undeniable that we have still much to learn from the West. Such a belief may be unfashionable and unpopular at the present day, but, nevertheless, it is absolutely true. If we are unable to appreciate all that is great and good in the civilisation of the West, the losers shall be we and not the West. The onward march of Western civilisation will not be arrested by our failure to appreciate it, but the cause of progress in this country will suffer an irreparable loss.

Let us not hate others and overestimate ourselves. The feelings of overestimation and contempt, Spinoza truly says, are always evil. No lasting good ever comes out of hatred. It is love alone that avails in the long run, whatever the appearances may be. It is greatly to be regretted that gifted men like Prof. Bannerji, instead of combating the rampant mischief of the prevalent race-hatred, should however unwittingly, foment it. If the race feeling displayed by Anglo-Indians is bad, the race feeling displayed by Indians cannot be good. Let us have faith, surrounded though we are by circumstances that sorely try it, in the all-conquering power of love and remember that higher than nationalities, embracing them all and as the Organic Unity of them, though, as yet, only ideally, is Humanity.

BARRAMPUR. HIRALAL HALDAR.
November, 5 1909.

'Western Civilization.'

While thanking Prof. Haldar for the courteous tone of his comments I cannot say that this criticism has been very helpful or illuminating to me. Apparently he objects to the disparaging nature of my remarks on Western Civilization; and from that I may infer that he has a preference, or at any rate a high

'The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market.'

regard for this civilization. But he does not stop to make clear the grounds of this regard or this preference or what ever it may be called. He contents himself with vague generalities? and— I hope he will pardon me for saying it—he seems to be labouring under a certain confusion and haziness of thought.

Thus he says: "Western Civilization had been any thing like what Prof. Panerice paints it to be *'it would not have dominated the world and been in the ascendant.'*" Are we then to understand that material prosperity and dominance in the world are the best tests of civilization? We know indeed that this is a common fallacy but we had every reason to hope that Prof. Haldar would rise above this narrow and gross conception of civilization, as Ruskin is never tired of telling us, is primarily a thing of the heart; it makes men civil, humane, kindly, and generous. No doubt it issues in a system of outer conduct and life; but to take it as synonymous with material prosperity—to take it as comprised in mills and factories, in the railway and the steamship, or in the endless outer appertenances of modern life, is utterly to miss its meaning and significance.

Again Prof. Haldar says: "a nation that does not respect other nations, does not, in reality, respect itself." The sentiment sounds very beautiful and reads like a copy-book maxim. But it is such an obvious truism! and when trotted out with all the parade of a general truth, it seems so hollow and unmeaning. Let us take a concrete instance. The English are a self-respecting nation—so Prof. Haldar would readily admit. But do they just overflow with respect for other nations? Not even the boldest champion of Anglican civilization will have the hardihood to go so far as that.

Elsewhere Mr. Haldar says: "No sham ever endures in God's world." Again we feel tempted to exclaim—how like a copy-book maxim it reads! What an obvious truism it is! and what a profound fallacy it conceals! Even Carlyle, from whom Prof. Haldar borrows his remark, would say—no sham can ultimately endure in the world; but what prevents it from flourishing like a green bay-tree for large lengths of days and years? Is not the world encrusted thick with shams of very venerable antiquity—fossil remains of age-worn customs and obsolescent beliefs! and how can the besom of reform be better employed than in sweeping them away and purging the world from their corroding contagion. Because a certain type of civilization has existed for a certain length of time—are we to conclude that it must be excellent, because, forsooth, 'no sham can endure in God's world'? Obviously on the logic of Mr. Haldar, whatever

is good; for if it were bad, it would cease to be.

But all this is nothing to the purpose. Prof. Haldar, as I have said already, does not stop to make clear the grounds of his preference for Western civilization. We must, therefore, rest satisfied with such hints of preference as he has given us; and we find these hints in one sentence: "To call a civilization which has produced Shakespeare and Milton, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Byron..... Kant and Hegel, Darwin and Spencer, Carlyle and Emerson, and the list might be indefinitely prolonged, 'bald, coarse, barren, barbarous' is, well what shall I say?" As a matter of fact, he ends by saying: evidently my irreverence has scandalized him too much. But, while penitent for the shock I have given him, I may say that Prof. Haldar's mode of procedure is rather curious. He calls together the names of the best sons of Europe and America, claims them as the products of Western civilization, and then triumphantly asks—a civilization which produces Shakespeare and Milton, &c., how can it be called bald, barren, barbarous, etc? It is difficult to expose the accumulated fallacies underlying such a proposition as this. I must answer by saying that I deny the validity of Mr. Haldar's standard criticism, and I deny the soundness of his mode of applying that standard. In other words, I deny that the worth of a civilization is to be judged by the very best products of that civilization and what is more important I deny that Shakespeare, Milton, Kant and Spinoza are the fruits of Western civilization in the generally accepted sense of that word.

The first of these points may be briefly dismissed. How is the civilization of a country to be judged? Is it to be judged by the greatest men of that country—rare and gifted souls, men who are more for the universe than for any particular country and race, men who by the very splendour of their genius are not to be taken as typical of their country and race but are to be regarded as beings afar and apart?—or is it to be judged by the life and character of the generality of men living in that country? Evidently the latter would be the more preferable standard. To refer again to the remark of Ruskin quoted above—civilization is that which makes men civil, which chastens and subdues their hearts. Its potency therefore is to be judged by the width no less than by the depth of its influence. Whether Western civilization is good or bad therefore, will depend upon the answer to this further question—what is its effect upon the generality of men living according to its canons? Has it made them gentle and humane? Has it refined their

hearts and liberalised their minds? Has it made them restful and contented—at peace with themselves and in amity with the rest of the world? Has it helped them to harmonize themselves with the great march of phenomena in this moving cosmos of ours? Rightly or wrongly, I am of opinion that Western civilization has been judged by these standards and has been found wanting. I think that Western civilization, by drawing our attention too much to the things of the earth, blinds us to the spirit and takes off the finer and keener nebbage of our souls. I think further that Western civilization, with its exaggerated emphasis on the needs and pleasures of the individual, tends to make men hard, cold, and selfish; and, though it may make for material prosperity in the first instance, it is bound ultimately to end in red ruin and utter dissolution. No civilization which has made its basis on material comfort and material prosperity has ever been able to withstand the test of time. Egypt, Babylon, and Rome—what moral do they point? And the story of their fall—with what lesson is it fraught? Who knows, who can prophecy, that the civilization which has Paris, London, and New York for its holy places of pilgrimage is not destined to a ruin as utter irratrivable as that?

But let us proceed to our second contention. Prof. Haldar claims that Shakespeare, Milton, Kant, Hegel, Spinoza, Emerson, —all are the fruits of Western civilization. I do not understand on what principle he has lumped all these names together. What has Shakespeare in common with Milton or Wordsworth with Byron and Shelley or Goethe with Tennyson and Browning or either of these with Kant and Hegel? And what curious chance must it be which brings together Darwin and Carlyle or Spencer and Emerson? These were all born in Europe and America; but is that sufficient to claim them as the products of Western civilization? Do you find in Europe and America of the present day that universal human sympathy, that wide-eyed search for truth and beauty, that joy and delight in the bounty of heaven, which breathes through the plays of Shakespeare? or that austere and unbending purity and nobility of thought which lends added majesty to the grand organ-music of Milton? Where again in the Western world of the 20th century, do we find any trace of that 'God-intoxication', which filled to overflowing the pious soul of Spinoza? Or that lofty and passionate conception of morality which thunders through the categorical imperative of Kant? Goethe, Carlyle, Emerson, Kant, Spinoza are in no sense either the products, offspring, fathers or teachers of the money-loving

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money-hungry civilization of the West. To me rather they seem like steep and noble promontories which jut out from the level current of European life, while round them, at their base, boils, rolls, and eddies the turbid swell of modern civilization with its mad thirst for money and comfort its savage lust of power and dominion.

But this brings me to the one fundamental misconception which seems to underlie the whole tenour of Mr. Haldar's criticism. What is that we mean by Western civilization? Obviously we mean this by term the type of civilization which actually prevails in the West at the present time—a civilization which in theory rests upon the basis that the individual is the centre of the world and that the body is the God of the individual, and which in practice issues in social strife, in aggressive warfare, and in fierce commercial competition. It would lead to endless confusion if we were to identify Western civilization with Christianity with Hell-enism, with Calvinism with the culture of the Renaissance or with any of the various types of thought and sentiment which have prevailed and spread their sway in Europe from time to time. And yet this is precisely what Prof. Haldar has done. I may tell him, therefore, that I do not quarrel with that bright, vivid, lissome Hellenism which had Goethe for its fruit or that rigid austere semitic culture which gave Spinoza to the world. I do not quarrel with that deep-toned Hindu spiritualism, which, in the mysterious ways of Providence claimed Emerson for its own in the far-off savannahs of unquiet, busy America; nor do I quarrel with that joyous humanity of culture which born with the Renaissance had its crown and consummation in the bland and universal genius of Shakespeare. No, the civilization which I have sought to criticize is that hungry, money-loving, material civilization which dominates Western life at the present day, and of which we may say that Mammon is its God; mills, factories and coal-mines are its temples and stately pantheons of worship; while the blare of the steam-whistle and the roar of the dynamite are its timbrels and harps of gold it has been well said by Prof. Haldar that we must respect others if we respect ourselves. But see that the thing you respect is worthy of respect and see, above all that the divinity you worship does not turn out to be some grinning and ghastly skeleton, some painted and whitened sepulchre—some phantom-image like that of Nabuchadnezzar with a front of brass and feet of clay."

RAMPURHAT JITENDRALAL BANNERJEE
17th November, 1909.

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GULAB RANO CASE.

When the Musamat Gulab Rano case came up at the Lahore Chief Court to-day before Justices Robertson and Rattigan, Mr. Bevan Pottinger made a statement in which he outlined the Local Government's position.

Mr. Justice Robertson then read a lengthy order, in which he said that he and Mr. Justice Rattigan desire to express their sense of the courtesy to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for authorising the Government Advocate to make that statement. They fully recognised the position of Local Government in the matter, and they had not the slightest desire to enter into a controversy on the subject. He pointed out that he and his brother Judge approached this case in not the slightest spirit of controversy. The last thing they wanted to do was to trench on the privileges of the Executive in any way whatever. There was no controversial spirit in the action the Court was taking in the matter. It was simply because they had been looking very carefully into this case, and they considered that in the interests of the public it was desirable that they should look into it a little further. They were not going to discuss the correctness or incorrectness of the statements of the Resolution. What they proposed to do was to state clearly why they thought it necessary to go into the case and what they wanted to do. They were very jealous of their own privileges, but the last thing they wanted to do was to trench on the privileges of other people.

They also added the following rider to their judgment: No enquiry such as was suggested by us as desirable in our judgment of the 2nd December and with regard to the conduct of the police in regard to this case has been made by the executive authorities; but His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has called for a memorandum from the Superintendent of Police concerned, and has considered that and the forwarding note of the D. I. G., the medical opinions by Colonel Cunningham and the papers submitted to him, and after him, and after considering these papers and those of the incomplete enquiry made before the trial has come to the conclusion that "The injuries from which Musamat Gulab Rano was suffering on June 5th were not caused by the police, and also that the omission to call the head constable, Abdulla, as a witness, was not one with any intention to suppress evidence." To this much we think the police are entitled. Recognising to the full the great difficulties under which the police labour, the good work which they do in the protection of life and property and the peculiar liability to false accusations of this kind, we could gladly have added our own conviction to the Lieutenant-Governor that no suspicion remained if we could have done so; but after all the persons concerned were not our subordinates and were not produced before us, and we fully recognise that it was for their own superiors to choose their

own methods and for them to satisfy themselves and not us, as to the culpability of the subordinates. It was however necessary for us to make our own position clear, and we thought in justice to the police that they were entitled to have it on record here that their own responsible superiors considered them free from blame.

NEWS.

PATIALA SEDITION CASE.

On 21st instant Mr. Roushanlal, defence counsel for the Patiala accused, filed a petition to the Maharaja of Patiala complaining of illegalities and irregularities alleged to have been committed by the State police and making other grave charges against the police. No orders yet have been passed on the application.

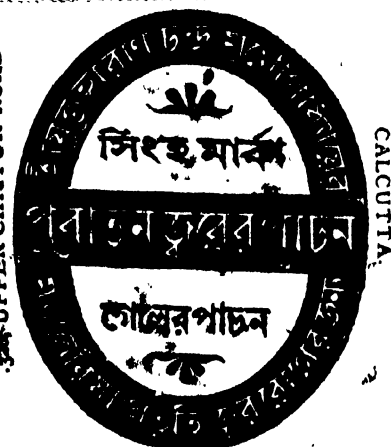
The Patiala sedition cases came on before a special tribunal on 22nd November, Mr. Pestonji Dadabhai, Barrister, appeared for the prosecution while Mr. Roushanlal, Barrister, appeared for the defense. Mr. Roushanlal insisted on the production of the complaint and the sanction under which the complaint had been filed. It transpired that not a single complaint had been filed against any of the accused. Mr. Pestonji, when asked by the Court, could not reply, and took time to consult with Mr. Grey, his senior, on the point. As many as 35 cartloads of books, and other documents, containing among other things copies of the Bible, the Ramayana, Political Economy and student's textbooks and papers of the Engineers office, were brought to the Court, however, asked the list of documents alleged to be seditious.

The 1st of December has been fixed by the court for the production of the list and the hearing of the question of remand and bail.

Mr. Chiranjilal, Superintendent of the Accountant-General's Office, Patiala, who in spite of his bail being granted on 18th October, remained in custody so long has at last been released on bail.

The Patiala sedition case came up before the Special Tribunal on the 20th after hearing both sides the Court decided to remand the case till 12th proximo. Applications for bail on behalf of the accused were refused.

3-6 UPPER CHITPUR ROAD



NEWS.

CASE AGAINST GAJADHAR PERSHAD.

The case of Sub-Inspector Gajadhar Pershad of the Agra Police, who, it is alleged, severely assaulted and tortured some Indian residents—men and a woman—made them bleed and attempted to extort money from them was argued at great length before Mr. H. W. Dile, I. C. S. Sessions Judge, Agra, by Mr. G. S. Sharma, Barrister-at-law, who appeared with Mr. Morton Barrister-at-law for the complaints. Judgment was reserved.

LAHORE SEDITION CASES.

The Lahore sedition cases were taken up yesterday by Mr. Butler, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, who said that the cases were transferred to the file of Mr. Harrison, Asst. Commissioner, who said he could admit Swaberen Singh to a bail of Rs. 500 on account of his illness if he could find a surety. The warrant against Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad have not yet been executed as they were still at large. Mr. Dunichand, Bar-at-law, applied for bail on behalf of Lalchand who was charged with having published seditious books. The Court however rejected the application. The cases were again taken up to-day. Mr. Petman, Govt. Advocate, represented the Crown and the accused were unrepresented. Lalchand and Swaran Singh were tried jointly for selling and publishing the book, headed "Kaum Kistarch Barti, Hai" meaning how nations are made. A Police Inspector, who executed the search warrant, and a teacher in the Islam School, who translated the book, were examined. The case was then adjourned to the 2nd proximo.

"SWARAJYA" SEDITION CASE.

It appears that Nand Gopal, Editor of the Allahabad paper the *Swarajya*, who was arrested and taken to Lahore a few days ago is to be tried in Allahabad. Mr. W. Wallach, Government Advocate, filed a complaint against Nand Gopal in the Court of the District Magistrate, Allahabad, on Saturday morning charging the accused with three offences of sedition with reference to articles entitled "Devotion to god," "The real needs of India," and "The Wave of Nationality," which appeared in the issues of the *Swarajya* of the 2nd, 16th and 30th October, 1906. The 2nd December has been fixed for the hearing of the case.

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NEWS.

"REVIEW OF REVIEWS."

Copies of the October number of "Review of Reviews" in which was reproduced the article on "Etiology of the Bomb in Bengal" from the June number of "Swaraj" have been confiscated by the Bombay Police under orders from the Government of India. The Bombay Police have taken away the copies from all local booksellers.

MADHYAPARA DACOITY CASE.

The accused in the Madhyapara dacoity case have been acquitted on appeal by the District Judge.

THE RAJNAGORE DACOITY CASE.

Jogesh Roy, arrested in connection with the Rajnagore dacoity has at last been released on bail.

TENALI BOMB APPEAL.

The appeal preferred by Chukkappa Ramiah, who had been convicted by the Additional Sessions Judge of Guntur Division and sentenced to death in connection with the Tenli bomb case, has been taken up for hearing in the Madras High Court before Justices Benson and Abdur Rahim. Mr. Sundaram Iyer appears for the appellant while Mr. Richmond represented the Crown. The former opened the case by dealing with the evidence of the Inspector of Explosives. The hearing is proceeding.

MR. K. G. GUPTA'S VIEWS ON COUNCIL REFORMS.

Mr. K. G. Gupta who is staying in Government House as a guest of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay interviewed by a press representative the Indian as to his views on the Reforms he gave the impression of not being enthusiastic about the subject. He did not definitely express himself dissatisfied with the provisions of the scheme, but one came away with the idea that they did not meet with his approval entirely. He said it should be given a fair trial and added "we should make the best of the scheme. It has defects. Some difficulties have arisen from supposed conflict of interests between different communities. If there had been no dissensions and the idea had not got abroad that there was a conflict of different interests in the scheme as originally proposed much of the difficulty would have been obviated. The original scheme of territorial basis of elections was a simple one. Granting of all demands of Mahomedans has given rise to reasonable complaints on the part of other communities."

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NEWS.

THE AGARTALA SUSPECTS.

Of the three persons, Dinesh Guha, a pleader's son, Ashutosh Das Gupta and Shanti Mukerji, now undergoing trial in a bad livelihood case and arrested at Agartala, the last two have been brought under police custody. It is said that they will be tried at Agartala.

A NAGPUR SEDITION CASE.

The appeal in the "Deshsewak" newspaper sedition case came up for hearing on the 7th instant and the case regarding the withdrawal of "sanad" of Madhao Shrihari Arne B. A. B. L., pleader, Yeotmal, who was bound down to keep the peace under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code comes on for hearing in the High Court on the 4th instant.

SRIPUR TRAIN DACOITY.

A young man named Jogendra Chakraverty is reported to have been arrested by the C. I. D. Police in connection with the train dacoity at Sripur.

CONGRESS NEWS.

A meeting of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress was held last evening, and the Hon'ble Mr. Harkishen Lal and Mr. Kanhya Lal were elected Chairman of the Committee. Raizada Bhagat Ram, Barrister-at-law of Jullundar, Rai Bahadur Hari Chand, of Multan and Mr. Jassawala, a Parsee merchant, were also elected Vice-Chairmen. The report of the Sub-Committee, which was appointed to negotiate with certain members who have refused to join the reception this year, was considered, and it was decided to drop the negotiations as the Committee's endeavour resulted in a failure.

THE GOKHALE LIBEL.

The defamation case instituted by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale came on for hearing November 22nd. before the District Magistrate. The accused Bhide, tendered an unqualified apology.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale divided equally the sum of Rs. 800 paid by the defendant between the Bombay Depressed Classes Mission and Karve's Widows' Home.

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INDIAN COUNCILS REFORM.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

NOTIFICATION.

(2) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the returning officer and in such manner as he may determine.

12. Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him the returning officer shall seal up voting to the election and shall retain the same for a period of six months and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless otherwise directed by an order of competent authority.

13. The returning officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

By MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

1. (1) "Attesting officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the attesting officer unless these rules and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the returning officer to perform his duties; and

(2) "Returning officer" means such officer at the Local Government may, by notification in the Local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the returning officer deputed for the time being by the returning officer to perform his duties.

Of the six members specified in II, sub-head (iii)—

(a) one shall be elected by the Municipal Commissioners of each of the following five divisions namely the Presidency Burdwan, Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions; and

(b) one shall be elected alternately by the Municipal Commissioners of the Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions, the former Commissioners having the first right of election:

Provided that the right of election conferred on Municipal Commissioners shall be exercised only by those Commissioners who represent municipalities which are notified from time to time by the Local Government in the Local official Gazette as having a local income amounting to not less than five thousand rupees per annum.

Explanation.—For the purpose of this rule "local income means the total income of a municipality excluding the opening balance of the Municipal Fund grants and contributions, and receipts under the account heads "Extraordinary and "Debt"

2. (1) The election shall be made by the votes of delegates to be selected

in the manner hereinafter prescribed, by the Commissioners of the municipalities in the said divisions other than (b) the Commissioner appointed *ex officio*.

(2) Each delegate shall have the number of votes assigned to the municipality by the Commissioners of which he is elected in accordance with the following scale namely,

Municipalities with a local income of—Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs. 10,000 1; Rs. 10,000 and less than Rs. 20,000 2; Rs. 20,000 and less than Rs. 50,000 3; Rs. 50,000 and less than Rs. 1,00,000 4; and for every additional Rs. 50,000 or part thereof in excess of Rs. 1,00,000, 1.

(3) The number of votes to each delegate is entitled on the said scale shall be notified from time to time by the Local Government in the local official Gazette.

4. (1) One such date and at such time as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf the Commissioners of each municipality other than (a) the Chairman if an official and (b) the Commissioners appointed *ex officio*, shall meet for the purpose of selecting a delegate.

(2) At such meeting the attesting officer shall attend and after explaining the rules shall sign and deliver to each Commissioner present a voting paper in Form I and shall thereafter withdraw.

(3) Commissioners present shall then proceed to elect from among themselves a Chairman who shall call upon such Commissioners to nominate persons for selection.

(4) Any Commissioner may be nominated for selection as a delegate by any two other Commissioners of the same Municipality as proposer and seconder, and the names of all persons so nominated and their respective proposers and seconders shall thereupon be entered by the Chairman in a list which shall be read out and signed by him.

(5) If one candidate only is duly nominated such candidate shall be deemed to be selected as delegate and the Chairman shall forthwith inform the attesting officer of the name and address of such candidate.

(6) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the Commissioners present including the Chairman shall record their votes in the manner prescribed in the voting paper and deliver the voting papers to the Chairman.

(7) The Chairman shall then inform the attesting officer who shall thereupon return to the meeting and the Chair-

man shall make over to him the list of candidates nominated together with the voting papers.

The attesting officer shall then examine the voting papers and count the votes in the presence of the Commissioners, and shall mark "rejected" on voting papers which he rejects on the ground that they do not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(9) When the counting of the votes has been completed the attesting officer shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes have been given to be selected.

(10) When an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared selected the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the attesting officer and in such manner as he may determine.

(11) Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him the attesting officer shall seal up the voting papers and list of nominations, and shall retain the same for a period of months and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless other was directed by an order of competent authority.

(12) The attesting officer shall without delay report to the returning officer the names and addresses of the delegates selected (hereinafter referred to as electors), and the said names and addresses shall be published in such manner as the Local Government prescribe.

5. (1) Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations and having a place of residence in the division for the representation of the municipalities of which he is a candidate, may be nominated as a candidate for election if he is a Commissioner of any one of such municipalities other than (a) the Chairman if an official (b) a Commissioner appointed *ex officio*.

(2) Every nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in Form II which shall be supplied by the attesting officer to any Commissioner qualified to vote for the selection of a delegate for the division who may ask for the same.

(3) Every nomination paper shall be subscribed by two such Commissioners as proposer and seconder, and shall be attested by the attesting officer in the manner prescribed on the face of the Form.

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Provided that no Commissioner shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers shall be presented for attestation on or before the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government in this behalf and when attesting by the attesting officer shall be despatched by him without delay by registered post to the returning officer.

(5) Nomination papers which are not received by the returning officer before the date and time appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers shall be rejected.

(1) On the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government for the scrutiny of nomination papers, every candidate and his proposer and seconder may attend at the place appointed, and the returning officer shall allow them to examine the nomination papers of all candidate which have been received by him as aforesaid.

(5) The returning officer shall examine the nomination papers, and may, either of his own motion, or upon objection made, reject any nomination paper on the ground that it does not comply with the provisions of rule 5 sub rule (3), and his decision shall be, endorsed upon such paper and shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

7. (1) If any division one candidate only is duly nominated, the returning officer shall forthwith declare such candidate to be elected.

(2) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the returning officer shall forthwith publish their names in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe.

(3) On such date and at such time as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf, the electors desirous of recording their votes shall attend for the purpose at the office of the returning officer.

(4) The returning officer shall thereupon deliver to each elector a voting paper in Form III annexed to this Schedule, in which shall be entered the names of the candidates.

(5) The elector shall then sign the declaration on the back of the paper in the presence of the returning officer in accordance with the instructions on the face thereof, and the returning officer shall attest his signature in the manner prescribed by the same instructions.

(6) The elector shall then proceed to a place screened from observation which shall be provided by the returning officer, and shall there record his vote on the voting paper in accordance with the instructions thereon and shall then deliver it to the returning officer.

(7) Neglect on the part of the elector to comply with any of these instructions shall render the vote invalid.

8. (1) On receiving the voting papers, the returning officer shall examine them to see whether they have been correctly filled up.

(2) The returning officer shall endorse "rejected" on any voting paper which he may reject and mark "discarded" against any vote which may discard on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(3) The returning officer shall then fold the lower portion of every paper, whether valid or invalid, along the dotted line on the back so as to conceal the name of the elector, and shall seal down the portion thus folded with his official seal.

(1) The returning officer shall attend for the purpose of counting the votes on such date and at such time and place as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf.

(5) Every candidate may be present in person, or may send a representative duly authorised by him in writing, to watch the process of counting.

(6) The returning officer shall show the voting papers sealed as provided by sub-rule (3) to the candidates or their representatives.

(7) If an objection is made to any voting paper or vote on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper or to the rejection by the returning officer of a voting paper or the discarding by him of any vote, it shall be decided at once by the returning officer whose decision shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

(8) In such cases the returning officer shall record on the voting paper the nature of the objection and his decision thereon.

(9) When the counting of votes has been completed, the returning officer shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes has been given to be elected.

(10) Where an equality of votes is

found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the returning officer and in such manner as he may determine.

(11) Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him the returning officer shall seal up the voting papers and all other documents relating to the election, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless otherwise directed by an order of competent authority.

9. The returning officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

10. The Local Government shall appoint and shall notify in such manner as in it thinks fit, such date if necessary, such time and place as it may think suitable for each of the following proceedings, namely:—

- (a) the selection of delegates under rule
- (b) the attestation of nomination papers under rule 5;
- (c) the scrutiny of nomination papers under rule 6;
- (d) the attestation of voting papers under rule 7; and
- (e) the counting of votes under rule 8.

BY THE DISTRICT BOARDS.

1. (1) "Attesting officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the Local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the attesting officer under these rules, and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the attesting officer to perform his duties; and

(2) "Returning officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the Returning Officer under these rules and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the Returning Officer to perform his duties.

2. Of the six members specified in Regulation II, sub-head (c)—

(a) one shall be elected by the District Boards of each of the following five divisions namely, the Presidency, Burdwan, Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, and

(b) one shall be elected alternately by the District Boards of the Chota Nagpur and

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3. (1) The election shall be made by the votes of delegates to be selected in the manner hereinafter prescribed by the members of the District Boards of the said divisions other than (a) the Chairman, if an official and (b) the members appointed *ex-officio*.

(2) Each delegate shall have the number of votes assigned to the District Board by which he is selected in accordance with the following scale :—

District Boards with an annual income (exclusive of opening balances, and receipts from loans) of less than Rs. 75,000, 1 vote; exceeding Rs. 75,000, but less than Rs. 1,25,000, 2 votes; and for every additional Rs. 50,000, or part thereof in excess of Rs. 1,25,000, 1 vote.

(3) The number of votes to which each delegate is entitled on the said scale shall be notified from time by the Local Government in the local official Gazette.

4. (1) On such date and at such time as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf the members of each such District Board other than (a) the Chairman if an official and (b) the members appointed *ex-officio*, shall meet for the purpose of selecting a delegate.

(2) At such meeting the attesting officer shall attend, and, after explaining the rules, shall sign and deliver to each member of the Board present a voting paper in Form I and shall thereafter withdraw.

(3) The members present shall then proceed to elect from among themselves a Chairman who shall call upon such members to nominate persons for selection.

(4) Any member of such Board may be nominated for selection as a delegate by any two other members of the same Board as proposer and seconder, and the names of all persons so nominated and their respective proposers and seconds shall thereupon be entered by the Chairman, in a list which shall be read out and signed by him.

(5) If one candidate only is duly nominated, and such candidate shall be deemed to be selected as delegate, and the Chairman shall forthwith inform the Attesting Officer of the name and address of such candidate.

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(6) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the members present, including the Chairman, shall record their votes in the manner prescribed in the voting paper, and deliver the voting papers to the Chairman.

(7) The Chairman shall then inform the Attesting Officer, who shall thereupon return to the meeting, and the Chairman shall make over to him the list of candidates nominated together with the voting papers.

(8) The Attesting Officer shall then examine the voting papers and count the votes in the presence of the members, and shall mark "rejected" on voting papers which he rejects on the ground that they do not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(9) When the counting of the votes has been completed, the Attesting Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes have been given to be selected.

(10) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared selected, the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn on the presence of the Attesting Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

(11) Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him the Attesting Officer shall seal up the voting papers and list of nominations, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless otherwise directed by an other of competent authority.

(12) The Attesting Officer shall without delay report to the Returning Officer the names and addresses of the delegates selected (hereinafter referred to as electors), and the said names and addresses shall be published in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe.

5. (1) Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations and having place of residence in the division for the representation of the District Boards of which he is a candidate may be nominated as a candidate for election if he is a member of any one of such district Boards other than (a) the Chairman if an official or (b) a member appointed *ex-officio*.

(3) Every nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in

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Form 11 annexed to this Schedule which shall be supplied by the Attesting Officer to any member of a District Board qualified to vote for the selection of a delegate for the Division who may ask for the same.

(3) Every nomination paper shall be subscribed by two such members as proposer and seconder and shall be attested by the Attesting Officer in the manner prescribed on the face of the Form :

Provided that no member shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers shall be presented for attestation on or before the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government in this behalf and when duly attested by the Attesting Officer shall be despatched by him without delay by registered post to the Returning officer.

(5) Nomination papers which are not received by the Returning Officer on or before the date and time appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers shall be rejected.

6. (1) On the date and the time appointed by the Local Government for the scrutiny of nomination papers every candidate and his proposer and seconder may attend at the place appointed and the Returning Officer shall allow them to examine the nomination papers of all candidates which have been received by him as aforesaid.

(2) The Returning Officer shall examine the nomination papers and may either of his own motion or on objection made reject any nomination paper on the ground that it does not comply with the provisions of rule 5, sub-rule (3), and his decision shall be endorsed upon such paper and shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

7. (1) If in any division one candidate only is duly nominated, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare such candidate to be elected.

(2) If more candidates than one are duly nominated, the Returning Officer



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shall forthwith publish their names in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe.

(3) On such date and at such times as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf, the electors desirous of recording their votes shall attend for the purpose at the office of the Returning Officer.

(4) The Returning Officer shall thereupon deliver to each elector a voting paper in Form III annexed to this Schedule, in which shall be entered the names of the candidates.

(5) The elector shall then sign the declaration on the back of the paper in the presence of the Returning Officer in accordance with the instructions on the face thereof, and the Returning Officer shall attest his signature in the manner prescribed by the same instructions.

(6) The elector shall then proceed to a place screened from observation which shall be provided by the Returning Officer and shall there record his vote on the voting paper in accordance with the instructions thereon and shall deliver it to the Returning Officer.

(7) Neglect on the part of elector to comply with any of these instructions shall render the vote invalid.

8. (1) On receiving the voting papers, the Returning Officer shall examine them to see whether they have been correctly filled up.

(2) The Returning Officer shall endorse "rejected" on any voting paper which he may reject, and mark "discarded" against any vote which he may discard on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(3) The Returning Officer shall then fold the lower portion of every paper, whether valid or invalid, along the dotted line on the back as to conceal the name of the elector, and shall seal down the portion thus folded with his official seal.

(4) The Returning Officer shall attend for the purpose of counting the votes on such date and at such time and place as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf.

(5) Every candidate may be present in person, or may send a representative duly authorised by him in writing to watch the process of counting.

(6) The Returning Officer shall show the voting papers sealed as provided by sub-rule (3) to the candidates or their representatives.

(7) If an objection is made to any voting paper to vote on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper or to the rejection by the Returning Officer of a voting paper, or the discarding by him of any vote, it shall be decided at once by the Returning Officer whose decision shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

(8) In such cases the Returning Officer shall record on the voting paper the nature of the objection and his decision thereon.

(9) When the counting of votes has been completed, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate to whom the largest number of votes has been given to be elected.

(10) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the Returning Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

(11) Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him, the Returning Officer shall seal up the voting papers and all other documents relating to the election, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless otherwise directed by an order of competent authority.

9. The Returning Officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

16. The Local Government shall appoint, and shall notify in such manner as it thinks fit, such date, and, if necessary such time and place as it may think suitable for each of the following proceedings, namely:—

- (a) the selection of delegates under rule 4;
- (b) the attestation of nomination papers under rule 5;
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- (d) the attestation of voting papers under rule 7; and
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(To be continued.)

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Dutt, R. C. Dutt, Shri Swami Viva-
kananda, Swami Ram Tirath.
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Ranade, Late Mr. Monomohan
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oroji, Admiral Togo, Amir of Afg-
nistan, Gyaribaldi, Lala Lajpat
Rai, B. G. Tilak, A. K. Athavale
and Jasowant Rai Tappa Tapa,
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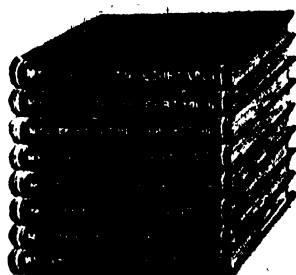
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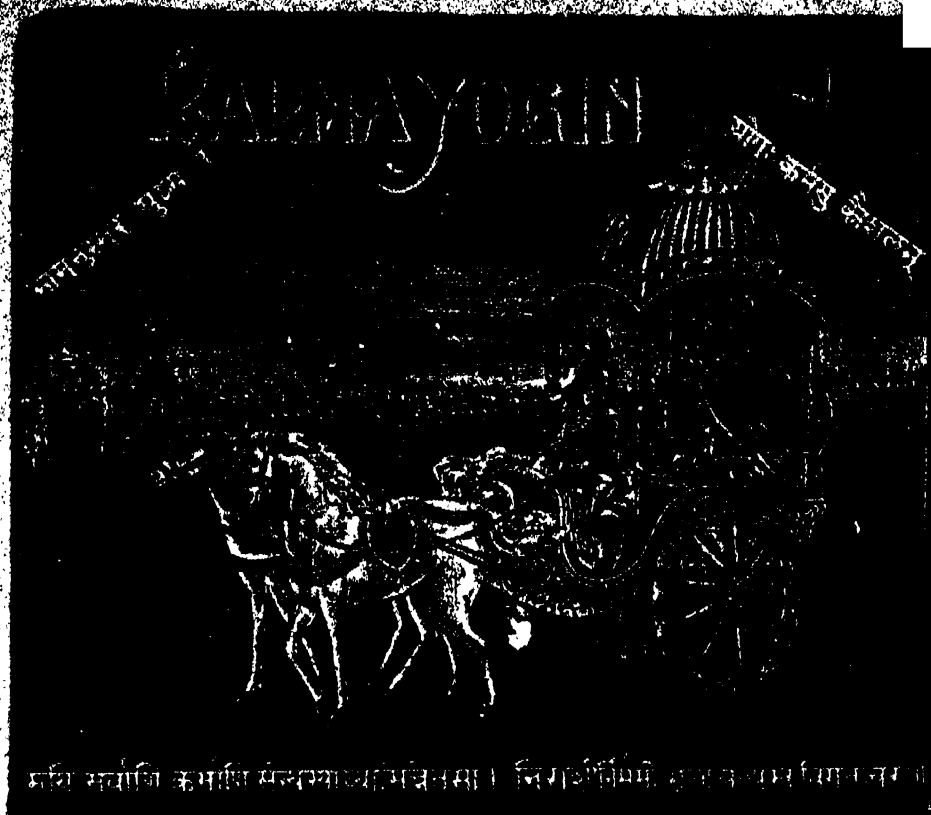
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OF

National Religion, Literature, Science,
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Vol. I.

SATURDAY 11th DECEMBER 1909.

No. 21

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OFFICE:—14 SHAMBAZAR STREET,

CALCUTTA.

KARMAYOGIN

A WEEKLY REVIEW

61-

**National Religion, Literature, Science,
Philosophy, &c.,**

23.

25th Agrahayana 1316.

No. 23.

FACTS AND OPINION

and Congress.

constructively which has been the *Beardley* and the *Chalmers-Putnam* approach. The United Congress does not seem likely to be part of the success of this strategy.

We should ourselves have a candid exchange with the other side in a proceeding between countries of both sides and then brought to a decision whether or not we are confident toward the position of the

the B -implicator cannot be composed exclusively of 0 and 1, but may refer to the empty set

Angela Brien, Chief, Dept.
of All India Commerce

Let us know pretty well

a northern part of the island. The

$$C = \{X \in \mathbb{N}^{n \times n} \mid \text{row}(X) = 1, \text{col}(X) = W, \text{tr}(X) = n\}$$
[illegible]

approached the Director of the
Department and asked that he

of the town of St. Michael's, Gibsons.

[illegible]

claiming that although

... rather than improve

of the negotiations.

the great decline city, the second

to resolve to employ and

Nationalism has prevailed
with the people and the world.

At the 11th day

when the term "Nature" is

by the *U.S. Communist Movement*

and I, not in any way represented by the delegates, that we should be chosen who would accept the surrender. But the original intention was to force All China Congress to accept that the only Moderate must be to have something to do with the resolutions. (The S.S. set forth on the following did not consider the objectives behind the congresses for they were a party against the Modern Congress.) But we can attempt to see what kind of influence moderate had on the situation through the help of the *Bokebo* says that even the Nationalist sign the credit of United Congress papers, the moderate should be admitted to the Congress who is not satisfied with the government with in the Empire and constitutional means of creation. This seems to us to be an indirect attempt to make a change in the fact that, if we do not join the Moderates on the constitution, we will be declared as enemies of the nation and enemies of the people. This is a method of being a double-edged sword. We think the Chinese Moderates had better join the Nationalist, a People's and People's will not work in Beiping. Only a moderate means the right equilibrium of the Reform. It is the only way to prevent the chaos and disorder to prevail in the future. It is a pity that we cannot help it.

[illegible]

Pherozshah Mehta before they will admit fellowship with us then further negotiations are useless. Disunion must take its course.

The Spirit of the Negotiations.

Both the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* seem to us to misunderstand the spirit of the negotiations which are proceeding. The *Patrika* harps on the inconsistency of the Moderate leaders negotiating on one side and at the same time holding a meeting to send delegates to the Three Men's Congress at Lahore. There is no such condition underlying the negotiations. At Hughly S. J. Surendranath expressly reserved his liberty to attend Sir Pherozshah's Congress and there is no reason why he should not do so if he thinks that his duty or his best policy. Nor do the Nationalists ask the Bengal Moderates to refrain, though they will naturally put their own interpretation on an alliance based on the pusillanimous surrender of the Boycott Resolution. On the other hand the *Bengalee* is quite mistaken in thinking that what the Nationalists seek is admission to the Convention or that they feel themselves under any necessity to go cap in hand to Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale. On the contrary they distinctly state that the Convention is not the Congress, but they recognise that as a mere matter of convenience the reparation of its errors by the Convention is the readiest method of bringing about a compromise and they are therefore willing to take the status quo as a basis for negotiations. They recognise no obligation to conform submissively to that basis or approach the Bombay leaders as the arbiters of their destiny.

A Salutory Rejection.

We would draw the attention of all weak-kneed Nationalists to the ban placed by the Bombay Government on the candidature of the distinguished and able Puna Nationalist, Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Mahratta Nationalism has never been so robustly uncompromising as the Bengal school in its refusal of co-operation in the absence of control, and Mr. Kelkar, though a sincere and ardent Nationalist, a friend and constant fellow-worker of Mr. Tilak, has always preserved an independent line in this matter and considered himself at liberty to help

the cause of the country on bodies controlled by the Government. It greatly helps our cause that the Government should so emphatically set its face against any mistaken diplomacy of this kind. Mr. Kelkar's only specific offence against eligibility was a sentence of fine and two months' imprisonment for contempt of court, and that is short of the time required for ineligibility. S. J. Surendranath who, was, by the way sentenced to six months for a still graver contempt, has been specially exempted, unasked, by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal from another disability. It is obvious therefore that Mr. Kelkar's real offence was his Nationalist views and his friendship with Mr. Tilak. We hope that all compromising Nationalists will take the lesson of this rebuff to heart. The object of the Government is to rally the Mahomedans and the Moderates and isolate the Nationalists. No doubt they mean by the Moderates the Loyalist section of that party, but they are evidently wishful not to entirely alienate the Nationalist Moderates, if they can do so while excluding them from all real weight on the Councils. But by what reasoning any Nationalist can imagine that he will escape the operation of the excluding clauses, we are at a loss to understand. We may also ask our Mahratta brothers what advantage they have gained by being less rigid than ourselves. They are, if anything, more rigorously persecuted than we are in Bengal. Weakness of any kind does not pay in dealing with the Briton.

The English Revolution.

The note of revolution which was struck with resounding force by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill in the quarrel with the Lords, is now ringing louder in England and has been taken up in soberer but not less emphatic tones by Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. There can be no doubt that there was dissension in the Cabinet over the Budget and that the concessions made by the Government in the process of passing it were forced upon Mr. Lloyd George and certainly not to the taste of that fiery and uncompromising Celt. But the reactionary attempt of the House of Lords to control finance, has evidently closed up the ranks by driving

the Moderates over to the side of the revolution. It is evidently felt by the Liberals that, with an Upper Chamber more and more shamelessly and constantly a mere tool of the Conservative leaders, it is impossible for any Liberal Government to accept office unless it has a mandate to end or mend the Lords. We cannot believe that a similar feeling will not actuate the great mass of Liberals all over Great Britain and heal all differences. Already the Labour Executive has decided to make the victory easier for the Government by not dividing the forward vote in a considerable number of constituencies and we have no doubt this is the outward sign of a secret compact between the Labour Party and the Liberals by which the return of a powerful Socialist party has been secured. Even the extreme Socialists who usually are against all dealing with the middle class and whose motto is "A plague on both your houses," are calling on the Socialists of all shades to support the Government in abolishing the House of Lords. If Mr. Asquith had followed the line we suggested as possible in a previous number and introduced a moderate but effective bill for nullifying the Lord's veto, he would certainly have gained a number of Moderate votes which will now be denied to him, but it is doubtful whether the gain of the entire Socialist vote, secured by keeping himself free to end the House of Lords, is not, in the present condition of English politics, a compensation far exceeding the loss. Already Tariff Reform is receding into the background and promises to be a subordinate issue. The battle is over the constitutional, not the fiscal issue. By their anxiety to bring Unionist Labour candidates into the field and the eager talk of Conservative leaders about the necessity of reforming the Lords, the party of reaction show that they perfectly understand from what quarters disaster threatens. Now that the Liberal party is pledged to destroy the Lords, veto, the English Revolution is assured and it will be not a middle class but a Socialist and Labour revolution. This result is assured whether the Liberals win or lose in the present battle. One campaign does not decide the fortunes of such a war.

Aristocratic Quibbling

When we speculated that the Lords would be more likely to amend the Budget and leave to their opponents the onus of throwing the finances of the whole country into confusion, we underestimated the want of wit of which this highly venerable but somewhat brainless house is capable. This want of wit has shown itself in an unseasonable and wholly futile excess of refined cunning. The House of Lords felt that its great weakness when its conduct went before the country for its verdict, would be the odium of its unconstitutional attempt to interfere with the control of the finances by the people. To mend the unconstitutional appearance of their act, they have taken up this position, that they have no right to amend but they have the right to reject the Budget. It appears to be a right which they have sometimes been unwise enough to claim, but never unwise enough to enforce. The aristocratic hairsplitter who discovered this quibble, seems to have forgotten that, however pleasing the distinction may be to his ingenuity, the mass of the voters will not care one straw to examine fine distinctions which claim the whole and disclaim the part. They will simply say that the right of rejection means the right of baffling the representatives of the people and paralysing finance. The other device of the Lords is to avoid the appearance of disputing the people's right by putting the rejection in the form of a referendum to the people, a procedure which the British constitution does not include in itself and which is entirely new. Unfortunately they have made too much noise about the woes of the Dukes and Mr. Balfour has made the damaging admission that it is only the liquor and the land clauses to which he objects, so that it is too late to pretend that it is anxiety for the liberties of the people and not solicitude for their own pockets and the pockets of their allies the publicans that has dictated their action. The indecent crowding of Lords who never before attended a single sitting, to reject the Budget was, also a tactical error. On the whole the action of the House of Lords has greatly helped Mr. Asquith and we may await with some confidence

the result of a struggle in which India is deeply interested.

THE TRANSVAAL INDIANS.

The visit of Mr Polak has excited once more a closer interest in the Transvaal question and associations are being formed for the agitation of the question. It will therefore be opportune to consider the practical aspect of the struggle in the Transvaal and the possibility of help from India. There can be no two opinions outside South Africa, and possibly Hare Street, as to the moral aspects of the question; for it must be remembered that the Indians in the Transvaal are not claiming any political rights, but merely treatment as human beings first, and, next, equality before the law. It is open to the South Africans to exclude Indians altogether, but, once they are admitted, they are morally bound to refrain from a treatment of them which is an extreme and unpardonable outrage on humanity. To degrade any part of the human race to the level of cattle is in the present stage of progress an insult and an offence to the whole of mankind. It would be equally reprehensible to whatever race the humanity so degraded belonged, but the fact that these men are Indians, has made their sufferings a national question to us and a standing reproach to the British people who, out of selfish fear of offending their own kith and kin, allow this outrage to be committed on their own subjects whom they have deprived of all means of self protection. The great glory of the Transvaal Indians is that while men under such circumstances have always sunk into the condition to which they have been condemned and needed others to help them out of the mire, these sons of Bharatavarsha, inheritors of an unexampled moral and spiritual tradition have vindicated the superiority of the Indian people and its civilisation to all other peoples in the globe and all other civilisations by the spirit in which they have refused to recognise the dominance of brute force over the human soul. Stripped of all means of resistance a helpless handful in a foreign land, unaided by India, put off with empty profes-

sions of sympathy by English statesmen, they, ignored by humanity, are fighting humanity's battle in the pure strength of the spirit, with no weapon but the moral force of their voluntary sufferings and utter self-sacrifice. Mr. Polak has well said that the Indian nation is being built up in South Africa. The phrase is true in this sense that the supreme example of the moral and spiritual strength which must be behind the formation of the new nation, has been shown first not in India but in South Africa. The passive resistance which we had not the courage and unselfishness to carry out in India, they have carried to the utmost in the Transvaal under far more arduous circumstances, with far less right to hope for success. Whether they win or lose in the struggle, they have contributed far more than their share to the future greatness of their country.

We must consider their chances of success, and though we do not wish to speak words of discouragement, it will not do to hide from ourselves the enormous difficulties in the way. For success, either the Government in England must interfere and compel the Transvaal to do right, or the Transvaal must be stirred by shame and by the interest of the poorer part of the Boer community to reverse the laws, or the Indian Government must intervene to protect its subjects. The first course is unthinkable. It would mean a quarrel with the newly conciliated Transvaal, the marring of the work of which the Liberal Government is justly proud, and a resentment in South Africa which the English ministry will not face for the sake of all India, much less of a handful of Indian coolies and shopkeepers. The poorer Boers will be only inconvenienced, not seriously hurt by the extinction of the Indian shopkeeper, and, in any case, they are not a class who are wont to act politically. The Transvaal Government is not likely to yield to any sense of shame. The Boers are a stark race, stubborn to the death, and the grit they showed in the face of the British Empire, they are also likely to show in this very minor trouble. Nor are they likely to have forgotten the action of the Indians who rewarded the comparative lenience

of the Boer Government previous to the war by helping actively in the British attack on the liberty of the Transvaal. With their slow minds and tenacious memories they are a people not swift to forget and forgive; we do not rely greatly on their present professions of friendship to the Power that took from them their freedom, and they are wholly unlikely to put from their minds the unpardonable intrusion of the Indian residents into a quarrel in which they had no concern or stakes.

There remains the Indian Government, and what can the Indian Government do? It can forbid, as has been suggested, Indian cooly recruitment for Natal. This would undoubtedly be a great blow to the planters and they would throw their whole influence into the Indian scale. But, on the other hand, the mass of the Natal whites are full of race prejudice and their desire is for that impossible dream, a white South Africa. A more effective measure would be the suspension of trade relations by the boycott of Colonial goods and the cessation of the importation of Indian raw materials into South Africa. But that is a step which will never be taken. Even if the Indian Government were willing to use any and every means, the decision does not rest with them but with the Government in England, which will not consent to offending the colonies. The Indian Government would no doubt like to see an end of the situation in the Transvaal as it weakens such moral hold as the still have over India, and they would prefer a favourable termination because the return of ruined Indians from the Transvaal will bring home a mass of bitterness, burning sense of wrong and standing discontent trained in the most strenuous methods of passive resistance. And many of them are Mahomedans.

The one favourable factor in favour of the Transvaal Indians is their own spiritual force and the chance of its altering the conditions by sheer moral weight. It is India's duty to aid them by financial succour which they sorely need and the rich men of the country can easily afford, by the heartening effect of public and frequently expressed

moral sympathy and by educating the whole people of India literate and illiterate in an accurate knowledge of what is happening in the Transvaal. This is the only help India can give to her children over the seas so long as she is not master of her own destinies.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

IV

—ooo—

We now come to the kernel of the subject, the place of art in the evolution of the race and its value in the education and actual life of a nation. The first question is whether the sense of the beautiful has any effect on the life of a nation. It is obvious, from what we have already written, that the manners, the social culture and the restraint in action and expression which are so large a part of national prestige and dignity and make a nation admired like the French, loved like the Irish or respected like the higher-class English, is based essentially on the sense of form and beauty, of what is correct, symmetrical, well-adjusted, fair to the eye and pleasing to the imagination. The absence of these qualities is a source of national weakness. The rudeness, coarseness and vulgar violence of the ordinary Englishman, the overbearing brusqueness and selfishness of the Prussian have greatly hampered those powerful nations in their dealings with foreigners, dependencies and even their own friends, allies, colonies. We all know what a large share the manner and ordinary conduct of the average and of the vulgar Anglo-Indian has had in bringing about the revolt of the Indian, accustomed through ages to courtesy, dignity and the amenities of an equal intercourse, against the mastery of an obviously coarse and selfish community. Now the sense of form and beauty, the correct, symmetrical, well-adjusted, fair and pleasing is an artistic sense and can best be fostered in a nation by artistic culture of the perceptions and sensibilities. It is noteworthy that the two great nations who are most hampered by the defect of these qualities in action are also the least imaginative, poetic and artistic in Europe. It is the

South German who contributes the art, poetry and music of Germany, the Celt and Norman who produce great poets and a few great artists in England without altering the characteristics of the dominant Saxon. Music is even more powerful in this direction than Art and by the perfect expression of harmony insensibly steepens the man in it. And it is noticeable that England has hardly produced a single musician worth the name. Plato in his Republic has dwelt with extraordinary emphasis on the importance of music in education; as is the music to which a people is accustomed, so, he says in effect, is the character of that people. The importance of painting and sculpture is hardly less. The mind is profoundly influenced by what it sees and, if the eye is trained from the days of childhood to the contemplation and understanding of beauty, harmony and just arrangement in line and colour, the tastes, habits and character will be insensibly trained to follow a similar law of beauty, harmony and just arrangement in the life of the adult man. This was the great importance of the universal proficiency in the arts and crafts or the appreciation of them which was prevalent in ancient Greece, in certain European ages, in Japan and in the better days of our own history. Art galleries cannot be brought into every home, but, if all the appointments of our life and furniture of our homes are things of taste and beauty, it is inevitable that the habits, thoughts and feelings of the people should be raised, ennobled, harmonised, made more sweet and dignified.

A similar result is produced on the emotions by the study of beautiful or noble art. We have spoken of the purification of the heart, the *chittasuddhi*, which Aristotle assigned as the essential office of poetry, and have pointed out that it is done in poetry by the detached and disinterested enjoyment of the eight rasas or forms of emotional aestheticism which make up life, unalloyed by the disturbance of the lower self-regarding passions. Painting and sculpture work in the same direction by different means. Art sometimes uses the same means as poetry

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but cannot do it to the same extent because it has not the movement of poetry; it is fixed, still, it expresses only a given moment, a given point in space and cannot move freely through time and region. But it is precisely this stillness, this calm, this fixity which gives its separate value to Art. Poetry raises the emotions and gives each its separate delight. Art stills the emotions and teaches them the delight of a restrained and limited satisfaction;—this indeed was the characteristic that the Greeks, a nation of artists far more artistic than poetic, tried to bring into their poetry. Music deepens the emotions and harmonises them with each other. Between them music, art and poetry are a perfect education for the soul; they make and keep its movements purified, self-controlled, deep and harmonious. These therefore are agents which cannot profitably be neglected by humanity on its onward march or degraded to the mere satisfaction of sensuous pleasure which will disintegrate rather than build the character. They are, when properly used, great educating, edifying and civilising forces.

ANANDAMATH.

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CHAPTER XI.

The day had dawned. That unpeopled forest, so long dark and silent, now grew full of light, blissful with the cooing and calling of the birds. In that delightful dawn, that joyous forest, that "Monastery of Bliss" Satyananda, seated on a deerskin, was performing his morning devotions. Jivananda sat near. It was at such a time that Bhavananda appeared with Mahendra Singha behind. The ascetic without a word continued his devotions and no one ventured to utter a sound. When the devotions were finished, Bhavananda and Jivananda saluted him and with humility seated themselves after taking the dust of his feet. Then Satyananda beckoned to Bhavananda and took him outside. What conversation took place between them, we do not know, but on the return of the two into the temple the ascetic, with compassion and laughter in his countenance, said to Mohendra, "My son, I have been greatly distressed by our misfortune; it was only by

the grace of the Friend of the poor and miserable that I was able to rescue your wife and daughter last night." The ascetic then told Mohendra the story of Kalyani's rescue and said at the end, "Come, let me take you where they are."

The ascetic in front, Mohendra behind entered into the inner precincts of the temple. Mohendra beheld a wide and lofty hall. Even in this cheerful dawn glad with the youth of the morning when the neighbouring groves glittered in the sunshine as if set and studded with diamonds, in this great room there was almost a gloom as of night. Mohendra could not at first see what was in the room but by gazing and gazing and still gazing he was able to distinguish a huge image of the four-armed Vishnu, bearing the shell, the discus, the club, the lotus-blossom, adorned with the jewel Constood on his breast; in front the discus called Sudarshan the Beautiful seemed visibly to be whirling round. Two huge headless images representing Madhu and Kaitabh were painted before the figure, as if bathed in their own blood. On the left stood Lakshmi with flowing locks garlanded with wreaths of hundred-petalled lotuses, as if distressed with fear. On the right stood Saraswati surrounded by books, musical instruments, the incarnate strains and symphonies of music. On Vishnu's lap sat an image of enchanting beauty, lovelier than Lakshmi and Saraswati, more splendid with opulence and lordship. The Gandharva and Kinnara and God and elf and giant paid her homage. The ascetic asked Mohendra in a voice of deep solemnity and awe "Can you see all?" "Yes" replied Mohendra.

"Have you seen what is in the lap of Vishnu?" asked the ascetic.

"Yes", answered Mohendra, "who is she?"

"It is the Mother".

"What mother?"

"She whose children we are," replied the ascetic.

"Who is she?"

"In time you will recognise her. Cry 'Hail to the Mother!' Now come, you shall see."

The ascetic took Mohendra into another room. There he saw an image of Jagaddhatri, Protectress

of the world, wonderful, perfect, rich with every ornament. "Who is she?" asked Mohendra.

The Brahmacharin replied, "The Mother as she was."

"What is that?" asked Mohendra.

"She trampled underfoot the elephants of the forest and all wild beasts and in the haunt of the wild beasts she erected her lotus throne. She was covered with every ornament, full of laughter and beauty. She was in hue like the young sun, splendid with all opulence and empire. Bow down to the Mother."

Mohendra saluted reverently the image of the Motherland as the protectress of the world. The Brahmacharin then showed him a dark underground passage and said, "Come by this way." Mohendra with some alarm followed him. In a dark room in the bowels of the earth an insufficient light entered from some unperceived outlet. By that faint light he saw an image of Kali."

The Brahmacharin said, "Look on the Mother as she now is."

Mohendra said in fear, "It is Kali."

"Yes, Kali enveloped in darkness, full of blackness and gloom. She is stripped of all, therefore naked. Today the whole country is a burial ground, therefore is the Mother garlanded with skulls. Her own Good she tramples under her feet. Alas, my Mother!"

The tears began to stream from the ascetic's eyes.

"Why," asked Mohendra, "has she in her hands the club and the skull?"

"We are the Children, we have only just given weapons into our Mother's hands. Cry 'Hail to the Mother!'"

Mohendra said Bande mataam and bowed down to Kali.

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—o—o—

LUCIFER.

What mighty and ineffable desire
Impels thee, Sirioth? Thy accustomed calm
Is potently subverted and the eyes
That were a god's in sweet tranquillity,
Confess a human warmth, a troubled glow.

SIRIOTH.

Lucifer, son of Morning, Angel! thou
Art mightiest of the architects of fate.
To thee is given with thy magic gaze
Compelling mortals as thou leanest sublime
From heaven's lucent walls, to sway the world.
Is thy felicity of lesser date,
Prince of the patient and untiring gods,
The gods who work? Dost thou not ever feel
Angelic weariness usurp the place
Where the great flame and the august desire
Were wont to urge thee on? To me it seems
That our eternity is far too long
For service and there is a word, a thought,
More godlike.

LUCIFER.

Sirioth, I will speak the word.
Is it not Power?

SIRIOTH.

No, Lucifer, 'tis Love.

LUCIFER.

Love? It was love that for a trillion years
Gave me the instinct and immense demand
For service, for activity. It fades.
Another and more giant passion comes
Striding upon me. I behold the world
Immeasurably vast, I see the heavens
Full of an azure joy and majesty,
I see the teeming millions of the stars.
Sirioth, how came the Master of the world
To be the master? Did He seize control
Pushing some ancient weaker sovereign down
From sway inmemorable? Did He come
By peaceful ways, permission or inheritance,
To what He is to-day? Or if indeed
He is for ever and for ever rules,
Are there no bounds to His immense domain,
No obscure corner of unbounded space
Forgotten by His fate, that I may seize
And make myself an empire as august,
Enjoy a like eternity of rule?

SIRIOTH.

Angel, these thoughts are mighty as thyself.
But wilt thou then rebel? If He be great
To conquer and to punish, what of Thee?
Eternity of dreadful poignant pain
May be thy fate and not eternal rule,

LUCIFER.

Better than still to serve desirelessly,
Pursued by a compulsion dull and fierce,
Looking through all vast time for one brief hour
Of rest, of respite, but instead to find
Iron necessity and pant in vain
For space, for room, for freedom.

SIRIOTH.

Thou intendest?

LUCIFER.

Sirioth, I do not yet intend; I feel.

SIRIOTH.

For me the sense of active force within
Set me to work, as the stars move, the sun
Resistless flames through space, the stormwind
runs.
But I have felt a touch as sweet as spring,
And I have heard a music of delight
Maddening the heart with the sweet honied stabs
Of delicate intolerable joy.
Where, where is One to feel the answering bliss?
Lucifer, thou from love beganst thy toil.
What love?

LUCIFER.

Desire august to help, to serve.

SIRIOTH.

That is not mine. To embrace, to melt and mix
Two beings into one, to roll the spirit
Tumbling into a surge of common joy,—
'Tis this I seek.

LUCIFER.

Will He permit?

SIRIOTH.

A bar

I feel, a prohibition. Some one used
A word I could not grasp and called it sin.

LUCIFER.

The word is new, even as these things are.

SIRIOTH.

I know not who he was. He laughed and said
"Sin, sin is born into the world, revolt
And change, in Sirioth and in Lucifer,
The evening and the morning star. Rejoice,
O world!" And I beheld as in a dream
Leaping from out thy brain and into mine
A woman beautiful, of grandiose mien,
Yet terrible, alarming and instinct
With nameless menace. And the world was full
With clashing and with cries. It seemed to me
Angels and Gods and men strove violently
To touch her robe, to occupy the place
Her beautiful and ominous feet had trod,
Crying, "Daughter of Lucifer, be ours,
O sweet, adorable and mighty Sin!"
Therefore I came to thee.

LUCIFER.

Sirioth, await

Her birth, if she must be. For this I know,
Necessity rules all the infinite world,
And even He perhaps submits unknown
To a compulsion. When the time is ripe,
We will consult once more what we shall do.

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INDIAN ART AND INDUSTRY.

MR. HAVEL'S VIEW.

THE MORAL FACTOR IN THE MACHINE.

It should be obvious to anyone who studies carefully the facts I have given that it is either stupendous folly or wickedness to waste the inherited skill of the Indian village weaver by forcing him into power-loom factories as a means of educating him in the science of modern industry. It is usual to draw a distinction between the "moral" and "material" progress of India, though the progress which is not moral is not real progress. The moral factor dominates even the machine.

An interesting illustration of this is being shown in the streets of London at the present moment, one which is very pertinent to the question of Indian industrial development, especially to the revival of the great hand-loom industry. The handsome cab and other horse-drawn vehicles are rapidly being superseded in the streets of London by motor vehicles. It might be supposed that here was a case in which the advantages of capitalism and of the centralisation of industry would become clearly evident. With a horse-drawn vehicle it is easy to understand that the personal interest of the driver and his kindness towards his horses are most important economic factors which give the small proprietor an advantage over the joint-stock company. But when the automatic machine takes the place of the living animal it might be imagined that these factors would be almost entirely eliminated, and that all the advantages would be on the side of the owners of large capital and great centralised organisations controlling a large number of motor vehicles. But so far from this being the case, it is the small proprietor, the owner of one or two of these motor vehicles who is gaining the advantage.

An interesting article in the *Morning Post* explain the reason for this. The moral factor rules even the motor cab. "The future of the taximeter cab proposition in the Metropolis," says the writer, "presents a very interesting problem. Doubtless the general impression is that only the very large cab companies will stand chance of surviving. On first-hand investigation of the facts, however, leads one to precisely the opposite conclusion. The profitable running of motor-cab can be achieved only by conscientiousness on the part of the driver and by a voluntary attention to a number of details such as cannot possibly be undertaken in any vast organisation where a cab is merely a cab and a driver is merely a man, without, as it were, individuality. For example, in a large cab company, if a man takes a holiday his vehicle is naturally not kept idle, but is taken out by another driver. Anybody who knows anything of machinery will realise at once that for a vehicle to be driven by two distinct drivers is ruinous. Again, how is any big company to check the manner in which the drivers

"slap the cabs out," jamming on the brakes and doing all sorts of dashing performances that they would certainly never indulge in, if the machines were their own property. In many cases the whole difference in running a motor-cab at a loss or a profit lies in whether you tear your tyres by the abuse of the brakes resulting from reckless driving." The writer goes on to show how the big companies, so far from getting a choice of the best drivers, only get those that the small proprietors do not desire to employ. The small proprietors earn more themselves, and thus can afford to pay their employees better wages than the big companies give. Their employees in their turn, knowing the establishment is worked on a small scale, handle the machine with care in place of abusing it, because they know that if it goes out of work they go out of work also. These cabmen of the small proprietors are thrifty, sober men whose object it is to save money until they have sufficient to become small proprietors themselves. "Manufacturers state that there are no clients they trust more willingly than a cambman. . . . This development of the small proprietor and the honest cab driver with enterprise is one of considerable interest. They are likely to form a class that will increase considerably. The financial future for the large cab companies is not bright, for the capital sunk in them is enormous and, in the main, every extra machine that is put on the road does not so much bring in additional receipts as tend to reduce the takings of the other cabs of the company on the road. One allows that in regard to repair works, motor-house facilities and so forth, there are all the materials and there is all the special accommodation that can be desired. But these are not the only essentials for financial success and the small man in more or less of a make-shift stable can for many

reasons make far more profit per cab than the large companies."

The article further explains in detail, how the big company system tends to make the motor cabmen not only careless and idle workers, but deliberately dishonest in their dealings with their employers. Like the power-loom factory system his over-centralisation of work is economically unsound because it demoralises the workers. No progress is possible, either in art or in industry, when the moral factor is ignored. The Swadeshi movement will stand or fall not by its success as a political manoeuvre nor by the increase it brings to the number of joint-stock trading companies and to the fatness of their dividends, but by its power to help in the moral uplifting of the Indian workmen. So far as I have been able to observe, it has hitherto done more towards putting money into the pockets of middle class shareholders by the usual processes of Western commercialism, than towards the promotion of economic and moral efficiency on the part of the Indian handicraftsman. It is true that the demand for Swadeshi manufactures has kept the village weavers busy for a time and sent many unemployed back to their looms. This is good, so far as it goes and as long as it lasts. But unless Swadeshi reformers work hard to teach the village weavers to organise themselves and to improve their mechanical methods, how long will the Indian hand-craftsman be able to stand against the "Swadeshi" power-loom and large handloom factories which are being multiplied day by day to help the middle class Indian capitalist to make larger profits? One hears much in the Indian Press about Swadeshi factories and joint-stock companies, but very little of Indian handicraft which is a greater moral factor than all of these.

India will cease to be India but will not, in the long run gain a single rupee by ignoring the moral factor in her industrial organisation. The modern industrial system in Europe is in a great measure a temporary expedient based on the transitional character or imperfection of modern scientific developments. If India is to be spared in future generations from the great social conflict which now threatens Europe, her industrial reformers must look to the future, and not to the present, of European progress. India should lead and not follow.

DR. COOMARSWAMY'S VIEW.

The results of European commercial production by means of labour-saving machinery are seen in *Increased* production; and *Increased* profit to the capitalist and not less. Therefore under the commercial system, it is no longer demand that regulates supply, but production that forces a market; and machinery has enabled the capitalist to do this to the fullest extent. The commercial method of commercialism is that to create want in order to have the opportunity of profiting by the filling of it.

Increased commercial production under the Western system absolutely forbids

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a union of Art with Labour, which union is the essential characteristic of all craftsmanship. It is no longer possible for culture and refinement to come to the workmen through his work. It must be won, if won at all, in spite of his work; he must seek them in a brief hour snatched from rest and sleep, at the expense of life itself. Further, he has not the even capacity for idling, but must continually seek amusement and excitement. There can, in short, be no quality of leisure in his work.

The results of labour-saving machinery have been less intelligent work for the producer. Not merely is the workman, through division of labour, no longer able to make any whole thing; not only is he confined to making small parts of things, but it is impossible for him to improve his position, or to win reward for excellence in the craft itself. Under Eastern guild conditions, it was possible and usual for the apprentice to rise through all the grades of knowledge and experience to the position of a master-craftsman. But take any such trade as carpet-making under modern conditions by power looms. The operator has no longer to design or to weave in and out the threads with his own fingers. He is employed in reality not as a carpet-weaver, but as the tender of a machine. He may rise to a higher place, it is true,—but it is to the place of a man responsible for the successful running of many machines by many men. That craft is for him destroyed as a means of culture, and the community has lost one more man's intelligence. For it is obviously futile to attempt to build up by evening classes and free libraries, what the whole of a man's work is for ever breaking down. It is instructive to compare the still living but fast disappearing relics of the union of Art with Labour in the East with the results of Western endeavours through education and free libraries to restore that general culture which cannot under commercialism exist. The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine.

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THEOSOPHY AND HINDUISM.

The Theosophical Society in India has passed through three phases. In Madame Blavatsky's time, it was known as a Buddhist movement, for both the founders were Buddhists by conversion. But both were uncompromising enemies of Christianity and professed regard for Hinduism, and made the Theosophical Society popular. The second period commenced with Mrs. Besant's coming to India. She came with a well-known reputation behind her as that of an anti-Christian and a Free-thinker, one who had suffered much from the hands of bigoted Christians. The simple Hindus welcomed her as their champion against their Christian assailants. The simple Hindus welcomed her as their champion against their Christian. Their enthusiasm reached a burning point when they learned that she had assumed Hinduism, and under the guidance of a well-known mystic of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was initiated into Hindu modes of worship. This lasted for some years. It was this phase of the theosophical Society that saw the establishment of the Hindu College in Benares. Money poured in whenever she appealed to Hindus for it. But that phase has also passed. The Theosophical Society has now come under the influence of one who at one time was a Christian clergyman in holy orders, and is now a Buddhist. But he has not forgotten his old love; and many think that he is a Christian missionary in disguise. Since Mrs. Besant came under his influence and returned the symbol of her once *Ishta Devi* to her Hindu teacher, she has become suddenly popular with the Christian community; and in her recent tour in England her lectures were fully reported in a widely circulated Christian paper called the *Christian Commonwealth*. No wonder that she is taken in England as a free-lance Christian missionary and her Hindu College as an institution to teach pure Christianity. Nor has she done anything

to disabuse the British public of this notion. On the contrary, she has been lecturing there on the coming of Christ. This new Theosophical revelation vouchsafed to the gentleman already referred to is that the Christ will take birth soon, within the life-time of many of us, and that the Theosophical Society is meant to clear the way for him; so that the public may not discard him, as he was discarded when he last appeared. If a Moslem preaches the near approach of the Mehdi we call him a fanatic, but when Mrs. Besant preaches the coming of Christ there are Hindus who call themselves orthodox, who swallow the stuff with avidity. No wonder if the Hindu College is looked upon with suspicion by all Hindus who are not under the glamour of this divinely gifted orator. We are sincere admirers of Mrs. Besant but if she goes on preaching the coming of Christ to Hindus as she has done in England, and in some places in India also, the days of the Theosophical Society in India are numbered, especially among the Hindus. As regards the Hindu College, Benares, it is high time to place it under some truly orthodox Hindu. We have nothing to say against the present Principal. He is very popular with the boys and is an honorary worker. We are all grateful to him, and to devoted workers like him, but a Hindu College is better under a born Hindu who is also orthodox.

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NEWS.

PATIALA SEDITION.

A petition was filed on the 26th ultimo by Messrs. Roushanal and Baidridas, counsel for the accused in the Patiala sedition case to the Special Tribunal complaining that in spite of its order the Deputy Inspector-General and the Superintendent of Police did not allow Counsel to interview the accused until a written order was produced.

The Special Tribunal thereupon reiterated its order of allowing facilities to Counsel to consult the accused.

TRANSVAAL INDIANS.

QUESTIONS IN HOUSE.

In the House of Commons on December 1st Mr. O'Grady asked a question calling attention to the meetings held in India to protest against the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal and suggesting that India should prohibit indentured Indian labour in South Africa as a protest.

The Master of Elibank replied:—"Lord Morley and the Government of India are giving their constant attention to the subject, but Lord Morley is at present unable to make any statement as to the future policy of the Government of India."

TOWN HALL MEETING.

A largely attended meeting was held in the Town Hall on Friday under the presidency of Hazi Abdul Jabbar, Khan Bahadur to consider the position of the Indians in the Transvaal. The gathering was all influential and thoroughly representative one. The speech of Mr. Polak, the Transvaal delegate, who described at length the pathetic incidents in connection with the struggle that the Indians are keeping up with all their might and main, created a profound impression.

AN URDU WORK.

Shams-ul-Ulma Moul Syed Ali Bilgrami M. A., Litt Doctor who translated in Urdu M. Gustave Lisbon's French work on Saracenic Civilisation is engaged in preparing an Urdu version of the same Savant's remarkable work on Indian Civilisation. M. Lisbon made several tours in India to acquaint himself with the different aspects of Indian Civilisation before writing the work.

NEWS.

MYSTERIOUS THEFT OF REVOLVERS.

The Fenwick Bazar Police assisted by the Criminal Investigation Department are enquiring into an alleged theft of fourteen revolvers and an automatic pistol belonging to the firm of Messrs. Lyon and Lyon gunmakers of Chowringhi. Mr. Lyon, senior partner of the firm, who had been on leave in Europe lately returned to Calcutta subsequent to his arrival in Calcutta he took stock of the goods in the firm and on Sunday discovered the theft of the revolvers which appears to have been committed some time in September. Mr. Halliday, Commissioner of Police, visited the firm's premises.

NARAYANGANJ SENSATION.

On Dec. 4th 80 revolver cartridges were found on the roof of the 1st Munsiff's Court in Narayanganj while the masons were working there. They informed the Police. Then Harendra Kumar Ghose Dy Magistrate and Jogesh Chandra Sen Gupta Head Constable, came there and took those cartridges. The District Superintendent of Police arrived here.

THE "SWARAJ" AGENT.

Mr. Aston, the Chief Presidency Magistrate disposed of a matter in which notice was issued against Mr. Vincent, Deputy Commissioner of Police at the instance of Ganesh Balwant Modak of Bombay, the agent of the "Swaraj" newspaper published in London and who was recently convicted under Section 124A. The notice called upon Mr. Vincent to show cause why papers, account books, correspondence etc. seized by the police in that case should not be returned. The Government Solicitor appeared with Mr. Vincent to show cause but as Modak did not put in appearance the notice was discharged.

ALLEGED POLICE ZOOLOG.

Some serious charges of robbery and wrongful confinement against four police officers are under inquiry in the Court of the Joint Magistrate of Allahabad. It is alleged that a Head Constable and three subordinates beat and robbed two Ahirs who were returning night with money after gambling and after locked them up in the police station. Next morning the complainants were released on bail by the Sub Inspectors when they made the subject of inquiry.

NEWS.

THE AHMEDABAD OUTRAGE.

The two persons who were arrested in connection with the bomb incident, and were taken to Ahmedabad for identification by Mr. Barrow, the Commissioner, have been brought back. Neither of them was the man seen by Mr. Barrow. It also cannot be ascertained whether they were in Ahmedabad on November 13th. Several Bengalis and others were called by the police, but nothing has transpired as to the identity of the culprit. Mr. J. Sladen, the Collector, has issued a notification announcing a reward of Rs. 5,000 to whomsoever can give information regarding the offender.

Ganesh Prasad Bannerji, the Bengalee, and Nandlal Pran Shanker, the Gujarati Hindu, who were recently arrested on suspicion by the Bombay police for being concerned in the outrage at Ahmedabad have been released for want of identification.

THE "SWARAJYA" SEDITION CASE.

The hearing of the case in which Nandgopal, Editor of a weekly Urdu paper "Swarajya," charged under section 124 A originally fixed for 2nd December has been postponed till 13th January, 1910 as he is still at Lahore where a charge of sedition has been framed against him in consequence of which it has not been possible to proceed with the case against him in Allahabad.

AGRA TORTURE CASE.

The Sessions Judge has delivered judgment on the application for revision made by Messrs. Morton and Sharma, Barristers-at-Law, against the finding of the Joint Magistrate of Agra acquitting Gajadhar Prasad, Police Sub-Inspector, who was charged with assault and wrongful confinement etc. The application was dismissed.

DEMAND FOR INDIAN COTTON.

It seems likely that the demand for Indian cotton will be exceptionally great when the exporting season sets in. Not only is there a serious shortage in the American crop but Egypt is expected to supply 50,000 tons less than last year. The ravages of the boll worm seem to be chiefly responsible for the smaller field in the Lower Nile Valley. It may be noted as an extra-ordinary development arising from the critical position of the trade that American Mills are said to be enquiring for Indian cotton.

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NEWS.

A NEW INDUSTRY FOR INDIA.

Now that ostrich farming is one of the new industries that promise to be introduced into India at an early date, as a result of the commercial awakening, it may be interesting to glance at the possibilities of this venture. For the purposes of comparison we have to go to South Africa for a few facts for it is in that country that the ostrich feather industry has been brought to its highest pitch of perfection; and, by careful selection, birds have been there produced that sell for as much as £1,000 each, writes the "Pioneer." Such costly specimens, of course, are for breeding purposes. Taken all round, the birds average about £5 each. In one district alone, however, there are farms containing some 90,000 ostriches which, at £6 per head, represent quite a tidy equity outlay. But the industry is believed to be a very profitable one. The demand for good feathers is enormous and the supply is deficient. Hence it comes about that as much as £10 is often paid for a single feather of the right size, colour and quality. The trade, moreover, is increasing rapidly. In 1904, for instance, export from Cape Colony amounted to 457,49 lbs. Whereas the figures for last year were 561,460 lbs. It takes a lot of feathers to make up that weight, but the cry is always for more. The recent ostrich feather auction, held in London in September last, was, it is claimed, the largest on record, the weight of feathers disposed of being 114,000 lbs. against 105,100 lbs. at the corresponding sale in September 1908. It is reasonably clear, therefore, that this trade is both a growing and a profitable one. It requires a certain amount of capital to start with certainly but otherwise it is easy to conduct and is quite "clean," as no pain is inflicted on the birds during the plucking season. The "plucking" fact is simply a clipping of the wing feathers. There are in India patches of territory that closely approach in climatic conditions the ostrich farming portions of Cape Colony, and from enquiries recently made there would appear no special reasons why the ostrich feather industry should not thrive in the right localities.

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NEWS.

THE AHMEDABAD OUTRAGE.

The municipal sweeper who was severely injured by the bomb at Ahmedabad is now out of danger though his arm has been amputated. Lord Minto made inquiries about him, and on finding that he was in debt to the Banias has paid off the debt and in addition has made a generous provision for his future.

MR. PAL'S VIEWS ON THE REFORM.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, lecturing at Manchester described Lord Morley's Indian Reform as a bribery calculated to make a section of the people sell their souls for a mess of pottage. The situation in India was boycott on the one hand and repression on the other. Their general policy was to boycott British goods and manufactures, because they knew the weakness of the British character; hence, when the British wounded their feelings, they retaliated by touching their pockets. Though he regretted the recent outbreak of violence, they could not control the impatient spirit of their race, and the question was whether it would be peace or revolution. If the present state of things continued, India would be worse than a second Ireland - It would be new Russia.

LAHORE SEDITION.

Mr. Harrison, Special Magistrate of Lahore, on the 2nd December, took up the sedition case in which Narendra Gopal stands charged with circulating a seditious pamphlet under Section 124 A. Mr. Pitman, Government Advocate, on behalf of the Crown, stated that the accused printed, sold and circulated a seditious book called "Kaumi Islah" or national reform. Mr. Pitman also put in extracts of a translation from the Allahabad "Swaraj." Mr. Bulakiram, Barrister and father of the accused appeared for the defence. The witnesses were examined by the prosecution including the translator. Mr. Pitman also filed papers relating to the confiscation of the "Inquibab" for proving accused's previous conduct and two copies of "Swaraj" in respect of which a prosecution was pending against the accused at Allahabad. Charges under Section 124A were framed.

The cases against Swaran Singh and Lalchand Palak will be taken up on the 6th instant.

In connection with this trial Kishan Singh, brother of Ajit Singh, was arrested on the 2nd instant.

NEWS.

DARBHANGA ORPHANS.

A representative and well-attended public meeting was held at Bankipore on the 4th instant, to consider the measures to be adopted for the Hindu orphans of the Darbhanga famine. The Honourable Maharaja Tikari presided. In his presidential speech he pointed out how the Collector of Darbhanga had refused to make over the famine orphans to the Hindus on the plea that he had already promised to make them over to a Christian Mission and the consequent indignation caused by it. He was glad to announce that Sir Edward Baker had authorized him to state that the Hindu orphans will not made over to the Christian Mission, but to a respectable Hindu Orphanage or families. Referring to the action of Mr. Egerton Collector of Darbhanga, the Maharaja: "I must say that before committing himself on so important a subject he should have consulted the Head of the Government, as matters of this kind create naturally a very strong impression of an unfavourable kind against the Government which every responsible officer should do his best to obviate. In these troublous times after hearing expression of views on the subject from His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, one may be justified in thinking that no small mischief is done when junior officers arrogate themselves an authority that does not belong to them and make pronouncements which have serious disturbing influences. It would be well if, in the future, such things were avoided." Hindu and Moslem leaders attended the meeting and measures were urged for opening a Hindu orphanage for Behar.

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INDIAN COUNCILS REFORM.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

NOTIFICATION.

BY THE LANDHOLDERS.

(1) "Attesting Officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the Attesting Officer under these rules, and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the Attesting Officer to perform his duties; and

(2) "Returning Officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the Returning Officer under these rules, and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the Returning officer to perform his duties.

2. The five members specified in Regulation 11, sub-head (v), shall be elected by landholders as follows, namely:—

Group A—by the landholders of the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions two members

Group B—by the landholders of the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions two members;

Group C—by the landholders of the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions two members;

Group D—by the landholders of the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions one member.

3. The election shall be made by the landholders qualified to vote and having a place of residence within the electoral group concerned who—

(a) pay either land revenue or road and public works cesses as follows, namely:—

(i) in the case of Group A (the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions), pay land revenue amounting to not less than seven thousand five hundred rupees or public work cesses amounting to not less than one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five rupees per annum;

(ii) in the case of Group B (the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions), pay land-revenue amounting to not less than four thousand rupees or road and public works cesses amounting to less than one thousand rupees per annum; and

(iii) in the case of group C (the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions), pay land-revenue amounting to not less than six thousand rupees or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than five hundred rupees per annum to

(b) hold titles conferred or recognised by the Government not lower in rank than that of Raja or Nawab.

Provided that no elector shall have more than one vote though he may possess more than one of the qualifications above described.

4. (1) On or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government

this behalf, an electoral roll for each electoral group in Form I annexed to this Schedule shall be published by the Returning Officer in the local official Gazette.

(2) As soon as may be after the publication of the said roll in the official Gazette, a copy thereof shall be posted in a conspicuous place at the office of every District Magistrate in electoral group and in the case of Calcutta at the office of the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

5. In determining the eligibility of a landholder to have his name entered on electoral roll for any electoral group:

(a) only such estates and shares of estates as are held by him as proprietor in his own right and not in a fiduciary capacity and are registered in his own name in registers maintained under the Land Registration Act, 1876, whether such estates or shares are situated in one or more Divisions in the electoral group, shall be taken into account:

(b) if the amount paid by the landholder in respect of any such share of an estate is not definitely known, the District Officer of the district in which such estate is situated shall estimate the amount so paid in respect of such shares, and his decision shall be final; and

(c) if a landholder pays land-revenue or cesses in respect of estates or shares in estates situated in two or more electoral groups, and if his payments in none of such groups, reach the amount prescribed for such group, his payments within all the groups shall be aggregated, and if such aggregate equals or exceeds the amounts prescribed for the group in which he makes the largest payment, he shall be entitled to be entered to be entered in the electoral roll for that group.

6. The electoral roll shall be conclusive evidence for the purpose of determining whether any person is an elector or not under these rules.

7. (1) The electoral roll published under rule 4 shall be subject to revision from time to time as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct.

(2) At the same time so notified any landholder whose name does not appear on the said electoral roll and who claims to have his name included therein, and

any person who objects to the entry of any name in such roll, may, within fifteen days after the publication of the notification under the last sub-rule, forward to the Returning Officer either direct or through the District Magistrate of the district in which he has a place of residence, a statement of such claim or objection, as the case may be.

(3) The Returning Officer shall consider and decide upon all such claims or objections, and his decision shall be final.

(4) As soon as may be after the disposal of such claims and objections, the electoral roll added to or altered on such revision, shall be published and posted as provided in rule 4.

8. (1) Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations, whose name is on the electoral roll, may be nominated as a candidate for election in the electoral group in which he is qualified as an elector.

(2) Such nomination paper in Form II supplied by the Returning Officer or any District Magistrate to any elector in that group applying for the same.

(3) Every nomination paper shall be subscribed by two electors in that ground as proposer and seconder, and shall be attested by an Attesting Officer in the manner prescribed on the face of the Form:

Provided that no elector shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers shall be presented to an Attesting Officer for attestation on or before the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, and when duly attested shall be forthwith despatched by registered post by the Attesting Officer to the Returning Officer.

(5) Nomination papers which are not received by the Returning Officer before the date and time appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers shall be rejected.

9. (1) On the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government for the scrutiny of nomination papers, every candidate and his proposer and seconder

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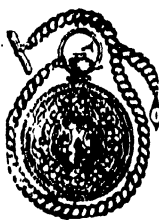
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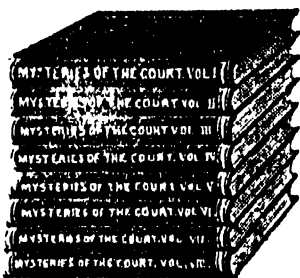
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No. 24.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Sir Pherozshah's Resignation.

The resignation of Sir Pherozshah Mehta took all India by surprise. It was as much a cause of astonishment to his faithful friends and henchmen as to the outside world. The speculation and bewilderment have been increased by the solemn mystery in which the Dictator of the Convention has shrouded his reasons for a step so suddenly and painfully embarrassing to the body he created and now rules and protects. A multitude of reasons have been severally alleged for this sudden move in the game by ingenious speculators, but they seem mostly to be figments of the imagination. It was an ingenious guess that Sir Pherozshah has been appointed, as a reward for his great services to the Government, on the India Council and could, therefore, take no farther part in party politics. But until the appointment, if real, is announced, such self-denial is not obligatory, and surely Lord Morley would be quite willing to give his choice ten days grace in order that he might pilot through this crisis in its fortunes a body so useful to the Government as the Convention that is striving this year to meet at Lahore. We ourselves lean to the idea that it is the complications ensuing on the unmasking of the Reforms that are chiefly responsible for

the move. The Reforms are exasperating to Hindu sentiment, destructive to popular interests and a blow even to the Loyalist Hindus who were loudest in acclaiming the advent of the millennium. The Bombay leaders cannot accept the Reform without exasperating the people or refuse them without offending the Government. They are in that embarrassing position which is vulgarly called being in a cleft stick. It is not surprising in a tactician of Sir Pherozshah's eminence that, at such a critical juncture, he should prefer to guide the deliberations of the Lahore Convention from behind the veil rather than stand forward and become personally responsible for whatever he may think it necessary to compel the Convention to do. The Bengal Conventionists are already in danger of drifting away from the moorings and the new Regulations have, we believe, created the imminence of another dissension among the remaining faithful. The resignation of Sir Pherozshah makes it easier for the Bengal Moderates to attend the Lahore Congress, and that may not have been absent from the thoughts of the master tactician. But we never thought that Sir Pherozshah would care so much for the co-operation of the Bengalis as to allow Srijiit Surendronath to be President, as certain sanguine gentlemen in Bengal seem to have

expected. Failing Sir Pherozshah and Mr. Gokhale, who for obvious reasons cannot be put forward so soon after the Benares Presidentship, Mr. Madanmohan Malaviya was evidently the man, and we find accordingly that he has been designated for the succession by the obedient coterie at Bombay. We wait with interest the upshot of this very attractive entanglement and the method by which the Convention will try to wriggle out of the very difficult hole into which Lord Morley has thrust it.

The Council Elections.

The elections for the Reformed Councils, so far as they have proceeded, entirely justify the description of the new bodies which, we gave in our article on the Reforms. The elections for the United Provinces give a fair sample of the results which are sure to obtain all over India. With the exception of two or three gentlemen of the type of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, there is none on the Council to represent the educated wealthy, much less the people at large; all the rest are Europeans, Mahomedans and grandees. It is a Council of Notables, not a reformed Legislative Council representing both the Government and the people. In Bengal two gentlemen have been elected who represent the most lukewarm element in the popular party, for Sji. Baikuntanath

Sen and Mr. K. B. Dutt stand not for the new movement in Bengal so much as for the old antiquated Congress politics which Bengal, even in its Moderate element, has left far behind. Behar sends one independent man in Mr. Deep Narayan Singh. All the rest are of the dignified classes who either have no patriotic feelings or dare not express them. It is possible that Sir Edward Baker, in order to remove the stigma of unrepresentative subserviency from his Council, may try to nominate two or three who will help to keep S. J. Baikunthanath and his friend in countenance, but that purely personal grace will not mend matters. The Bengal Council is likely to be an even more select and unrepresentative body than we expected. We counted the District Boards as possible constituencies for representatives of opposition and independent opinion, but, for the most part, they might almost as well as have been preserves for the aristocracy. In East Bengal it is evident that the Councils will be a Mahomedan and European body.

British Unfitness for Liberty

By all Anglo-Indian papers it was triumphantly announced as a conclusive proof of the unfitness of the Indian people for self-government that the Surat Congress should have been broken up by the storming of the platform when passions were highly excited and relations between parties at breaking-point. Every ordinary sign of excitement at a public meeting is telegraphed to England under some such graphic title as "Uproarious proceedings at the Provincial Conference." But if rowdiness is a sign of unfitness for liberty, there is no country so unfit as England itself and logically, as lovers of England, our Anglo-Indian friends ought to pray that Germany, which knows how to sternly stop such disturbances, or Russia, which knows how to punish them, should take charge of England and teach her people respect for law and order. The excitement of the great revolutionary struggle now proceeding in England has already in those few days induced such lawlessness and disorder that it is becoming almost impossible for Conservative speakers to command a public hearing. At first it was the Liberal Minister, Mr. Ure, whose meetings were systematically in-

terrupted and broken up by organised Conservative rowdiness. Since then the Radicals have retaliated with much greater effect, first, with "goodhumoured" interruption, then with more formidable tumult and, finally, we see the temper rising to absolute ferocity. Not only do we read in one telegram of four Conservative meetings which were of a disorderly nature, while Lord Kesteven and Lord Harris were refused a hearing, but the windows at Mr. Ure's last meeting were broken with a battering ram and several of his audience were cut; and the other day a Conservative meeting was broken up, the agent left senseless by his assailants and the candidate only saved by a skilful flight. Nor were the worst excesses of which our young men were accused in the prosecution of the Boycott and picketing, anywhere near the violence and recklessness of which Englishwomen have been systematically guilty during the last few months. Clearly it is time that a more capable nation conquered and took charge of England.

The Lahore Convention.

The prospects of the Lahore Convention seem to be exceedingly clouded. In the matter of the Presidentship the fiat has gone forth from Bombay that Pandit Madan Mohan shall be President and, unless the dissatisfaction with the Mehta leadership has extended itself to the subservient Congress Committees, it is likely that the Bombay nomination will give the lead to the rest of the Conventionist coterie, excepting perhaps Burma and Bengal. The Convention is now at a critical stage of its destinies. Disowned by the Punjab, troubled by strained relations between Bombay and Bengal, it has received the crowning blow from the Government which supports it; its policy has been discredited before the country and once more it has been proved to a disgusted people that the methods of the Conventionists lead to nothing but rebuffs, humiliation and political retrogression in the name of reform. If this body is to survive, there is need of a strong hand and skilful guidance, otherwise the present session is likely to be the last. Already the Convention is becoming the refuge of an out-of-date and vanishing coterie who no longer command the confidence of the country. By its very consti-

tution the Convention has cut itself off from the people and a few men meeting in conclave elect the delegates in the name of an indifferent or hostile public. The dying post in vain strives to intrench itself in this insecure and crumbling fortress. Every day will serve to undermine it more and more and the Nationalists are content to let time and inevitable tendency do their work for them. Only by a radical self-purification and change of policy can the Convention hope to survive.

THE MODERATE MANIFESTO.

The practical exclusion of the educated classes, other than Mahomedans, landholders and titled grandees, from the new Councils and the preference of Mahomedans to Hindus has rung the death-knell of the old Moderate politics in India. If the Moderate party is to survive, it has to shift its base and alter its tactics. If its leaders ignore the strong dissatisfaction and disillusionment felt by educated Hindus all over India or if they tamely acquiesce in a reform which seems to have been deliberately framed in order to transfer political preponderance from Hindus to Mahomedans and from the representatives of the educated class to the landed aristocracy, they will very soon find themselves leaders without a following. The Moderate party at present is held together merely by the prestige and personal influence of the small secret Junta of influential men who lead it, not by any settled convictions or intelligent policy. The personalities of Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozshah Mehta in Bombay, of S. J. Surendranath Banerji and S. J. Bhupendranath Bose in Bengal, of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the United Provinces, of Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar in Madras constitute Moderatism in their respective provinces. What these old and respected leaders decide in their close and secret deliberations is accepted, no longer without cavilling, but still with a somewhat reluctant acquiescence by their party. But the public mind has now been too deeply stirred for the leaders to ignore the opinion of the country. The resignation by Sir Pherozshah Mehta of his Presidentship of the Lahore Convention

following so soon after the publication of the Regulations, the speech of Mr. Gokhale at the Deccan Sabha and the manifesto issued by the Calcutta Moderates are the first signs of the embarrassment felt by the heads of the party. There can be no doubt that they have allowed themselves to be tools in the hands of the officials and were not prepared for being thrown overboard as the sole recompense.

The speech of Mr. Gokhale shows the line along which the Bombay Moderate leaders desire to pilot their followers. It is the line chalked out for them by Lord Minto and other Anglo-Indian advisers. A great deal of feeling has been created against Mr. Gokhale throughout the country by his justification of the "stern and relentless" measures employed by the Government against the Nationalist party and the Boycott movement and by the Bombay Government's use of the new repressive legislation to crush a personal adversary in Mr. Gokhale's interests. The Moderate leader has with a belated adroitness used the disqualification of the Nationalist, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, to rehabilitate himself, if that be possible, by championing the cause of a political opponent. We do not know whether Mahratta sentiment will be shallow enough to be misled by this manœuvre. The disqualification of Mr. Kelkar is an incident we welcome as a gain to our cause. On the other hand, apart from the empty formula of protest and a formal recognition of the sentiment of the country against the defects of the measure, the speech is merely a repetition of Lord Minto's appeal to give this vicious, injurious and insulting measure a fair chance,—on the very shadowy possibility to which the Moderate leaders still profess to cling, that all this alloy will be changed to pure gold in the next three years. Mr. Gokhale is still the political henchman of Lord Minto and echoes his sentiments with a pathetic fidelity.

The manifesto of the Moderate leaders in Calcutta is of more importance. The Bengal veterans have not yet lost caste by publicly turning against their countrymen and approving Government repression; they still keep some touch with pub-

lic sentiment and have not yielded body and soul to the rallying call of Lord Morley. Even so fervid an Anti-Nationalist as Dr. Rasbehari Ghose, to the great discontent and surprise of the *Englishman*, has signed the document. The manifesto shows a clear sense of the short comings of the measure of reform which was acclaimed with such gratitude by these same able politicians when the skeleton had not been filled in with its present generous padding. It is to be regretted that a false note has been struck by the reference to the modification of one clause and the complaint that the "relief" thus afforded was insignificant and many distinguished men would still be barred out of the Council. Are the distinguished men of Bengal paupers cringing for personal doles that this kind of language should be used or this kind of argument advanced? We cannot congratulate the framer of the manifesto either on the form or the matter of this unhappy sentence. The recognition of class and creed as a basis of representation, the exclusion of popular interests in favour of the dignified elements in the community, the illusory nature of the non-official majority, the limitation of the functions of the Councils to criticism without control and the denial of freedom of election are the real gravamen of the charges against Lord Morley's measure, and the barring out of certain distinguished men is a mere incident which can certainly be used in newspaper articles and speeches as an indication of motive, but ought not to have been introduced into a grave document of this nature. The effective representation of the people the preservation of sound democratic principles of representation in the formation of the electorates and freedom of election are the objects disinterested and patriotic men should hold before them, not the privilege of entry into the Councils for distinguished men.

But while the manifesto contains a full and exhaustive statement of the objections to the Reform, it is silent as the grave with regard to the practical methods which the Moderate leaders propose to adopt in order to bring about real reform. Will they follow the Bombay lead? Will they strike out a line of their

own? At the close of the manifesto there is a pious expression of indomitable hope characteristic of the Moderate party, the party of obstinate illusions; the signatories, it seems, do not despair of the Government seeing the error of their ways and modifying the regulations so as to restore Lord Morley's original scheme. There is something heroic in this desperate absence of despair. It reminds us of the most heroic passage in Roman history when, after the massacre of Cannae, the beaten general and cause of the disaster returned an almost solitary fugitive to Rome, preferring flight to a soldier's death, and the whole Roman senate came out to meet him and thank him that he had not despaired of his country. What is it that the Moderate leaders hope? Do they hope that the regulations will be so modified as to admit all the distinguished men whom they are interested in seeing at their back in the Councils? Or do they hope that the fundamental defects we have enumerated will be removed by a sort of spontaneous repentance and confession of original sin on the part of the Government? If so, what other basis have they for their incurable hopefulness except the faculty of the chameleon for living on unsubstantial air? The modifications of which they speak are not modifications, but a radical alteration of the whole spirit and details of the measure.

We also do not despair of a wholesome change in the attitude of the Government, but we do not believe in political miracles. There is no progress in politics except by the play of cause and effect, and if we want a particular effect, we must first create the suitable and effective cause. The only cause that can bring about so radical a change in the attitude of the Government by the failure of this misbegotten scheme and the necessity of substituting one better conceived and more liberal. And the only way to bring about the failure and the consequent necessity is to focus the whole opposition of the Hindu interest and the popular interest, with whatever Mahomedan assistance we can get, in a movement of abstention from the present Councils and an active agitation by effective means for the

recognition of the great democratic principles that have been ignored and the formation of a new scheme after consultation with the popular leaders. This, it seems to us, is a legitimate sphere of activity for a strong and self-respecting Moderate party. But if they stultify themselves by accepting in any way a measure designed to reduce them to nullity or impotence, they will commit suicide. Their empty protests against the defects of the Bill will be recognized as meaningless, for they will have deprived themselves of their only leverage for remedying the defects. The country has no room any longer for a party of mere sanguine expectancy and helpless dependence on the will of superior power. Moderatism at present is a mass of ill-defined aspirations, ungrounded hopes and helpless methods leading to perpetual and repeated disappointment, increasing weakness and deepening self-discontent. No party vowed to these uninspiring methods and depressing experiences can hope to survive at a time when political life is becoming more and more vivid and real. The Moderates must give up their vague unpracticality and adopt a definite aim, a distinct programme, effective methods.

We do not know whether the Moderate leaders could ever bring themselves so far as to stand out for a real measure of control as distinguished from a wider power of criticism. But there is no reason why they should not make up their minds to fight for a popular electorate based on education, exclusive of class and religious distinctions, free election and an elective majority, and refuse to be satisfied with less. In that case, the Nationalist party would represent a more advanced force standing out for a measure of effective control and a democratic electorate based on literacy, in addition to the Moderate demands. If, on the other hand, the Moderates would also accept control as a necessary factor of any political settlement, Moderate and Nationalist would again come into line and stand on a common platform, the only distinction being that one party would accept the settlement as a satisfactory solution for the present, while the other would regard it merely as

an instrument for developing autonomy. But while the exclusory clauses of the Moderate Convention's Constitution remain, this drawing together is not possible, or, if it were possible, could not be sincere and effective. Those clauses are a sign and pledge of the Mehta-Morley alliance and ratify the policy of which Mr. Gokhale's Poona speech was the expression, the policy of rallying the Moderates to the Government's support and crushing the Nationalists.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

V

The value of art in the training of intellectual faculty is also an important part of its utility. We have already indicated the double character of intellectual activity, divided between the imaginative creative and sympathetic or comprehensive intellectual centres on the one side and the critical, analytic and penetrative on the other. The latter are best trained by science, criticism and observation, the former by art, poetry, music, literature and the sympathetic study of man and his creations. These make the mind quick to grasp at a glance, subtle to distinguish shades, deep to reject shallow self-sufficiency, mobile, delicate, swift, intuitive. Art assists in this training by raising images in the mind which it has to understand not by analysis, but by self-identification with other minds; it is a powerful stimulator of sympathetic insight. Art is subtle and delicate, and it makes the mind also in its movements subtle and delicate. It is suggestive, and the intellect habituated to the appreciation of art is quick to catch suggestions, mastering not only, as the scientific mind does, that which is positive and on the surface, but that which leads to ever fresh widening and subtilising of knowledge and opens a door into the deeper secrets of inner nature where the positive instruments of science cannot take the depth or measure. This supreme intellectual value of Art has never been sufficiently recognised. Men have made language, poetry, history, philosophy agents for the training

of this side of intellectuality, necessary parts of a liberal education, but the immense educative force of music, painting and sculpture has never been recognized. They have been thought to be bye-paths of the human mind, beautiful and interesting, but not necessary, therefore intended for the few. Yet the universal impulse to enjoy the beauty and attractiveness of sound, to look at and live among pictures, colours, forms ought to have warned mankind of the superficiality and ignorance of such a view of these eternal and important occupations of human mind. The impulse, denied proper training and self-purification, has spent itself on the trivial, gaudy, sensuous, cheap or vulgar instead of helping man upward by its powerful aid in the evocation of what is best and highest in intellect as well as in character, emotion and the aesthetic enjoyment and regulation of life and manners. It is difficult to appreciate the waste and detriment involved in the low and debased level of enjoyment to which the artistic impulses are condemned in the majority of mankind.

But beyond and above this intellectual utility of Art, there is a higher use, the noblest of all, its service to the growth of spirituality in the race. European critics have dwelt on the close connection of the highest developments of art with religion, and it is undoubtedly true that in Greece, in Italy, in India, the greatest efflorescence of a national Art has been associated with the employment of the artistic genius to illustrate or adorn the thoughts and fancies of the temples and instruments of the national religion. This was not because Art is necessarily associated with the outward forms of religion, but because it was in the religion that men's spiritual aspirations centred themselves. Spirituality is a wider thing than formal religion and it is in the service of spirituality that Art reaches its highest self-expression. Spirituality is a single word expressive of three lines of human aspiration towards divine knowledge, divine love and joy, divine strength, and that will be the highest and most perfect Art which, while satisfying the physical requirements of the aesthetic sense, the laws of

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formal beauty, the emotional demand of humanity, the portrayal of life and outward reality, as the best European Art satisfies these requirements, reaches beyond them and expresses inner spiritual truth, the deeper not obvious reality of things, the joy of God in the world and its beauty and desirableness and the manifestation of divine force and energy in phenomenal creation. This is what Indian Art alone attempted thoroughly and in the effort it often dispensed, either deliberately or from impatience, with the lower, yet not negligible perfections which the more material European demanded. Therefore Art has flowed in two separate streams in Europe and Asia, so diverse that it is only now that the European aesthetic sense has so far trained itself as to begin to appreciate the artistic conventions, aims and traditions of Asia. Asia's future development will unite these two streams in one deep and grandiose flood of artistic self-expression perfecting the aesthetic evolution of humanity.

But if Art is to reach towards the highest, the Indian tendency must dominate. The spirit is that in which all the rest of the human being reposes, towards which it returns and the final self-revelation of which is the goal of humanity. Man becomes God, and all human activity reaches its highest and noblest when it succeeds in bringing body, heart and mind into touch with spirit. Art can express eternal truth, it is not limited to the expression of form and appearance. So wonderfully has God made the world that a man using a simple combination of lines, an unpretentious harmony of colours, can use this apparently insignificant medium to suggest absolute and profound truths with a perfection which language labours with difficulty to reach. What Nature is, what God is, what man is can be triumphantly revealed in stone or on canvas.

Behind a few figures, a few trees and rocks the supreme Intelligence, the supreme Imagination, the supreme Energy lurks, acts, feels, is, and, if the artist has the spiritual vision, he can see it and suggest perfectly the great mysterious Life in its manifestations brooding in

action, active in thought, energetic in stillness, creative in repose, full of a mastering intention in that which appears blind and unconscious. The great truths of religion, science, metaphysics, life, development, become concrete, emotional, universally intelligible and convincing in the hands of the master of plastic Art, and the soul of man, in the stage when it is rising from emotion to intellect, looks, receives the suggestion and is uplifted towards a higher development, a diviner knowledge.

So it is with the divine love and joy which pulsates throughout existence and is far superior to alloyed earthly pleasure. Catholic, perfect, unmixed with repulsion, radiating through all things, the common no less than the high, the mean and shabby no less than the lofty and splendid, the terrible and the repulsive no less than the charming and attractive, it uplifts all, purifies all, turns all to love and delight and beauty. A little of this immortal nectar poured into a man's heart transfigures life and action. The whole flood of it pouring in would lift mankind to God. This too Art can seize on and suggest to the human soul, aiding it in its stormy and toilsome pilgrimage. In that pilgrimage it is the divine strength that supports. Shakti, Force, pouring through the universe supports its boundless activities, the frail and tremulous life of the rose no less than the flaming motions of sun and star. To suggest the strength and virile unquenchable force of the divine Nature in man and in the outside world, its energy, its calm, its powerful inspiration, its august enthusiasm, its wildness, greatness, attractiveness, to breathe that into man's soul and gradually mould the finite into the image of the Infinite is another spiritual utility of Art. This is its loftiest function, its fullest consummation, its most perfect privilege.

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ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER XI.—(Continued.)

The ascetic said, "Come by this way", and began to ascend another underground passage. Suddenly the rays of the morning sun shone in their eyes and from every side the sweet-voiced family of birds shrilled in song. In a wide temple built in stone of marble they saw a beautifully fashioned image of the Ten-armed Goddess made in gold, laughing and radiant in the light of the early sun. The ascetic saluted the image and said, "This is the Mother as she shall be. Her ten arms are extended towards the ten regions and they bear many a force imaged in her manifold weapons; her enemies are trampled under her feet and the lion on which her foot rests, is busy destroying the foe. Behold her, with the regions for her arms,"—as he spoke, Satyananda began to sob,—"with the regions for her arms, wielder of manifold weapons, trampler down of her foes, with the lion-heart for the steed of her riding; on her right Lakshmi as Prosperity, on her left Speech-giver of learning and science, Kartikeya with her as Strength, Ganesh as Success. Come, let us both bow down to the Mother." Both with lifted faces and folded hands began to cry with one voice. "O auspicious with all well-omened things, O thou ever propitious, who effectest all desire, O refuge of men, three-eyed and fair of hue, O Energy of Nanyan, salutation to thee."

The two men bowed down with awe and love, and when they rose, Mohendra asked in a broken voice, "When shall I see this image of the Mother?" "When all the Mother's sons" replied the Brahmacharin, "learn to call the Mother by that name, on that day the Mother will be gracious to us."

Suddenly Mohendra asked, "Where are my wife and daughter?"

"Come" said the ascetic, "you shall see them."

"I wish to see them once and say farewell."

"Why should you say farewell?"

"I shall take up this mighty vow."

"When will you send them to?"

Mohendra thought for a little and then said, "There is no one in my house and I have no other place. Yet in this time of famine, what other place can I find?"

"The Bengl soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

"Go out of the temple," said the ascetic "by the way by which you came here. At the door of the temple you will see your wife and child. Up to this moment Kalyani has eaten nothing. You will find articles of food in the place where they are sitting. When you have made her eat, do whatever you please; at present you will not again meet any of us. If this mind of yours holds, at the proper time I shall show myself to you."

Then suddenly by some path unknown the ascetic vanished from the place. Mohendra went forth by the way pointed out to him and saw Kalyani with her daughter sitting in the court of meeting.

Satyananda on his side descended by another underground passage into a secret cellar under the earth. There Jivananda and Bhavananda sat counting rupees and arranging them in piles. In that room gold, silver, copper, diamonds, coral, pearls were arrayed in heaps. It was the money looted on the previous night they were arranging. Satyananda as he entered the room, said, "Jivananda, Mohendra will come to us. If he comes, it will be a great advantage to the Children, for in that case the wealth accumulated in his family from generation to generation will be devoted to the Mother's service. But so long as he is not body and soul devoted to the Mother, do not take him into the order. As soon as the work you have in hand is completed, follow him at various times and when you see it is the proper season, bring him to the temple of Vishnu. And in season, or out of season protect their lives. For even as the punishment of the wicked is the duty of the Children, so is the protection of the good equally their duty."

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EPIPHANY.

Majestic, mild, immortally august,
In silence throned, to just and to unjust
One Lord of deep unutterable love,
I saw Him, Shiva, like a brooding dove
Close-winged upon her nest. The outcasts came,
The sinners gathered round that tender Flame,
The demons, by the other fiercer gods
Rejected from their luminous abodes,
Gathered around the Refuge of the lost.
Soft smiling on that wild and grisly host
All who were refugeless, wretched, unloved,
The wicked and the good together moved
Naturally to Him, the Asylum sweet,
And found their heaven at their Master's feet.
The vision changed and in his place there stood
A Terror red as lightning or as blood;
His fierce right hand a javelin advanced
And, as He shook it, earthquake reeling danced
Across the hemisphere, ruin and plague
Rained out of heaven, disasters swift and vague
Threatened, a marching multitude of ills.
His foot strode forward to oppress the hills.
And at the vision of His burning eyes
The hearts of men grew faint with dread surmise
Of sin and punishment; their cry was loud,
"O Master of the stormwind and the cloud,
Spare, Rudra, spare. Show us that other form
Auspicious, not incarnate wrath and storm."
The God of Wrath, the God of Love are one
Nor least He loves when most He smites. Alone
Who rises above fear and plays with grief,
Defeat and death, inherits full relief
From blindness and beholds the single Form,
Love masking Terror, Peace supporting storm.
The Friend of Man helps him with Life and Death,
Until he knows. Then freed from mortal breath
He feels the joy of the immortal play;
Grief, pain, resentment, terror pass away.
He too grows Rudra fierce, august and dire,
And Shiva, sweet fulfiller of desire.

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NEWS.

STUDENTS INTERDICTED.

The Government have notified that with effect from January, 1910, no boys belonging to undermentioned schools shall be admitted to any Government aided or recognised schools because the Government consider teaching in these schools to be objectionable.

1. Samarth Vidyalaya, Telagaon.
2. Mahashtra Vidyalaya, Poona.
3. Mustifundavaril Shala, Dharangaon.
4. Acrivate Anglo Vernacular School.

SEDITION IN LAHORE.

The authorities of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, have, it is alleged, granted "leave of absence" to the professor of the Institution whose house was searched last month along with those of certain persons who are now being prosecuted for sedition at Lahore. The Professor in question had rented the house which had been occupied by the brother of Ajit Singh, and which contained a portion of Kishen Singh's property. The Police searched the house and took away certain papers belonging to the Kishen Singh as well as some papers in the possession of the professor, but, according to the *Arya Gazette*, he says that some of the documents alleged to have been taken from his belongings were neither in his possession nor belonged to him. Hence the authorities have decided that the professor should not deliver lectures there until the sedition case recently instituted at Lahore have come to end.

BEHAR NATIONAL COLLEGE.

The Maharaja Kumar of Tikari has endowed the Behar National College with a chair of Chemistry, besides paying the entire cost of building a laboratory.

SIR P. MEHTA RESIGNS THE CONGRESS PRESIDENCY.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has resigned the presidentship of the Lahore Congress. He has sent the following message to Lala Harkishenlal, Chairman of the Reception Committee: "I deeply regret that owing to a combination of unexpected circumstances I am compelled to relinquish the honour of presiding at the Lahore Congress."

Various reasons are assigned regarding the resignation of Sir P. M. Mehta and nothing authentic is available. Lala Harkishen Lal, in reply to urgent enquiries, stated, "Sir P. M. Mehta has not communicated his reasons to us." It is, however, understood that telegraphic negotiations are proceeding between Bombay and Lahore and Mr. Wacha had a long conference with Sir P. M. Mehta this morning. One of the rumours is that the Reception Committee wanted to see in advance the President's speech. As it was not ready the President sent a rough sketch. It is surmised that this rough draft caused dissension.

NEWS.

THE BOMB CASE.

No date has yet been fixed for the hearing of the reference in the Alipur Bomb case by Mr. Justice Harington who is to decide the fate of the five accused, in respect of whom there has been difference of opinion between Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Justice Carnduff.

THE PATIALA SEDITION CASE.

The *Punjabi* publishes an order by the Maharaja of Patiala stating that pleaders not enrolled by the State are allowed, in the present instance, as an act of special grace but such pleaders must understand that they are only allowed to appear on condition that they do not obstruct or attempt in any way to unnecessarily prolong the proceedings. If the Court finds that this condition is violated, the pleader violating it will be required to retire. The applications on the part of a pleader to appear should be made in writing to the Ijlas-i-khas and specify the particular pleader by name and such permission, if granted, should take effect only upon the Court taking cognisance of the case on the date of which due notice will be given to all concerned. The Court will exercise direction as to the number of pleaders who will be permitted to address the Court at the close of the case or upon any point arising during the proceedings.

An influential appeal has been issued for financial help for the *Arya Samajist* accused in the case. It is said that several well-known *Arya Samaj* pleaders will appear for the accused without any remuneration.

SUKKUR SEDITION CASE.

The Sukkur Sedition Case under section 124A against Gordanlal Kalachand, author and Virumal and Chetumal, printer and salesman respectively, of the "Swadeshi Shachal" will be tried at the Sukkur Criminal Sessions on the 16th instant.

THE DACCA ARMACT CASE.

In the Arms Act case against Sasi Sarkar after the cross-examination of one prosecution witness by Babu Sirish Chandra Chatterjee, pleader for the defence. An adjournment to 13th December has been ordered by the trying Magistrate.

NEWS.

LAHORE SEDITION CASE.

Mr. Harrison, the Special Magistrate Lahore, was engaged the whole of the 6th inst. In hearing the sedition cases against Kishen Singh and Lalchand. The case against Saran Singh could not be taken up as he is lying seriously ill. Some ten witnesses were examined and the cases were adjourned.

The cases in which Lalchand Falak and Kishen Singh stand charged with sedition, came up before Mr. Harrison, Special Magistrate, again on the 7th instant, and was decided that a separate trial is necessary in the case of each accused. Lalchand Falak was arraigned under a fresh charge of sedition for another publication.

THE DACCA JANMASTOMY CASE.

The Janmastomy case has again been adjourned to 6th January to enable Colonel Anderson to give evidence.

ALLEGED SEDITION IN C. P.

Mr. Shambhuranao Gadgil's appeal case in connection with his ridiculing the birthday honours taken up by the Judicial Commissioner on the 7th. Barristers Dick and Pandit appeared for the Crown while the accused was defended by Mr. Dixit Bar-at-Law. Counsel for the defence in arguing the case showed how the sanction for prosecuting Mr. Gadgil was insufficient and that the articles were not seditious and did not come under section 124A, as the Chief Commissioner's status was not brought into contempt. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* views regarding the Government established by law were also put forth by him. Mr. Dixit urged that the articles were not seditious because they hinted at the Government conferring those titles in order that the titleholders might not bring drawback of the Government to its notice. The case closed to day and judgement was reserved.

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NEWS.

BENGALI ARRESTED ON SUSPICION.

A young Bengali named Purna Chandra Pokro native of Chundernagore, was arrested at Madras on the 7th by the police. He is said to be an associate of Hoti Lal Burma, now undergoing imprisonment at Agra. The accused with Hoti Lal started an Association in Pondichery with the object of carrying on an Anti-British agitation. Mr Pappa Row Naidu, the officer who arrested the accused at the station was led to do so by a photograph which fell into his hands accidentally and which showed the accused with others a group surrounded by dangerous weapons. The accused was produced before the Commissioner of Police and not being able to give a satisfactory account for his presence in Madras was remanded to jail.

HALUDBARI DACOITY.

Quite a fuss was made at Nattore in connection with the Haludbari dacoity on Tuesday morning, the 30th November, when some of the most respectable gentlemen's houses were searched by the District Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi, the P. A. of the Inspector General, C. I. D. Dacca, with several of their enthusiastic Mahomedan Sub-Inspectors and other followers. The peace-loving and quiet Nattore people were very much offended and surprised at this unusual, unnecessary and vexatious procedure of the police, at a place which had firmly fixed its reputation of being cold and dormant during the last few years regarding all sorts of Swadeshi agitation.

Five houses belonging to Dr. Romesh Chandra Sunkar, Dr. Hari Mohan Ghose, Babu Haro Gobind Sunkar, Kaviraj Jogendra Nath Roy and Mathur Karmakar were raided and very closely inspected. The last house is a shop of the said Karmakar who being absent on the occasion and his shop being closed, the police broke open the doors, and after examining all the boxes, took away an iron safe to the police "Malkhana," for inspection as the safe couldn't be opened easily.

As is the case almost everywhere, the attempts were all fruitless and nothing incriminating or in any way connected with the Haludbari dacoity could be found out from the searched houses. The only things that the police took possession of were (1) a copy of the *Gita* and (2) a few pieces of sample clothes of the Ludhiana Mills from Hari Mohan Babu's house, (3) an old goat cutting "kukri" and (4) two rusty spear heads from Haro Gobind Babu's house, (5) a stray letter, (6) and old telegram (7) a copy of "Deshar Kutha" and (8) two photos of Mr. Pal and Md. Leakat Hossain from the Kaviraj's Dispensary.

AN EXPLANATION AND A MYSTERY

The "Sudhaya" of Lahore publishes a letter purporting to come from Sufi Amba Prasad from Persia in which he says that the object of Sufi Amba Prasad and Sardar Ajit Singh's leaving India was given

some respite to the latter as he wanted some rest and the Police would not allow him peace anywhere in India. On reaching Persia, some one informed the British Consul at Bushire that both the Sufi and the Sardar had absconded from India and there was a warrant against them and that they wanted to establish a secret society in Persia. The Consul evidently believed the story and sent for the Sufi and the Sardar to get their names registered. On their going to him he wanted proofs of their identity. They were allowed a week's time for the purpose. On the fifth day however the British Consul again sent for them and advised them to be present on the 9th November threatening severe action in case of non-compliance. The writer adds that he and the Sardar thereupon smelt some foul play and stealthily left the place. If the letter is genuine it would appear that M. Ziaul-Haq, Editor of the defunct "Peshwa" who accompanied the Sufi and the Sardar and against whom there is also a charge of sedition is still at Bushire and has not been molested by the British Consul—Panjabee.

ANOTHER JOURNALIST PROSECUTED.

Ziaul Haq, Editor of the defunct "Peshwa" who had been arrested at Bushire on the 7th instant, under section 124A, was placed before the special Magistrate. It is said he will turn an approver and made a confession before the British Consul at Bushire, who has written a letter to the District Magistrate, Lahore, about his confession.

He was placed before the Special Magistrate and has been sent to the District Magistrate for trial.

THE CHALAI RIOT SEQUEL.

The trial of Swaminatha Sastri, Assistant Superintendent of Police, for alleged suppression of evidence and fabricating false evidence in the recent Chalai riot case was resumed last week.

Mr. B. Kesava Rao, the Health Officer was examined as a witness. It is said that the accused had written a letter to the contents of which were that the peon of Health Department had given a statement before the accused about his having seen certain acts done by some men who had been arrested in connection with the riot. In the letter written by the accused to the witness the former asked the latter to send the peon to the residence of the accused and receive instruction before he gave evidence in court. The accused had written to the witness asking him to give strict injunction to his peon not to turn hostile. The letter was produced and was filed.

The jailor, Krishna Rao of the Central Prison, deposed having detained the men arrested as rioters, in the prison also policemen including the accused, went into to the prison with witnesses to identify the rioters; but his opinion was that there was nothing improper in the procedure adopted by the Police.

Narayan Pillay, Subadar Major of the Nair Brigade, gave evidence, in course of which he said that some police

constables went to him and told him that the accused wanted some Brigade Sepoys as witnesses. Narayana Pillay further deposed that the Sepoys were asked to be sent to the house of the accused to ascertain instructions before they were examined as witnesses.

Mr. Ittycheria, a High Court Vakil, who was defence counsel in the riot case was then examined and said that his information was that the accused had been procuring false evidence in the Chalai riot case in which the accused was the police officer who investigated it. Further questioned he said that the information was given by one of his clients or against. As such, he declined to name the individual who took protection under section 126 of the Evidence Act.

Among other witnesses examined were banker Krishniah who was an acquitted riot prisoner and M. K. Govinda Pillai, a High Court Vakil, who was a defence counsel in the riot case. These two witnesses said they had no knowledge or information about accused having had part in the fabrication of false evidence.

THE ENGLISH CRISIS.

Lord Curzon, speaking at Oldham defended the hereditary principle, which was instinct with national life. The Lords, he said, were above the dangers and temptations which beset popular judgment. The consent of two Chambers required before any revolutionary change was effected. He was convinced that the Lords would refuse to play the ignominious and dangerous part expected.

Lord Ampthill, speaking at Kettering, was unable to complete his speech defending the Lords owing to incessant interruptions.

Lord Denbigh, speaking at Finsbury amidst uproar, said that he preferred to go down fighting than lie down and be jumped on.

HALUDBARI DACOITY. REPORTED CONFESSION BY ONE OF THE ACCUSED.

Sailendranath Dass, one of the accused in the Haludbari Bazar Dacoity case, is reported to have made a confession before a Sub-Deputy Magistrate of Kushtea on a conditional pardon having been granted to him.

The confession is to the effect that Sailendra agreed, on the suggestion of another of the accused, to take part in the dacoity. Both went to Sealdah to take the Darjeeling Mail to Damukda Station. They met four others whom the approver did not know by sight or name. The six went by the Darjeeling Mail to Damukda Station whence they proceeded to Haludbari Bazar. There they met five others who were armed with two rifles and four revolvers. Sailendra and Ganesh mounted guard at the door of the Marawari's house while the rest entered it. He could not say what happened inside the house. After an hour, the nine came out of house, five of them who were strangers to the approver, escaping with the booty and arms. The remaining six, among whom Sailendra was one, made for the Muzpur Station, where they were arrested by the police on suspicion.

The case was taken on camera before the Sub-Deputy Magistrate of Kushtea preliminary to committal, to the Special Magistrate, commencing on Monday next.

Sailendra, the accused, is alleged to have confessed to a munsiff on cave.

INDIAN COUNCILS REFORM.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

NOTIFICATION.

BY THE LANDHOLDERS.

13. (1) When the counting of the votes has been completed the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate or candidates to whom the largest number of votes has been given to be elected.

(2) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected the determination of the person or persons to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot be drawn in the presence of the Returning Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

14. Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him, the Returning Officer shall seal up the voting papers and all documents relating to the election, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed or otherwise directed by an order of the competent authority.

15. The returning Officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Local Government and the name of names of the candidate or candidates elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

16. The Local Government shall appoint and shall notify, in such manner as it thinks fit, such date and if necessary such time and place as it may think suitable for each of the following proceedings namely:—

- (a) The publication of the electoral roll under rule 4;
- (b) the attestation of nomination papers under rule 8;
- (c) the scrutiny of nomination papers under rule 9;
- (d) the sending of voting paper under rule 10;
- (e) the attestation of voting papers under rule 10; and
- (f) the counting of votes under rule 12.

BY THE MAHOMEDAN COMMUNITY.

1. (1) "Attesting Officer" means such officer as the Local Government may by notification in the local official Gazette appoint to perform all or any of the

duties of the Attesting Officer under these rules and includes any officer deputed for the time being by the Attesting Officer to perform his duties.

(2) "District Magistrate" includes any Joint Assistant or Deputy Magistrate to whom the District Magistrate may, with the permission of the Commissioner of the Division delegate any of his duties under these rules:

Provided that in Calcutta as defined by or under Calcutta Municipal Act, 1889, the chairman of the Corporation shall perform the duties assigned by these rules to the District Magistrate and may delegate any of such duties to the Vice-Chairman or Deputy Chairman and,

(3) "Returning Officer" means such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint to perform all or any of the duties of the Returning Officer under these rules and includes any officer to perform his duties.

2. Of the four members specified in Regulation II, sub-head (vi), two members shall be elected for each of the two following electoral areas namely:—

I.—The Presidency, Burdwan and Orissa Divisions.

II.—The Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur Divisions.

3. The said members shall be elected by the votes of delegates to be selected from among themselves in the manner hereinafter by all Mahomedans qualified to vote and having a place of residence in the electoral area concerned, who:—

(a) hold a title recognised or conferred by the Government or are Members of the Order of the Star of India or the Order of the Indian Empire, or hold a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal; or

(b) are ordinary or honorary Fellows of the University of Calcutta; or

(c) are Honorary Magistrates; or

(d) are graduates, of ten years standing, of an University in the United Kingdom or British India; or

(e) are teachers in any institution maintained or aided by the Government or affiliated to or recognized by the University of Calcutta or recognized by the Director of Public Instruction:

Provided that such teachers are not less than 30 years of age, and receive a monthly salary of fifty rupees in Calcutta, or twenty-five rupees in any place other than Calcutta, or

(f) are Registrars, authorised to act under the Bengal Mahomedan Marriages and Divorces Registration Act, 1876; or

(g) own land in respect of which land revenue amounting to not less than one hundred and twenty-five rupees in the Presidency, Burdwan, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions, and two hundred and fifty rupees in the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, is payable per annum; or

(h) own land in respect of which road and public works cesses amounting to not less than thirty-one rupees and four annas in the Presidency, Burdwan, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Division and sixty-two rupees and eight annas in the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, are payable per annum to Government either directly or through a superior landlord; or

(i) pay on their own account Income-tax on an income of not less than two thousand rupees in the Presidency, Burdwan, Orissa and Chota Nagpur Divisions, three thousand rupees in Calcutta, as defined by or under the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1889, and four thousand rupees in the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions; or

(j) are in receipt of pensions from the Government of not less than fifty rupees per mensem:

Provided that no elector shall have more than one vote, though he may possess more than one of qualifications above described.

4. (1) On or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, an elector roll for each electoral area in Form I annexed to this Schedule shall be published by the Returning Officer in the local official Gazette.

(2) In determining the eligibility of a landholder as an elector, only land revenue or road and public works cesses payable in respect of his own personal share shall be taken into account.

(3) As soon as may be after the publication of the said roll in the local official Gazette a copy thereof shall be posted in a conspicuous place at the office of every District Magistrate in each electoral area, and in the case of Calcutta at the office of the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

(4) The electoral roll shall be conclusive evidence for the purpose of determining whether any person is an elector or not under these rules.

5. (1) The electoral roll published under rule 4 shall be subject to revision from time to time as the Local Government may by notification in the local official Gazette direct.

(2) Any Mahomedan whose name does not appear on the said electoral roll, and who claims to have his case in-

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cluded therein and any person who objects to the entry of any name in such roll may within fifteen days after the publication of the notification referred to in sub-rule (1) of this rule forward to the Commissioner of the Division in which he resides a statement of such claim or objection, as the case may be.

(2) The commissioner shall consider and decide upon all such claims or objections and his decision shall be final.

(4) As soon as may be after the disposal of such claims and objections, the electoral roll as added to or altered on such revision shall be published and posted as provided in rule 4.

6. The electors of each of the districts or groups of districts mentioned below shall select one delegate in the manner hereby prescribed, who shall be entitled to give the number of votes assigned to each such districts in the said table.

ELECTORAL AREA I.

(Presidency, Burdwan and Orissa Divisions)

Calcutta 4, 24 Parganas 5, Nadia 1, Murshidabad 4, Jessore 2, Khulna 3, Burdwan 2, Birbhum 1, Midnapur and Bankura 1, Hooghly and Howrah 1, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Sambalpur 2.

ELECTORAL AREA II.

(Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur Divisions)

Patna 5, Gaya 3, Shahabad 2, Saran and Champaran 2, Darbhanga 1, Monghyr 1, Bhagalpur and Sonthal Parganas 1, Purnea and Darjeeling 3, Ranchi and Palamau 1, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Singhbhum 1.

7. (1) Any person whose name is on the electoral roll may be nominated for selection as a delegate by the electors of the district or, in the case of districts grouped together in the above table, the group of districts in which he resides.

(2) Such nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in Form II annexed to this Schedule which shall be supplied by the District Magistrate to any elector applying for the same.

(3) Every nomination paper shall be subscribed by two electors as proposer and seconder, and shall be attested by an Attesting Officer in the manner prescribed on the face of the form:

Provided that no elector shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers shall be presented to an Attesting Officer for attestation on or before such date and at such time and place as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf and when duly attested shall be despatched forthwith by the Attesting Officer.

(5) Nomination papers which are not received by the District Magistrate before the date and time appointed by the Local Government in this behalf shall be elected.

8. (1) If one candidate only is duly nominated, the District Magistrate shall forthwith declare such candidate to be elected.

(2) If more candidates than one are duly nominated the District Magistrate shall forthwith publish their names in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe.

(3) the District Magistrate shall forthwith enter the names of the candidates in voting papers in Form III annexed to this Schedule and sign and send to each elector by registered post a voting paper bearing his number in the electoral roll;

Provided that such a voting paper shall also be supplied to any elector on his applying to the District Magistrate for the same on or before the day appointed as the latest date for the attestation of voting papers under this rule and that on election shall be invalidated by reason of the non receipt by an elector of his voting paper:

(4) On or before such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf each elector desirous of recording his vote shall sign the declaration on the back of the voting paper in the presence of the Attesting Officer in accordance with the instructions on the face thereof, and the Attesting Officer shall attest his signature in manner prescribed by the same instruction.

(5) The elector shall then record his vote on the voting paper in accordance with the instructions on the face thereof and deliver in to the Attesting Officer.

(6) Neglect on the part of the elector to comply with any of those instructions shall render the vote invalid.

9 (1) On such date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf the District Magistrate shall examine the voting papers and count the votes and shall mark "rejected" on voting papers which he rejects on the ground that they do not comply with the instructions thereof.

(2) When the counting the votes has been completed the District Magistrate shall declare the candidate who has got the largest number of votes to be selected.

(3) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared selected. The determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the District Magistrate and in such manner as he may determine.

(4) Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him, the District Magistrate shall seal up the voting papers and other documents

relating to the selection of the delegates, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed unless otherwise directed by an order of competent authority.

10. The District Magistrate shall without delay report the result of the selection to the Returning Officer, who shall cause the names of the delegates selected for each district or group of districts to be published in the local official Gazette, and also to be posted in a conspicuous place at the office of every District Magistrate of every district and of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

11. (1) Any Mahomedan not ineligible for election under these Regulations may be nominated as a candidate for electoral area for which he is a candidate, and possesses one of the following qualifications, namely:—

(a) is a member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; or

(b) is the holder of any title conferred or recognized by the Government or is a member of the Order of the Star of India or of the Order of the Indian Empire or the holder of a Kaisar-i-Hind Medal or

(c) is an ordinary or honorary Fellow of the University of Calcutta; or

(d) owns land in respect of which land revenue amounting to not less than seven hundred and fifty rupees is payable per annum; or

(e) owns land in respect of which road and public works cesses amounting to not less than one hundred and eighty-seven rupees and eight annas are payable per annum to Government either directly or through a superior landlord; or

(f) pays on his own account income tax on an income of not less than six thousand rupees per annum; or

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(g) is in receipt of a pension for service as a gazetted or commissioned officer of the Government.

(2) Such nomination shall be made by means of a nomination paper in Form IV annexed to this Schedule, which shall be supplied by the returning officer or by a District Magistrate to any elector applying for the same.

(3) Every nomination paper shall be subscribed by two electors as proposer and seconder, and shall be attested by an Attesting Officer in the manner prescribed on the face of the form:

Provided that no elector shall subscribe more than one nomination paper.

(4) Nomination papers shall be presented for attestation on such days and at such times as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, and when duly attested shall be despatched by the Attesting Officer to the returning officer by registered post in an envelope sealed with his official seal.

(5) Notification papers which are not received by the Returning Officer before the date and time appointed for the scrutiny of nomination papers shall be rejected.

12. (1) On the date and at the time appointed by the Local Government for the scrutiny of nomination papers, every candidate and his proposer and seconder may attend at the place appointed, and the Returning Officer shall allow them to examine the nomination papers of all candidates which have been received by him as aforesaid.

(2) The Returning Officer shall examine the nomination papers, and may either of his own motion or on objection made, reject any nomination paper, on the ground that it does not comply with the provisions of rule II, sub-rule (3), and his decision shall be final subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

13. (1) If in any electoral area the number of candidates duly nominated does not exceed the number of vacancies, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare such candidates to be elected.

(2) If the number of candidates duly nominated exceeds the number of vacancies the Returning Officer shall forthwith

publish the names of such candidates in such manner as the Local Government may prescribe.

(3) In the case referred to in sub-rule 2, the returning officer shall forthwith cause the names of the candidates to be entered in voting papers in Form V annexed to this Schedule, and shall sign and send to each delegate by registered post one such voting paper.

Provided that such a voting paper shall also be supplied to any delegate on his applying to the Returning Officer for the same on or before the day appointed as the latest date for the attestation of voting papers under rule 84, and that no election shall be invalidated by reason of the non-receipt by a delegate of his voting paper.

14. (1) On or before such a date as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf, each delegate desirous of recording his vote shall sign the declaration on the back of the voting paper in the presence of the Attesting Officer in accordance with the instruction on the face thereof, and the Attesting Officer shall attest his signature in the manner prescribed by the same instructions.

(2) The delegates shall then record his vote on the voting paper in accordance with the instructions on the face thereof, and after placing the voting paper in an envelope and closing the same shall deliver it to the Attesting Officer.

(3) The Attesting Officer shall, at the close of the day appointed as the latest date for attestation of voting paper, despatch all the envelopes so delivered to him to the Returning Officer by registered post in a packet securely sealed with his official seal.

(4) On the day following the Attesting Officer shall also despatch to the Returning Officer by registered post a list in Form VI annexed to this Schedule of the delegates whose voting papers he has attested.

Neglect on the part of the delegate in comply with any of these instructions shall render the vote invalid.

5 (1) On receiving the voting papers the Returning Officer shall examine

them to see whether they have been correctly filled up.

(2) The Returning Officer shall endorse "rejected" on any voting paper which he may reject and mark "discarded" against any vote which he may discard, on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper.

(3) The Returning Officer shall then fold the lower portion of every paper whether valid or invalid along the dotted line on the back so as to conceal the names of the delegate and the Attesting Officer and shall fold down the portion thus folded with his official seal.

16 (1) The Returning Officer shall attend for the purpose of counting the votes on such date and at such time and place as may be appointed by the Local Government in this behalf.

(2) Every candidate may be present in person or send a representative duly authorized by him in writing, to watch the process of counting.

(3) The returning officer shall show the voting papers sealed as provided by rule 15 to the candidates and representatives.

(4) If an objection is made to any voting paper or vote on the ground that it does not comply with the instructions on the voting paper or to the rejection by the Returning Officer of a voting paper or the discarding by him of any vote, it shall be decided at once by the Returning Officer whose decision shall be final, subject to reversal by the Local Government in the event of the election being questioned under Regulation XVI.

(5) In such cases the Returning Officer shall record on the voting paper the nature of the objection and his decision thereon.

17. (1) When the counting of the votes has been completed, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate or candidates to whom the largest number of votes have been given to be elected.

(2) Where an equality of votes is found to exist between any candidates and the addition of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the

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determination of the person or persons to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the Returning Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

18. Upon the completion of the counting and after the result has been declared by him, the Returning Officer shall seal up the voting papers and all other documents relating to the election, and shall retain the same for a period of six months, and thereafter cause them to be destroyed, unless otherwise directed by an order of competent authority.

19. The Returning Officer shall without delay report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate or candidates elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

19. The Local Government shall appoint, and shall notify in such manner as it thinks fit, such date and, if necessary, such time and place as it may think suitable for each of the following proceedings, namely:

(a) the publication of the electoral roll under rule 4;

(b) the attestation of nomination papers under rules 7 and 11, respectively;

(c) reception by the District Magistrate of nomination papers under rule 7;

(d) examination and counting of votes under rule 9;

(e) the scrutiny of nomination papers under rule 12;

(f) the attestation of voting papers under rules 8 and 14; and

(g) the counting of votes under rule 16.

BY THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

1. The Member or Members specified in Regulation II, sub-head (vii), shall be elected by the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

2. Any person not ineligible for election under these regulations, who is at the date of the election a member of the said Chamber shall be eligible for election.

3. On or before such date as may be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in this behalf, the said Chamber shall elect the members aforesaid in such manner as a Commissioner for the Port of Calcutta is for the time being elected by the said Chamber under section 6 of the Calcutta Port Act, 1899.

4. The Chairman of the said Chamber shall forthwith report the result of the election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidate or candidates elected shall be published in the local official Gazette.

BY THE CALCUTTA TRADES ASSOCIATION.

1. The member specified in Regulation II, sub-head (viii), shall be elected by the members of the Calcutta Trades Association.

2. Any person not ineligible for election under these Regulations who is at the date of election a member of the said Association shall be eligible for election.

3. On or before such date as may be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in this behalf the said Association shall elect the Member aforesaid in such manner as a Commissioner for the Port of Calcutta is for the time being elected by the said Association under section 6 of the Calcutta Port Act 1899.

4. The Chairman of the said Association shall forthwith report the result of election to the Local Government, and the name of the candidates elected shall be published in the Local Official Gazette.

IMPERIAL COUNCIL.

RESOLUTION.

Calcutta, the 15th November, 1909.

With the approval of the Secretary of State in Council the Governor-General in Council has to day brought into operation the Indian Councils Act, 1909, and has published the rules and regulations relating to the nomination and election of the members of the enlarged Legislative Councils. This act marks the completion of the earnest and prolonged deliberations that were initiated by the Viceroy more than three years ago, when he appointed a Committee of his Executive Council to consider and report on the general question of giving to the peoples of India a larger measure of political representation and wider opportunities of expressing their views on administrative matters.

2. The various stages of inquiry and discussion which followed need not be reviewed at length. In the Home Department letter of the 24th August 1907 the Government of India put forward certain provisional and tentative proposals, and invited the local Governments to submit their matured conclusions, after consulting important bodies and individuals representing the various classes of the community. The voluminous opinions elicited by that letter were fully dealt with in the despatch which the Government of India addressed to the Secretary of State on the 1st October 1908 and in Lord Morley's despatch of the 27th November following. Since those papers were published the Government of India have been engaged in communication with the Secretary of State in working out the principles accepted by him and the scheme finally adopted for the future constitution of the Legislative Councils is embodied in the Indian Councils Act and in the Regulations which are published to-day. The Governor-General in Council will now proceed to state briefly the extent and nature of the changes introduced and to indicate in what respects they differ from the proposals contained in the papers already published.

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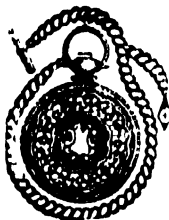
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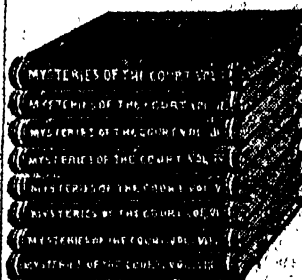
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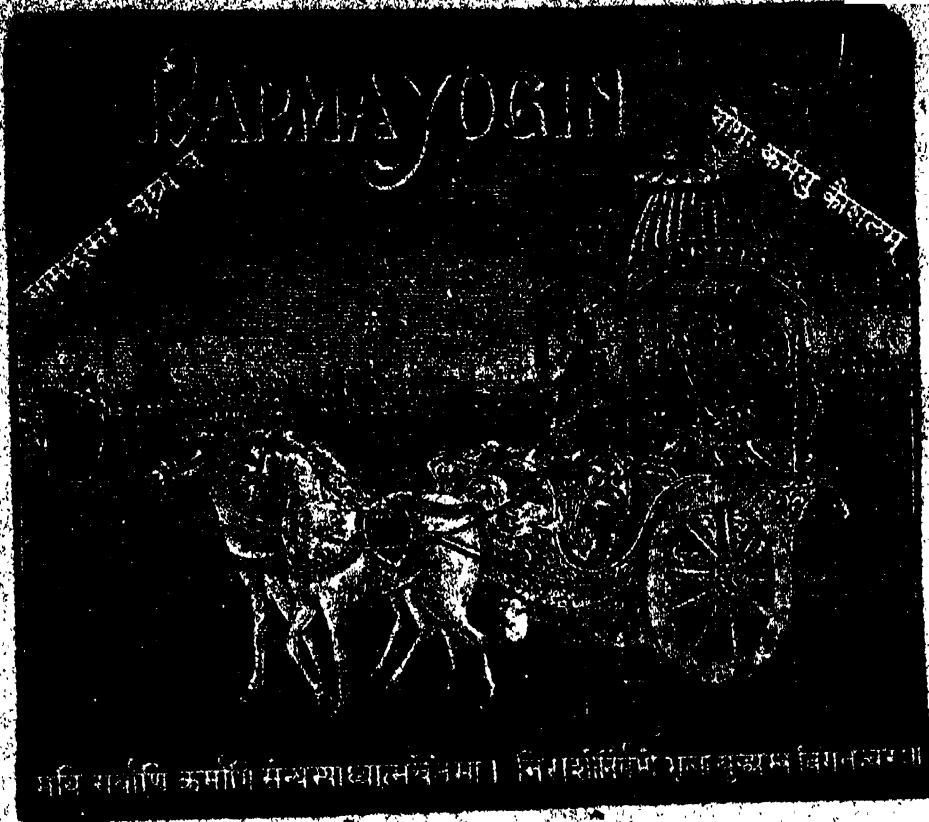
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KARMAYOGIN

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OF

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No. 25.

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The United Congress Negotiations.

The persistence of the *Bengaler* in shielding Moderate obstinacy under cover of an appeal to the wholly inconclusive proceedings of the private Conference in the *Amrita Bazar* Office last year shows both the paucity of possible arguments for the Moderate position and the readiness of its chief organ to ignore facts of which it has been reminded more than once and which it cannot deny. The difference between the conference last year and the recent negotiations is radical. That conference was between Conventionists and non-Conventionists, the recent negotiations were between Moderates and Nationalists. The *Amrita Bazar* Office Conference was an attempt made by certain leaders in Bengal and Maharashtra to secure admission for the Nationalists to the Convention. The United Congress Committee was confined to Bengal and set to consider whether Bengal Moderates and Nationalists could not agree together before inviting the Conventionists of other pro-

vinces to accept the terms offered by United Bengal. Last year's Conference was a confabulation of leading men representing their own opinions only, this year's negotiations were conducted by men elected for the purpose by the Provincial Conference representing the whole of Bengal. At the conference in Bagbazar it was the middle section of opinion, neither Moderate nor Nationalist, of which S. J. Motilal Ghose, Rai Jotindranath Chaudhuri, and some of the older leaders in the Mofussil are the most influential members, which engineered a compromise in the absence of the Nationalist leaders. S. J. Tilak was a prisoner in Mandalay jail, S. J. Aurobindo Ghose under trial at Alipur, S. J. Khaparde and S. J. Bipin Chandra Pal absent in England. The compromise was reluctantly accepted by many of the Nationalists present,—as we have ascertained by correspondence with some of the chief Nationalists who attended,—and only because it was pressed on them that these were the only terms on which the Moderate party would admit of the idea of union. It was not accepted at all by the Bengal Nationalists and it has been recently admitted by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that letters were received from the Mofussil repudiating the surrender on the question of the creed. How is it that the *Bengaler* persists in ignoring these facts? The

compromise was rejected by the Moderates themselves, Bombay refusing utterly to recognize the four Calcutta resolutions as a possible part of any treaty, and this was recognized by the Moderates this year; for at the first meeting of the United Congress Committee it was distinctly intimated to the Nationalist members that the four resolutions must not be pressed as a condition of union. In other words the one concession for which some of the leading Nationalists induced themselves to waive their rooted objections to constitution and creed, is expunged and the Nationalists are expected to be bound by a rejected compromise by which the Moderates refuse to be bound. They are expected to adhere to the concessions they made last year, while the only concession made to them is withdrawn. This fact is quite sufficient by itself to put the *Bengaler's* argument out of court. We repeat that the recent negotiations had nothing to do with last year's abortive compromise, rejected as it was by both parties immediately after it was made. Their sole object was to ascertain whether the Moderates would accept substantial concessions from the Nationalists without asking the latter to sacrifice their conscience and their principles. Apparently they are not. Therefore union is impossible.

A New Sophism.

Another and very singular argument is advanced by the *Bengalees* which evinces a similar disregard of facts and of the real significance of facts. It is alleged that both sides in Bengal are agreed as to the four resolutions, that the creed is part of the four resolutions, that the creed was accepted by the Nationalists at Pabna and therefore they ought not to object to sign it as a condition of entering the Congress. In the first place, if the four resolutions are to be so binding on the Nationalists that they must be ready to sign one of them at the call of the Moderates, then they must be made equally binding on the Moderates and we call on them to sign a declaration of acceptance of the Boycott as a condition of entry into an United Congress. Just as the Moderates from Bombay accepted the Boycott resolution at Calcutta in deference to the weight of public opinion, so we accepted the Colonial self-government resolution as the opinion of the majority and are no more bound to subscribe to it personally than Sir. Pherozshah Mehta is bound to subscribe to the Boycott. The four resolutions merely framed a compromise between the two political schools, not a declaration of Nationalist faith. As for Bengal, it is well known that the whole of Bengal does not accept Colonial self-Government as the ultimate goal of political aspiration. At Pabna it was only to avoid a discussion dangerous to unity that the Nationalists contented themselves in spite of the majority they had, with placing their dissent on record through the mouth of S. J. Manoranjan Guha. The *Bengalees* cannot have forgotten that incident. It was revived again at Hughly when the Moderates insisted on whittling down the Boycott to a mere commercial measure as a price of their adherence to the Conference and S. J. Aurobindo Ghose desired to bring forward an amendment, which he would subsequently withdraw, in order to mark that the Nationalists did not accept the resolution as the opinion of the country. The Moderate leaders threatened to withdraw if this was done and S. J. Aurobindo Ghose was requested to confine himself to the precedent

established by S. J. Manoranjan Guha at Pabna. He then distinctly expressed his doubt whether this would be sufficient to make the Nationalist attitude clear to the country and the advantage taken of our complaisance by the *Bengalees* to misrepresent the Nationalist attitude at Pabna shows that his apprehensions were perfectly justified. If this is the light in which the Moderates choose to put the Nationalist willingness to compromise, it may be necessary at the next Conference for our party not only to move an amendment but to put it to the vote regardless of Moderate threats of secession.

Futile Espionage.

We wonder whether it is really impossible to maintain a great Empire without demoralising oneself and the country by means of an unworthy system of espionage? Since the initiation of the Swadeshi movement the army of spies and informers have grown as plentiful as insects round a bright light. Formerly men of some distinction had the honour of being watched in their houses, dogged in their goings, honoured by the private inspection of their correspondence. But nowadays it is enough to be suspected of patriotism to have the inefficient hirelings of the Police, if not the worthy guardians of the Law themselves, sticking like burs to one's heels. Is anything gained by these excessive and no doubt costly precautions? If we are to judge by the sorry specimens who have besieged us for the last six months, a more incapable creature than the ordinary Indian spy does not exist. He has an engaging simplicity of artifice which at once betrays his savoury vocation, and if he does not carry "spy" written legibly on his forehead, as a multitude of them do, he is so transparent in his methods that he might just as well be labelled, "Due at Royd Street." Nor do we quite see what is gained by watching a man's house or his office with an open brazenness. The office of the Dharma has recently been favoured with the loitering of watchers who spend their days gazing lovingly at the building and making affectionate and importunate enquiries as to the movements and habits of the editor. This open lovemaking strikes us as a little in-

decent; it would be better done behind a veil. And what do the authorities hope to gain by these unique researches? Do they hope to see either bombs or packets of sedition being carried into the building? Or is a leader of public agitation likely to convert his newspaper office or his house into an open resort of secret conspirators? Even a bureaucracy ought to credit its political opponents with some little common sense, even if they cannot credit them with honesty of motive and frankness of action.

Convention Voyagers.

We understand that some seven or eight faithful hearts are meditating the journey to Lahore to assist Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya in carrying out Sir Pherozshah's orders. We wish them a good voyage and a speedy repentance. One wonders, by the way, where the delegates of the Convention are going to start up from at the last moment. We watch in vain for the news of numerous elections all over the country. Secret conclaves, rushed up quarrels, sittings with silent visitors, and, finally, secret elections seem to be the best features of convention politics. Or are the delegates ashamed of publishing their names?

CREED AND CONSTITUTION.

The attempt to bring about the unity of the two parties in Bengal as a preliminary to the holding of an United Congress has split on the twin rocks of creed and constitution. We will place before the country as succinctly as possible the issues which were posited during the negotiations and state clearly the Nationalist attitude, leaving it to Bengal to judge between us and the upholders of the Convention's creed and constitution. We ask our countrymen to consider whether the concessions we made were not large and substantial and the single concession offered to us worthless and nugatory, whether the reservations we made were not justifiable and necessary, except on the view that principles are of no value in politics, and, if they come to the conclusion that the proposals we made were fair and moderate, we ask them to absolve us of all responsibility for the failure of the negotiations.

The terms offered by the Moder-

ate party were based on a compromise framed at the Amrita Bazar Office last year which has since been rejected by the Moderates in one of its most important features, namely, the insistence on the acceptance of the four Calcutta resolutions as an indispensable condition of union. The Moderate proposal was that the Nationalists should sign the creed unconditionally and accept the Conventionist constitution, but that the Bombay leaders should be asked to consent to the formation of a Committee this year at Lahore to revise the Constitution and pass it as revised at the next session. The terms of the revision would naturally be left to that Committee and if it were equally composed of Nationalists and Moderates, there would have been some value in the concession. But by a rule of the Moderate constitution all Associations not of three years' standing would be debarred from sending delegates. The formation of the Nationalists into a distinct party was only completed in the year 1906, that is precisely three years ago, and the rule was evidently framed in order to help in making impossible the election of Nationalist delegates. At the time the rule was framed there was not and could not be any association of our party with the requisite qualification, and such bodies as would have been qualified now, have mostly perished in the storm of repression which broke on the Nationalists after the unnatural alliance between coercive conciliation and an Indian progressive party previous to the Surat Congress,—an alliance not then declared, but sufficiently proved by the conduct and utterances of Sir Pheroz-shah Mehta and Mr Gokhale then and after. It is evident, therefore, that if we accepted the Moderate constitution apart from its utter illegality, we should be consenting to our own exclusion by an electoral device worthy of Lord Morley himself, even though the front door might be nominally open to us. Only an insignificant number of Nationalists would be able to qualify as delegates and the Revision Committee would be a Moderate Committee and the revision a mere modification of unessential details. The concession therefore was nugatory, as illusory as the Reforms offered

to us by bureaucratic benignity. On the other hand, the Nationalists were expected to sign a creed which they could not uphold as their own conscientious belief, to recognize an unconstitutional constitution and to leave the four resolutions to the chances of a Moderate Subjects Committee and the possible prohibition of their amendments by a Mehta or a Malaviya.

The Nationalist members of the Committee rejected these impossible demands and submitted proposals of their own on each of the three main points at issue. They consented to accept the first Article of the Moderate Constitution which declared the objects of the Congress to be selfgovernment and the acquisition of the rights of British citizenship; they refused to accept the second Article which requires every representative elected by the people to subscribe personally to these objects as a precondition of entering the pandal as a delegate. They refused to accept the Constitution as a Constitution, but they consented to accept it as a set of provisional rules allowed by mutual agreement to govern Congress proceedings until a real Constitution was passed next year, provided that the rule limiting the right of election to Associations of three years standing which accepted the creed, should be made inoperative by the same mutual agreement. They agreed not to press the four resolutions as a precondition of union, provided they received an assurance that they should not be debarred from bringing them in the Subjects Committee and, if necessary, in the Congress itself. The Moderates rejected the proposal; they demanded unconditional acceptance and subscription to the creed as the indispensable basis of union. Yet the Nationalists had readily conceded everything which the other party could reasonably expect. They accepted a limited selfgovernment as the object of the Congress, although they refused to accept it as their own, they accepted the Moderate constitution with the exception of one subclause which meant the exclusion of Nationalist delegates; and made no further stipulation that it should be changed in any way previous to being passed as the

real legal Constitution of the Congress; they consented to leave over the question of the four resolutions, reserving only their constitutional right to move them in Subjects Committee and in Congress. We ask, could anything have been fairer, more generous, more thoroughly pervaded by the desire to bring about unity even at the cost of substantial, indeed immense concessions?

Our attitude with regard to the creed has been consistent throughout. We accepted the Colonial self-government resolution at Calcutta in 1906 because we saw that it was the opinion of the majority. We accepted it at Pabna and Hughly because it was the opinion of an influential minority whom we did not wish to alienate. If we had been asked to subscribe to it as a creed or even as the objects of the Congress in 1906, we should have at once and emphatically refused. At Pabna the Moderates did not venture to demand any such subscription from the delegates, they did not ask it at Hughly. They knew very well that the demand would have been indignantly repudiated by Bengal. We now go further and consent to accept it as the objects of the Congress, to be only altered when all India wishes to alter it, for that is the provision in the Moderate constitution. We propose to accept it and adhere to in the same spirit, either as the opinion of the majority or as a necessary concession to secure the adhesion of an influential minority. It is a political accommodation, nothing else. To consent to Article II, which is a clause of exclusion limiting popular election, is a very different matter. The Moderate argument was that it is not a creed we are asked to sign, but merely a declaration of acceptance of the objects of the Congress and that it need not in any way limit or modify our speech and action except for the few hours spent in the Congress pandal. Apart from the very doubtful political honesty of such a distinction, we do not believe that it is the view of the creed held in other parts of India and in practice it could not work. The District Associations and the political Associations electing delegates to the Congress are expected by the Moderate

Constitution to subscribe to the Congress creed or statement of objects and, if they utter or allow their prominent members to utter sentiments or pass resolution inconsistent with it, the Congress would have a right to feel embarrassed and stigmatize the departure as double dealing. This is the reason why we have always opposed the limitation of the aims or beliefs of the Congress by any hard and fast rule. We would oppose it even if the creed were a declaration of the Nationalist faith. Such a limitation deprives the Congress of its free and representative character, it hampers aspiration and public opinion, it puts a premium on political hypocrisy. Even if we allow the argument of the Bengal Moderates, our fundamental objection to Article II is not removed. It is an exclusory clause, it limits the right of the people to elect any representative they choose, it sets up an authority over the electorate in the same way as the exclusory clauses of the Government Reform Councils Regulations, it is a sort of Congress Test Act arbitrary and undemocratic. The true democratic principle is that the man elected by the people must be recognized as a delegate, whatever his opinions. We shall always oppose any restriction of the freedom of election by the Government, how can we consistently do so, if we recognize a restriction in a popular assembly of our own making? And if this principle of exclusion is once admitted, where is it to stop? What guarantees us against the future introduction of a new clause demanding the signing of a declaration renouncing Boycott and passive resistance as a precondition of entrance into the Pandal?

It will be seen therefore that from whatever point of view it is taken, the refusal to accept Article II. of the Convention rules was not only reasonable, but the Nationalists could not have taken any other course without committing political and moral suicide. The reasonableness of our position on the two other points is self-evident and need not be argued. The refusal of these liberal concessions even by the Bengal Moderates shows that the holding of an united Congress is impossible. The argument that the Convention cannot accept

such terms, only shows that the Convention can never be the basis of a united Congress and, that while it exists, an united Congress is out of the question. Before, therefore, any farther steps can be taken in that direction, we must await the collapse of the Convention which we believe to be not far distant. The Nationalist party have stated the terms on which alone they will consent to a compromise, and they will not lower them, neither will they renew negotiations until either the Convention is dead and buried or the Moderate leaders give up their attachment to the Convention creed and constitution.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

Two decisive incidents have happened which make it compulsory on the Nationalist party to abandon their attitude of reserve and expectancy and once more assume their legitimate place in the struggle for Indian liberties. The Reforms, so long trumpeted as the beginning of a new era of constitutional progress in India, have been thoroughly revealed to the public intelligence by the publication of the Councils Regulations and the results of the elections showing the inevitable nature and composition of the new Councils. The negotiations for the union of Moderates and Nationalists in an United Congress have failed owing to the insistence of the former on the Nationalists subscribing to a Moderate profession of faith.

The survival of Moderate politics in India depended on two factors, the genuineness and success of the promised Reforms and the use made by the Conventionists of the opportunity given them by the practical suppression of Nationalist public activity. The field was clear for them to establish the effectiveness of the Moderate policy and the living force of the Moderate party. Had the Reforms been a genuine initiation of constitutional progress, the Moderate tactics might have received some justification from events. Or had the Moderates given proof of the power of carrying on a robust and vigorous agitation for popular rights, their strength and vitality as a political force might have been established, even

if their effectiveness had been disproved. The Reforms have shown that nothing can be expected from persistence in Moderate politics except retrogression, disappointment and humiliation. The experience of the last year has shown that, without the Nationalists at their back, the Moderates are impotent for opposition and robust agitation. The political life of India in their hands has languished and fallen silent.

By the incontrovertible logic of events it has appeared that the success and vigour of the great movement inaugurated in 1905 was due to the union of Moderate and Nationalist on the platform of selfhelp and passive resistance. It was in order to provide an opportunity for the reestablishment of this union, broken at Surat, that the Nationalists gathered in force at Hughly in order to secure some basis and means of negotiation which might lead to united effort. The hand which we held out, has been rejected. The policy of Lord Morley has been to rally the Moderates and coerce the Nationalists; the policy of the Moderate party led by Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozshah Mehta has been to play into the hands of that policy and give it free course and a chance of success. This alliance has failed of its object; the beggarly reward the Moderates have received, has been confined to the smallest and least popular elements in their party. But the rejection of the alliance with their own countrymen by the insistence on creed and constitution shows that the Moderates mean to persist in their course even when all motive and political justification for it have disappeared. Discomfited and humiliated by the Government, they can still find no way to retrieve their position nor any clear and rational course to suggest to the Indian people whom they misled into a misunderstanding of the very limited promises held out by Lord Morley.

Separated from the great volume of Nationalist feeling in the country, wilfully shutting its doors to popularity and strength by the formation of electorates as close and limited as those of the Reformed Councils, self-doomed to persistence in a policy which has led to signal disaster, the

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Convention is destined to perish of inanition and popular indifference, dislike and opposition. If the Nationalists stand back any longer, either the national movement will disappear or the void created will be filled by a sinister and violent activity. Neither result can be tolerated by men desirous of their country's development and freedom.

The period of waiting is over. We have two things made clear to us, first, that the future of the nation is in our hands, and, secondly, that from the Moderate party we can expect no cordial co-operation in building it. Whatever we do, we must do ourselves, in our own strength and courage. Let us then take up the work God has given us, like courageous, steadfast and patriotic men willing to sacrifice greatly and venture greatly because the mission also is great. If there are any unnerved by the fear of repression, let them stand aside. If there are any who think that by flattering Anglo-India or coquetting with English Liberalism they can dispense with the need of effort and the inevitability of peril, let them stand aside. If there are any who are ready to be satisfied with mean gains or unsubstantial concessions, let them stand aside. But all who deserve the name of Nationalists, must now come forward and take up their burden.

The fear of the law is for those who break the law. Our aims are great and honourable, free from stain or reproach, our methods are peaceful, though resolute and strenuous. We shall not break the law and, therefore, we need not fear the law. But if a corrupt police, unscrupulous officials or a partial judiciary make use of the honourable publicity of our political methods to harass the men who stand in front by illegal ukases, suborned and perjured evidence or unjust decisions, shall we shrink from the toll that we have to pay on our march to freedom? Shall we cower behind a petty secrecy or a dishonourable inactivity? We must have our associations, our organisations, our means of propaganda, and, if these are suppressed by arbitrary proclamations, we shall have done our duty by our motherland and not on us will rest any responsibility for the madness which

crushes down open and lawful political activity in order to give a desperate and sullen nation into the hands of these fiercely enthusiastic and unscrupulous forces that have arisen among us inside and outside India. So long as any loophole is left for peaceful effort, we will not renounce the struggle. If the conditions are made difficult and almost impossible, can they be worse than those our countrymen have to contend against in the Transvaal? Or shall we, the flower of Indian culture and education, show less capacity and self-devotion than the coolies and shopkeepers who are there rejoicing to suffer for the honour of their nation and the welfare of their community?

What is it for which we strive? The perfect self-fulfilment of India and the independence which is the condition of self-fulfilment are our ultimate goal. In the meanwhile such imperfect self-development and such incomplete self-government as are possible in less favourable circumstances, must be attained as a preliminary to the more distant realisation. What we seek is to evolve self-government either through our own institutions or through those provided for us by the law of the land. No such evolution is possible by the latter means without some measure of administrative control. We demand, therefore, not the monstrous and misbegotten scheme which has just been brought into being, but a measure of reform based upon those democratic principles which are ignored in Lord Morley's Reforms, — a literate electorate without distinction of creed, nationality or caste, freedom of election unhampered by exclusory clauses, an effective voice in legislation and finance and some check upon an arbitrary executive. We demand also the gradual devolution of executive government out of the hands of the bureaucracy into those of the people. Until these demands are granted, we shall use the pressure of that refusal of co-operation which is termed passive resistance. We shall exercise that pressure within the limits allowed us by the law, but apart from that limitation the extent to which we shall use it, depends on expediency and the amount of resistance we have to overcome.

On our own side we have great and pressing problems to solve. National education languishes for want of moral stimulus, financial support, and emancipated brains keen and bold enough to grapple with the difficulties that hamper its organisation and progress. The movement of arbitration, successful in its inception, has been dropped as a result of repression. The Swadeshi-Boycott movement still moves by its own impetus, but its forward march has no longer the rapidity and organised irresistibility of forceful purpose which once swept it forward. Social problems are pressing upon us which we can no longer ignore. We must take up the organisation of knowledge in our country, neglected throughout the last century. We must free our social and economic development from the incubus of the litigious resort to the ruinously expensive British Courts. We must once more seek to push forward the movement toward economic self-sufficiency, industrial independence.

These are the objects for which we have to organize the national strength of India. On us falls the burden, in us alone there is the moral ardour, faith and readiness for sacrifice which can attempt and go far to accomplish the task. But the first requisite is the organization of the Nationalist party. I invite that party in all the great centres of the country to take up the work and assist the leaders who will shortly meet to consider steps for the initiation of Nationalist activity. It is desirable to establish a Nationalist Council and hold a meeting of the body in March or April of the next year. It is necessary also to establish Nationalist Associations throughout the country. When we have done this, we shall be able to formulate our programme and assume our proper place in the political life of India.

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THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART.

VI

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The enormous value of Art to human evolution has been made sufficiently apparent from the analysis incomplete in itself, which we have attempted. We have also incidentally pointed out its value as a factor in education. It is obvious that no nation can afford to neglect an element of such high importance in the culture of its people or the training of some of the higher intellectual, moral and aesthetic faculties in the young. The system of education which, instead of keeping artistic training apart as a privilege for a few specialists, frankly introduces it as a part of culture no less necessary than literature or science, will have taken a great step forward in the perfection of national education and the general diffusion of a broad-based human culture. It is not necessary that every man should be an artist. It is necessary that every man should have his artistic faculty developed, his taste trained, his sense of beauty and insight into form and colour and that which is expressed in form and colour, made habitually active, correct and sensitive. It is necessary that those who create, whether in great things or small, whether in the unusual masterpieces of art and genius or in the small common things of use that surround a man's daily life, should be habituated to produce and the nation habituated to expect the beautiful in preference to the ugly, the noble in preference to the vulgar, the fine in preference to the crude, the harmonious in preference to the gaudy. A nation surrounded daily by the beautiful, noble, fine and harmonious becomes that which it is habituated to contemplate and realises the fullness of the expanding Spirit in itself.

In the system of National education inaugurated in Bengal, a beginning has been made by the importance attached to drawing and clay-modelling as elements of manual training. But the absence of

an artistic ideal, the misconception of the true aim of manual training, the imperative financial needs of these struggling institutions making for a predominant commercial aim in the education given, the mastery of English ideas, English methods and English predilections in this so-called national education have rendered nugatory the initial advantage. The students have faculty, but the teaching given them wastes and misuses the faculty. The nation and the individual gain nothing by turning out figures in clay which faithfully copy the vulgarity and ugliness of English commercial production or by multiplying mere copies of men or things. A free and active imaging of form and hue within oneself, a free and self-trained hand reproducing with instinctive success not the form and measurement of things seen outside, for that is a smaller capacity easily mastered, but the inward vision of the relation and truth of things, an eye quick to note and distinguish, sensitive to design and to harmony in colour, these are the faculties that have to be evoked, and the formal and mechanical English method is useless for this purpose.

In India the revival of a truly national Art is already an accomplished fact and the masterpieces of the school can already challenge comparison with the best work of other countries. Under such circumstances it is unpardonable that the crude formal teaching of English schools and the vulgar commercial aims and methods of the West should subsist in our midst. The country has yet to evolve a system of education which shall be really national. The taint of Occidental ideals and alien and unsuitable methods has to be purged out of our minds, and nowhere more than in the teaching which should be the foundation of intellectual and aesthetic renovation. The spirit of old Indian Art must be recovered, the inspiration and directness of vision which even now subsists among the possessors of the ancient traditions, the inborn skill and taste of the race, the dexterity of the Indian hand

and the intuitive gaze of the Indian eye must be recovered and the whole nation lifted again to the high level of the ancient culture—and higher.

NEWS.

SUKKUR SEDITION CASE.

The alleged sedition case against Virmal, Chetumal and Goverdhanlal was proceeded with at the Sessions Court, Sukkur, before Mr. Boyd, Sessions Judge, on the 14th. The prosecution is conducted by Mr. Lalchand Churhermal, M. A., Public Prosecutor, Sind, assisted by the Public Prosecutor, Sukkur. The accused are represented by four pleaders. The case has excited so much interest that though the morning was intensely cold, the Court House was so crowded that many were obliged to keep standing. The first day was occupied in the examination and cross-examination mainly of the Assistant Superintendent of Police. Yesterday the three sub-inspectors, who conducted the search in the houses of the accused persons, and Sudhu Sing, *daftardar* to the Collector of Sukkur, were examined. The cross-examination of the last witness was not finished when the case was postponed till the 17th.

TURPENTINE.

The turpentine factories in connection with the United Provinces Forest Department continued to work profitably last year though a large stock of the products remained unsold at the end of the year, and the prices obtained were not so good as in former years.

FAVOURITISM.

In its issue of the 17th November *Truth* brings to light the appointment recently made by the Government of Bengal as Assistant Superintendent of Police of "a gentleman formerly a planter, who some seven years ago was admitted to the provincial executive service as a Deputy Magistrate." In the latter capacity we are told he was employed as a Settlement Officer, with an extra allowance, but it is asserted that he never succeeded in passing the departmental examinations, and his transfer to a better post in the police is "naturally ascribed to favouritism."

"It is certainly difficult" remarks *Truth* "to account in any other way for an appointment which is, in any event, rank injustice to police officers awaiting promotion, to say nothing of fully qualified deputy magistrates."

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NEWS.

MADRAS SEDITION.

The Tribunal sat specially to deliver its orders regarding the eight accused whose names were not on the list of prisoners against whom complaint was filed. Mr. Grey and counsel for the defence were present. The Tribunal in consideration of the circumstances decided to admit the accused to bail on Rs. 500 each and as sureties of Rs. 500 leaving it optional for the prosecution to make any further application regarding them on the next proximo when the Tribunal would sit again after the holidays. Mr. Grey again raised the question as to whether the Tribunal had jurisdiction, while counsel for the defence pressed the expediency of their immediate release, there being no complaint against them. The Tribunal, however, adhered to its orders.

MR. PARANJPE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

In view of Mr. Paranjpe editor of *Life* intended visit to Mahad his native place in Kolaba District, the first class magistrate of the town issued orders under Section 42, Bombay District Act of 1899, prohibiting Mahad or vicinity thereof from 11th December to 25th January from public utterances, or cries, singing of songs, delivery of harangues and use of gestures or minute presentation and preparation for exhibition or dissemination of pictures, symbols, lay cards or of any other object or thing intended to or in connection with any movement to show honour to Mr. Paranjpe. This order is issued in the opposed belief that some persons intended organizing demonstrations and meetings.

REVOLVER FROM GERMANY.

In the arms Act Case under Sections 19 and 20, of Brajballav Das, a Barasingunj student who brought a revolver from Germany by postal parcel and was committed to the Dacca Sessions and trial the accused pleaded guilty to the charge under Section 19. (the second charge was withdrawn by the Public Prosecutor) and has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

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NEWS.

THE ALIPUR PRISONERS.

Convict steamer *Maharaja* left Hastings moorings for the Andamans with seven of the Alipore prisoners who were convicted in connection with the Bomb case and sentenced to transportation, Barindra Kumar Ghose, Ullashkar Dutt, Hem Chandra Das, Upendra Nath Banerjee, Bibhuti Bhushan Sircar, Rishikesh Kanjilal and Indu Bhushan Roy. The first four were sentenced for life and the remaining for ten years. They left the Alipore Central Jail at 3.30 under the escort of a strong force of Sepoys and four European Sergeants in charge of Superintendent Haultain. They were spoken well of by the Jail authorities as well behaved and hard working convicts. There were no demonstration and disturbance and the convicts seemed resigned to their fate.

LAHORE SEDITION.

In the Lahore sedition case Kishor Singh, brother of Ajit Singh, pleaded not guilty and said that the book "Ghadr," (Mutiny) was a translation of Mr Bruce Norton's book, "Rebellion of 1857," and the book "Amanet Me hKiyanot," (Betrayal of Trust), of that of the same author's "Annexation of the Punjab."

The case against Lalchand for the sale of "Ghadr" was withdrawn. Lalchand, has however six more cases pending against him.

Ziaul Huq, the Editor of the defunct "Peshwa, in his written statement filed yesterday said that the incriminating article in the "Peshwa" was held over by his order but published in his absence as he forgot to destroy it. He was sorry for its publication, and for failing to cancel his printer's declaration. He never intended to create dissatisfaction against the Government. The case stands postponed till January 3rd.

The cases against Nundogopal and Kishen Singh are being proceeded with.

ALIPORE BOMB CASE.

Mr. Justice Harington, who has been appointed to hear the appeals of five of the appellants in the Alipore Bomb Case regarding whom there was a difference of opinion between the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Carnduff, will commence the hearing of the appeals on the 3rd of next month.

NEWS.

THE ARSCONDER IN COURT.

Tara Nath Roy Chowdhury was placed before Mr. D. Swinhoe, Officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate, on Tuesday morning by the C. I. D. Police who have asked for a remand.

SEDITION IN C. P.

The judgment in the appeal of Mr. Shambhura Gadhgil, ex-editor of the local vernacular paper called "Deshsewak" under Section 124 A for ridiculing Birthday Honours, was delivered by the Judicial Commissioners Messrs Drake and Brockman who upheld the conviction and sentence passed by the Lower Court and dismissed the appeal.

DACCA ARMS ACT CASE.

Braja Ballav Das, accused in the Narayanganj Arms Act case a boy of 13, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment by the Sessions Judge.

REVOLVERS ON RIVER BANK.

On Saturday's morning Mr. Watkins, Superintendent of the Inland Vessel Wharves, sent information to Inspector De Beaux of the First Division Port Police that he had discovered two powder flasks on the bank of the river at Ahirtolla Ghat. The Inspector went to the spot and two revolvers, two powder flasks and a shot flask wrapped up in a piece of cloth lying at the ghat were made over to him. One of the weapons was a muzzle loading pistol by Messrs. Westley and Richards. The other was a five-chambered one and appeared to be out of order. The shot flask contained 50 shots and the powder flasks contained water. The arms and flask have been made over to Inspector W. Mouleahy of the Arms Act Department who is enquiring into the matter. Nothing at present is known as to the owner or who placed the weapons where they were found.

SEKKUR SEDITION CASE.

The Sekkur sedition case is postponed to the 4th January.

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NEWS.

A CONTRADICTION.

News published in some papers, that Mr. Ramkrishna Pillai, Editor of the "Swadeshbhimani," has been deported is utterly unfounded.

A MAHRATTA LEAGUE.

At a meeting of the leading Marathas held in Bombay where representatives from Baroda, Kolhapur, Satara, Poona, Sholapur, Berar, and other distant places were present, it was unanimously resolved that a Maratha League should be formed to promote and safeguard the political interests of Marathas.

ALIPOTE BOMB CASE.

Tara Nath Roy Chowdhry who is wanted in connection with the Alipote bomb case has been arrested at Benares and will be brought down to Calcutta.

HOUSE SEARCH IN HOWRAH.

The Calcutta Criminal Investigation Department, assisted by the Howrah District Police on Sunday searched the house of a young man named Gyan Ranjan Mukerjee, said to be a student residing at Shihpur, in connection, it is said, with one of the recent political dacoities. The Police who were previously armed with a search warrant made a thorough search of the premises, and took charge of letters and other documents, besides photos of Mr. Arabindo Ghose, Lala Lajpat Rai and Brahmabandhab Upadhyai and copies of publications including those edited by Mr. Arabindo Ghose. The search lasted for about four hours. No arrests were made.

THE OUTRAGE.

In connection with the recent bomb outrage at Ahmedabad, the Police have sent Natayanrao Sarwarkar of Nasik from Poona for identification before Mr. Barrow, Commissioner of Police, and are also making enquiries of mill hands who were present at the time of the procession in Ahmedabad.

THE NANGLA DACOITY.

The nine accused persons who have already been committed for trial by the Special Tribunal in connection with the dacoity, alleged to be of a political nature, at Nangla in the Khulna District, will be proceeded against, along with three or four others, under Section 400 C. P. C. for being members of a gang of dacoits.

The case will be heard before Mr. C. F. Hamilton, District Magistrate of Khulna, on the 22nd instant.

NEWS.

NASIK MAGISTRATE SHOT.

Information was received in Bombay on the 22nd that Mr. M. T. Jackson, Sessions Judge of Nasik, was shot dead by an Indian at a "Pansupari" party.

Mr. Jackson was shot with a revolver by a Brahmin assassin. He had been invited by the inhabitants of Nasik, among whom he was popular, to a farewell entertainment in view of his approaching departure to take up his new duties in Bombay. A large and crowded gathering had assembled to do him honour. The proceedings were about to close and the Collector was leaving for the theatre with his Indian friends and was taking leave of his guests and about to depart when a man taking advantage of his movements shot him with a revolver. The assassin is said to be a young Brahmin but this lacks confirmation.

Last night the crowded town of Nasik was thrown into a state of great excitement owing to the rumour which spread like wildfire that the Collector had been assassinated.

Later on it transpired that the Collector had been invited by the inhabitants of Nasik among whom he was generally very popular for a farewell entertainment in view of his approaching departure to take up his new duties in Bombay and a large and crowded gathering had assembled to do honour to the departing Collector on the occasion.

From what can be gathered it is known that when the proceedings were about to be closed and the Collector was taking his leave and about to depart the assassin shot him with a revolver. The assassin whose name did not transpire is said to be a young Brahmin from Mahmud.

Another version is that Mr. Jackson, Collector, and Assistant Collector prior to going to the Indian theatre of the city dined with Mr. and Mrs. Van Someren and subsequently accompanied Miss Van Someren and Miss Bean, the daughter and niece, respectively, of the Postmaster-General at the theatre.

As Mr. Jackson stepped into the theatre the assassin who was apparently in hiding stepped forward and aimed a revolver and shot at Mr. Jackson which missed him. But before he could be intercepted the assassin fired once again and on this occasion shot Mr. Jackson through the heart. Immediately the assassin was arrested by a crowd of people in the theatre.

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It is stated that the murderer after committing the deed attempted to take his own life, but was prevented by the crowd who had seized him after the second shot had been fired.

No sooner had the news reached Poona than Mr. Morison, Commissioner Northern Division and Mr. J. A. Guider, D. S. P., immediately left for the scene of the tragedy.

THE HALUDHARI DACOITY.

Mr. Ezechiel, District Magistrate of Nudua, on Monday resumed the magisterial enquiry in connection with the Haludhari Dacoity case, in which Sailendra Nath Dass and ten others are charged under the New Crimes Act. The Circuit House where the case was heard was guarded as before by the Gurkha Military Police.

Babu Nirode Chandra Chatterji, vakil, on behalf of the Crown, produced some witnesses whose statements were recorded "in camera."

In connection with the case, it is reported that Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alum, Deputy Superintendent of Police C. I. D., Bengal, with Inspector Nishikanto Banerji of the local police on the 16th instant made a thorough search of the house of Bidhu Bhusan Biswas, one of the accused in recovering the major portion of the ornaments and cash alleged to have been looted. The search is alleged to have been conducted in consequence of the statement of Jitendra Nath Chuckerburtty, who was arrested but discharged along with three others, on Tuesday, the 14th instant. The property recovered is stated to have been dug out of a portion of the yard of the house where it was concealed. Jitendra, it is said, will be examined as a witness in the case. The ornaments are reported to have been identified by witnesses.

It is also stated that the conditional pardon granted to Sailendra Nath Dass, who had made a confession, has been withdrawn, and he will not be made an approver in the case.

Five of the eleven accused in the Haludhari case are residents of villages adjoining Haludhari Bazar where the dacoity was committed. The five men who were wounded with buckshot from revolvers have been discharged from hospital.

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NEWS.

ZIAUL HUQ'S CASE.

Charges under Section 124 A of the India Penal Code was framed against Ziaul Huq on the 17th. The accused pleaded not guilty.

SUKKAR SEDITION CASE.

The Sukkar sedition case is pending. Two villagers act as assessors, one a Hindu Bania, the other, a Mahomedan ryot.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN FUNDS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale makes another appeal for subscription to the Transvaal Indian Funds. He received the following telegram from Mr. Gandhi:—Pray thank Mr. Tata for his munificent and timely help. The distress is great. The prisoners' lot is hard and religious scruples are disregarded; their ration is insufficient. Prisoners carry sleep pads; for refusing, they are put on spare diet and in solitary confinement. Prominent Moslems, Hindus, and Phraees are in jail.

THE MADRAS SUSPECT.

Purna Chandra Pakre, the Bengali of Chandernagore, who was arrested the other day on suspicion of having been an associate of Hotilal Varma, who was undergoing imprisonment at Agra for sedition, was this day released on his own recognizance by the Commissioner of Police pending further enquiries.

LAHORE SEDITION CASES.

The Special Magistrate was engaged in hearing the sedition case in which Nand-gopal stands charged with publishing seditious articles. There was a lengthy cross-examination as to the meaning of some of the words and phrases used in the incriminating articles.

In the case against Kishen Singh and Lal Chand, the former made a statement to the effect that the incriminating booklet headed "Deshi Fouj" purported to be a translation of certain article in the *Modern Review* on "Indian Army." It was decided that the case would be proceeded against Ajit Singh, author of these and other seditious books.

NEWS.

MR. KELKAR'S DISQUALIFICATION.

In reply to Mr. Kelkar's letter to Government requesting a reconsideration of the orders declaring him ineligible for election in the Legislative Council, the Government stated that its decision was made after a careful consideration of the question. His Excellency in Council regretted his inability to withdraw the same.

The following is the full text of the representation which Mr. N. C. Kelkar submitted to the Government of Bombay, requesting a re-consideration of its orders:—

To The Secretary to the Government,
Legislative Department,
Bombay.

Sir, - I beg to acknowledge receipt of a copy of a Government Notification dated 3rd instant, relating to my candidature at the election to the Bombay Legislative Council by the Local Boards in the Presidency, and forwarded to me by the Commissioner, C. D., with his Office No. R 5349 D-4-12-09. I actually received this copy, however, yesterday morning after my return from the moffussil where I had been in connection with my election; and I now hasten to submit the present representation in the hope that His Excellency in Council will be pleased to favourably consider the same and to issue the necessary orders accordingly.

The notification in question, declaring me ineligible to be a candidate at Council elections, deprives me of a privilege, conceded under the new Councils Act, to every citizen to seek election to the Legislative Council by popular suffrage, and that too in exercise of a discretionary power manifestly intended as a reserve to be used on only extraordinary occasions, but even then not without public justification.

The notification was issued nearly two weeks after the Collector of Poona and the Commissioner, C. D., had received personal intimation from myself about my intended candidature, one week after the submission of my nomination as a candidate to the Collectors of Nasik and East Khandesh, two days after the acceptance, by the Commissioner, Central Division, of my nomination on formal scrutiny and the despatch of voting papers to the delegates elected by the

Local Boards, one day after my name as a candidate was announced in the Bombay Government Gazette, and lastly when actual voting may be presumed to have commenced.

I humbly protest against the entire procedure as extremely unfair alike to myself and to the Local Board's electorate.

I respectfully ask for an opportunity for explanation, should His Excellency in Council deem such explanation necessary and for meeting the allegations held to constitute justificatory grounds for my disqualification maintaining that there is absolutely nothing in my past record to lead Government to consider my presence in the Legislative Council in public interest.

In conclusion, I beg to say that under these circumstances His Excellency in Council will be pleased to reconsider his decision and to the Local Boards to be proceeded with *de novo*.

TRIAL OF SWAMINATHA SASTRI.

Regarding the trial of Swaminatha Sastri, particulars of which are already published in the case under the first count, namely, subordination, the evidence is pretty well advanced. Arguments on both sides are over.

Mr. Abraham, Crown Prosecutor, addressed the Court and said that the evidence of Kesava Rao was convincing regarding the suppression of evidence as also the motive of the accused. The letter written by the accused to Kesava Rao, asking the latter to send his subordinate to the accused, was most improper. In that letter the accused told Rao to say that his subordinate did not turn out hostile. It was said that the subordinate was to refresh his memory. This was most extraordinary, as it was the duty of the Court which has to examine him as witness to do so. The accused, as investigating police officer, should not have had anything to do with men cited as prosecution witnesses. Not satisfied with the writing of this most improper letter, he also arranged to meet Kesava Rao. For this meeting Kesava Rao fixed a public place where several gentlemen were assembled and the Sastri was non-plussed. They then met at the office of the Government Pleader one hour before Kesava Rao gave evidence before the Court. The conversation that took place

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Abraham observed, significant. Sastri told Rao that he must not produce the letter. In spite of this, the letter was produced and filed as an exhibit. These with the other circumstances were sufficiently indicate of the motive of the accused. It must be added here, between these two persons was, Mr. observed Mr. Abraham, that before becoming Assistant Superintendent of Police the accused was a law officer to the Government, for a considerable time, besides being a High Court Vakil. In the face of these facts it was for the Court to judge the motive of the accused, in all the improper steps he took to bring about a conviction of the man, arrested in connection with the riot. In reply, Mr. Ramier, the defence vakil, said that the whole case turned on the exact words used in the conversation between Sastri and Kesava Rao. These words are not known. In the absence of those words the opinion of Kesava Rao ought not to be taken, nor should it guide the Court in forming a conclusion. It is a fact that must form the data for the Court to go by. These facts have not come as evidence. The impression or opinion of Kesava Rao is no evidence. Further, the law requires that for an offence of subordination there must be a representation; it must not be misrepresentation. These elements have not been proved to exist. Hence the proper course was to discharge the accused.

THE CONGRESS.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

The draft resolutions of the Indian National Congress for the coming session have now been published. They express appreciation for the Reform Scheme, but disappointment that the original clause 3 of the Indian Councils Act was not adopted (the one dealing with Executive Councils). They also protest against the regulations under the act as now drafted, complain that the educated classes are not given a legitimate share in the Councils, and say that the claims of the non-Moslem portion of the learned professions have been ignored; also that disqualifications and restrictions of an unnecessarily arbitrary and unnecessarily wide character have been imposed on candidates for election; and that the regulations lack a liberal and progressive spirit. The treatment of Indians in South Africa is then dealt with and the Government are urged to take further steps. The Partition of Bengal is protested against. Deportations

are condemned. Enquiry into high food grain prices is advocated. Laws restricting the alienation of land are condemned and an enquiry thereon is asked for. Resolutions similar to those passed last year are also included dealing with:—(1) Higher careers for Indians in the Army. (2) On Swadeshi (3) Education. (4) Omnibus resolution, including Military Charges, Separation of Judicial and Executive, Repressive Measures and Land Tax.

THE POSITION IN BENGAL.

The "Bengalee" in the course of an article on Saturday wrote:

The hopes of a united Congress, we fear, are not to be realized, at least this year. The fact is to be deeply regretted, for Bengal has set its heart upon a united Congress. We trust, however, that the matter will not be permitted to lie where it is, but that the negotiations will be resumed under more favourable conditions and the goal of a United Congress eventually reached. The country would naturally like to know the reasons of this failure. The All-India Conference of both parties had agreed to the absolute and unconditional subscription to what is popularly known as the creed, the first article in the Constitution. This article lays down that self-government within the Empire is the goal of Congress aspirations and constitutional agitation, the method for its attainment.

Objection was, however, taken now to the subscription to the creed by the representatives of the other party. They declined "to sign any personal declaration on the point as a condition of entry into the Congress." If so how could they enter the Congress as at present constituted, and how could there be a United Congress.

THE PRESIDENT ELECT.

The "Madras Mail" commenting on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's election as President of the Lahore Congress says: "As a conservative Hindu, he is a strict loyalist and a stern opponent of boycott, the heresy of Bengal. The choice made by the All-India Congress Committee is to be commended and we trust that under his guidance the proceedings of the Lahore Congress will be as dignified and successful as were those of the last Congress held in Madras."

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BENGAL AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

The Calcutta Gazette publishes the following Government Resolution on the Report of the Department of Agriculture Bengal, for the year ending the 30th June 1909:—

ORGANIZATION.

The question of the organization of the Provincial Agricultural Service is still under consideration. The present staff of Provincial Officers consists of 4 assistants who are being trained for employment as teachers at the Provincial Agricultural College, 2 travelling inspectors, 7 superintendents or overseers in charge of agricultural stations, 6 inspectors of agriculture, 1 assistant mycologist and 1 assistant entomologist. Three students returned from America in 1907-08 after receiving agricultural training at the Cornell University, and were appointed as assistants in the department; and of the two who returned during 1908-09 one entered the department as a probationer.

AGRICULTURAL STATION.

Six agricultural stations at Dumraon, Bankipore, Sabour, Chinsura, Burdwan and Cuttack were at work during the year. Steps were taken to start two more stations at Kharagpur in Midnapore to represent the laterite area, and at Ranchi to represent the Chota Nagpur plateau; but the projects have been kept in abeyance for want of money. The experimental work at Fraserganj was stopped owing to the difficulty of supervision; and the two small jute seed farms maintained at Berhanpore and Purnea were closed as the work can be done equally well at the Chinsura and Burdwan stations.

SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS.

The experimental cultivations of various kinds of crops including jute, cotton, flax, sugarcane, potato and rice was carried on at various places in the Province with diverse results. Experiments with jute conducted at the Burdwan station on the lines laid down by the Inspector-General of Agriculture were attended with successful results and proved conclusively that, with due care in cultivation and retting, the Burdwan cultivators could produce from the Narayanganj seed as good fibre as is to be found in Eastern Bengal. The cultivation in Behar by indigo planters has been discontinued.

The experiments with cotton had un-

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satisfactory results. The flax cultivation at Dhooria in Muzaffarpur was financially very successful. The Agricultural chemist conducted a series of experiments to test the sugar yielding proportion of the different varieties of sugarcane, but no definite conclusions have yet been reached.

SERICULTURE.

The work of the silk-rearing establishment made satisfactory progress during the year. The old silk committee, consisting of non-official members, was abolished and was replaced by a new one with four silk experts as members and the Director of Agriculture as president. Under the supervision of this new committee a mulberry farm with a central seed-rearing nursery was started at Berhampur. The 9 model nurseries belonging to the old silk committee have been brought under government management and 5 new ones are under construction, of which 3 are in Berhampur, 1 in Birbhum and 1 in Midnapore. They are intended to supply healthy seed to the rearers of silkworms. The total value of the seed sold was Rs. 5,874. Experiments made with Japanese and Italian mulberry seed gave encouraging results.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Little advance was made during the year in the promotion of agricultural education in the province. Unexpected delay in the commencement of the Agricultural College buildings at Sabaur will prevent the opening of the classes before November 1910. Meanwhile, the agricultural classes at the Sibpur Engineering College have been abolished, but an attempt to secure some continuity in training has been made by the grant of scholarship at institutions in other provinces. The students attending the agricultural classes attached to the several zilla schools and the collegiate school at Cuttack generally took little real interest in their work, the only exception being at Gaya, where agricultural instruction has been made a part of the general routine. The deputation of more students to America to study agriculture was discontinued during the year, partly because the supply of such trained men was likely to exceed the immediate requirements of the department and also because it seemed doubtful whether training under American conditions was altogether suitable for this country.

Mr. A. C. Sen, retired District and Sessions Judge, who was trained at the Cirencester College in England, has kept up his interest in agriculture, has both held

classes for cultivators and delivered popular lectures on the subject. Voluntary service to the cause of agriculture of this character are specially valuable, and deserve the fullest recognition from the community.

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS, FAIRS AND EXHIBITIONS.

The great interest taken in the agricultural development of the province by many members of the Provincial, Divisional and District Agricultural Associations, and the services rendered by them to the Agricultural Department are a source of gratification to the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom the work of Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter late a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, Rai Lalit Mohan Singh, Rai Bahadur of Chakdighi, and Babu Purnendu Narayan Singh, Secretary Patna Association, has been specially reported. Mr. A. N. Moberly, I C, S. has done much in his capacity of Chairman of the Sambalpur District Association for the benefit of agriculture in that district.

The agricultural fairs and shows held during the year, of which a brief account is given in Appendix II to the report, received grants-in-aid from Government aggregating Rs. 6,522. They appear to be continuing to serve a very useful purpose.

IRRIGATION.

The well-boring operations which have been undertaken in this province on the recommendation of the Indian Irrigation Commission have made little progress during the year partly in consequence of the want of practical experience on the part of the superintendent and partly because of the difficulty of close supervision over his work. He will for the future conduct his experiments under the supervision of the Principle of the Agriculture College at Sabaur. A large number of artisan wells were bored during the year in Muzaffarpur by the District Board in connection with the scarcity of water that prevailed there and were to a considerable extent successful.

PUBLICATION OF AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION.

Besides the quarterly Journal of Agriculture which was started during the

previous year, the department published and circulated leaflets and notes containing information in connection with agriculture. Large quantities of seeds of various crops, manures, and agricultural implements were issued from the government central seed store, which was removed during the year to the site of the Agricultural School Farm at Sibpur.

INDIGO RESEARCH.

The indigo research operations at Sirsah were continued with the aid of the Government subsidy of Rs. 50,000. For the next five years Government will contribute Rs. 32,500 a year on condition that the Bihar Planters' Association subscribe Rs. 10,000 annually to the cost of the research work. The Association have obtained for that period the services of Mr. C. J. Porthell, who has resigned his post as Imperial Bacteriologist in the Pusa Agricultural College and Research Institute in order to carry out and complete his researches.

Mr. N. C. KELKAR'S INELIGIBILITY.

A PROTEST MEETING AT POONA.

MR. G. K. GOKHALE PRESIDENT.

A largely attended meeting of the Deccan Sabha was held on Saturday the 11th instant at 6 P. M. in Phapka Wada to protest against the disqualification of Mr. N. C. Kelkar by the Bombay Government in the recent election by the District Boards of the Central Division. Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale presided and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

The Deccan Sabha begs leave to enter its respectful but emphatic protest against the disqualification of Mr. N. C. Kelkar under clause (i) of Regulation 4 for the nomination and election of Additional Members of the Bombay Legislative Council. In the opinion of the Sabha there is nothing in Mr. Kelkar's reputation or antecedents to justify this exercise by the Government of the exceptional powers conferred by the clause and the Sabha deems it its duty to represent to the Government the fact

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that the action taken against Mr. Kelkar has created a very painful impression which unless removed by an early reconsideration of the order in question is bound to impair the value of the scheme of reforms in the eyes of the public and to interfere seriously with its proper working in the future.

MR. GOKHALE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Gokhale, in opening the proceedings, said that it was with deep regret and from a sense of public duty that they were assembled there that evening. There was no doubt that the Reform Regulations had been received with deep disappointment throughout the country except among Mahomedan circles. It was not merely that a larger representation was given to the Mahomedans than could be justified on any fair or reasonable basis. The difference made in the treatment of the two communities in regard to the franchise and the qualifications for candidates was quite marked and was entirely unnecessary. While the merits of the scheme lay hidden away under a mass of detail and its defects and inequalities were glaring and lay on the surface. The most important part of the reform was the enlargement of the functions of the Councils. That was undoubtedly valuable and would largely answer their present requirements but the distribution of representation and the electoral machinery provided were seriously defective; and he was convinced that the Regulations would have to be revised in regard to both before the next elections come round. However it was just now the duty of all to make the best of what they had got as the Viceroy had urged them to do the other day at Madras. But the matter they had assembled that evening to consider was of such a nature that an immediate protest was necessary against what had been done. The Bombay Government had disqualified Mr. Kelkar under clause (i) of Regulation 4 which empowered Government to disqualify a person if, in its opinion that person was of such reputation or antecedents that his election would be contrary to the public interest. Now on the face of things this was an exceptional power intended for grave and exceptional cases only. All ordinary cases including those of gross moral delinquency in which case disqualification would be reasonable were provided for by clauses from (a) to (h). The power conferred by clause (i) was an additional power obviously intended as a reserve to meet cases of persons of known and irreconcilable hostility to the very existence of the British Government who could not yet be touched by any of the previous clauses. The very fact that even deported persons were not expressly disqualified by the Regulation shows how extreme the cases must be and how strong and clear the grounds of action before clause (i) could be put into operation. The speaker was of opinion the clause should be removed from the Regulation altogether. The Councils were so constituted that the presence in them of a person even irreconcilably hostile to the British rule could do no real harm; whereas the

chances were that the person himself might be observed in his view by the responsibilities of his position.

But whatever might be thought of that all felt it to be their duty to enter their strongest protest against the application of that clause to a man like Mr. Kelkar. They all knew Mr. Kelkar well and speaking for himself, Mr. Gokhale said that he knew him very well. He had no hesitating in saying that there was nothing in his views or in his career which could in any way justify the strong action taken by the Government against him. Mr. Gokhale did not share Mr. Kelkar's views in some matters but that did not prevent him from entertaining a sincere regard for Mr. Kelkar who was a generous and fair-minded opponent with an honourable record of public work behind him during the five years that Mr. Gokhale was President of the Poona City Municipality. Mr. Kelkar was a member of that body and he deemed it his duty now to give a public testimony not only to the zeal and capacity with which Mr. Kelkar did his work, but also to the manner in which he approached all municipal questions from the standpoint of public good only. That such a man should be disqualified under clause (i) and that the action should be taken at a time when the one thought of every body should be how to work the reform scheme so as to remove as much as possible of the existing friction was what he confessed he failed altogether to understand. In his humble opinion the step taken by the Government was most ill-advised and unjust and was calculated to cast serious discredit on the new reforms in the eyes of the public. The impression produced was most painful and Mr. Gokhale sincerely trusted that the Government would see its way to reconsider the matter and remove that impression.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale writing to the "Times of India" "re" its criticism justifying Government's action for disqualifying Mr. Kelkar says:—Even fair-minded and generous men have been known all over the world to commit errors of judgment under the stress of strong emotions or owing to a mistaken sense of loyalty to their chiefs. For Mr. Kelkar's conduct in the contempt Court case, the High Court sentenced him to fourteen days simple imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees. That the High Court did not take a very serious view of that conduct may be concluded from the fact that it did not cancel his "sanad" as a pleader.

Mr. Gokhale concludes:—"You say that action of Government will commend itself to all honest and straight thinking men, but I have discussed this matter with scores of my friends as honest and straight thinking as you can find any where, and I have not yet met one who does not deplore what Government have done. Perhaps your remark was intended to illustrate the use of what you have not hesitated to call "Cant and Humbug."

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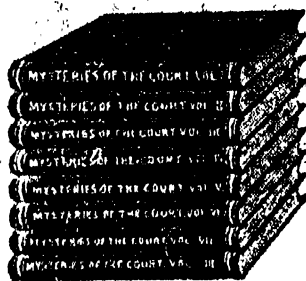
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Vol. I.

SATURDAY 1st JANUARY 1910.

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17th Paus 1316.

No. 26.

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Perishing Convention.

The Convention has met at Lahore and the fact that it could meet at all, has been hailed as a great triumph by the Anglo-Indian Press. But the success of this misbegotten body in avoiding immediate extinction has only served to show the marks of decay in every part of its being, and the loud chorus of eulogies streaming up from Anglo-India will not help to prolong its days. The miserable paucity of its numbers, the absence of great ovations to its leaders, the surroundings of stifling coldness, indifference and disapproval in the midst of which its orators perorated and resolved, have been too striking to be concealed. Even the *Statesman*, which is anxious to pass off this fiasco as a signal triumph for Moderatism and dwells on the enthusiasm and earnestness in the Bradlaugh Hall,—an enthusiasm and earnestness other reporters were unable to discover,—is obliged to admit the smallness of the circle to which these creditable feelings were confined. To this body calling it-

self the Indian National Congress how many delegates did the Indian nation send? The magnificent total of three hundred. From Bengal Sjs. Surendranath, Bhupendranath and A. Chaudhuri with less than half-a-dozen followers enriched Lahore with their presence; Madras could muster only twelve; the Central Provinces sent so few that the reporters are ashamed to mention the number. The United Provinces sent, according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* Correspondent, about thirty; the Bombay number is not mentioned, but even the *Statesman* does not go beyond eighty; the rest came from the Punjab. Even the Anglo-Indian champion of Conventionism, estimating largely and on the basis of hopes and expectations, cannot raise the total to four hundred. The same paper takes refuge in the "huge concourse" of spectators, but, when it comes to actual facts, the huge concourse melts away into some hundreds of spectators, an estimate supported by the statement in the *Bengalee* that there were considerably more spectators than delegates. It is admitted that Bradlaugh Hall which cannot seat more than three thousand was far from being filled, the *Statesman* observing two wings of the Hall to be quite empty and other accounts reporting the Hall to be half empty. An allowance of some thousand specta-

tors to watch the performances of the gallant three hundred in this Thermopylae of Moderatism, will be as liberal as the facts will allow. Could there be more damning evidence of the unpopularity of this pretentious body of well-to-do oligarchs electing themselves semi-secretly in close electorates of a handful of men and yet daring to call themselves the nation's Congress? The farce is almost over. The falsity of their pretensions has been shown up signally. The Convention will not dare again to meet in the Panjab; it will not come to Bengal; Nagpur, Amraoti and the Maharashtra are barred to it; and if the attendance from Madras is any sign, it will not be easy for it to command a following or an audience again in the Southern Presidency. What remains to Conventionism? Bombay city, Gujarat and the United Provinces are still open to them for a season. The abstention of a disgusted nation has passed sentence of death on this parody of the Indian National Congress.

The Convention President's Address.

The most remarkable feature of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's address is not what he said, but what he omitted to say. If the accounts telegraphed can be trusted, he said nothing of the Government, nothing at all of the

the Boycott, of course, the Convention has boycotted,— nothing about the Bengal deportees, only a few words about the Transvaal. The speech was really a speech about the Reforms and every other great question of Indian politics was ignored or neglected. The attitude of the Convention on the Reforms is marked by that open insincerity which is the hallmark of Moderate politics. The Convention resolution is made up of two parts, an ecstatic tribute of praise and gratitude to the two Lords Morley and Minto, for their earnest and "arduous" endeavours, (note the grotesque absurdity of the language,) in extending to the people of this country a "fairly liberal" measure of constitutional reform, and a detailed and damning indictment of the measure for restrictions and provisions which are "excessive and unfair," "unjust, invidious and humiliating," "arbitrary and unreasonable," and for the "general distrust" of the educated classes and the "ineffective and unreal" composition of the non-official majority. If there is any meaning in language, the second part of the resolution gives the lie direct to the first. The language used is far stronger than any the *Karmayogin* has ever permitted itself to employ in its condemnation of the Reforms and, if the condemnation is at all justified by facts, the Reforms are a reactionary and not a progressive piece of legislation. And yet who is the chief mouthpiece of the Convention and the most damaging critic of the Reforms? A gentleman who has set the seal of approval on Lord Morley's measure by entering the Council of his province as an elected member. Actions speak more strongly than words, and the Government of India care little for criticism in detail so long as they get acceptance of the whole. From the Viceroy down to the obscurest Anglo-Indian scribbler the appeal to the Moderates is to criticise details hereafter, if they choose, but to accept the Reforms, the perpetual division of the two Indian communities, the humiliation of the Hindus, the extrusion of the educated classes from their old leading position, the denial of the only true basis of self-government,—to let, as the *Indian Daily News* persuasively puts it, by-gones be by-gones. Anglo-India puts Moderatism on

the back and says in effect, "What if we have kicked you downstairs? Can't you be a good fellow and sit quietly on the bottom step until we take it in our heads to pull you up a little further?" And Moderatism must comply if it wishes to be tolerated.

The Alleged Breach of Faith.

The Moderate critics are never tired of harping on the difference between Lord Morley's scheme and the Regulations and alleging or hinting that promises have been made to the ear which have been broken in the act. The *Statesman* very naturally resents the implied charge of breach of faith. We do not know what private hopes the Secretary of State may have held out to Mr. Gokhale or Sj. Surendranath Banerji, but, judging from Lord Morley's public utterances, we do not think the charge of a breach of faith can be for a moment sustained. He has never pretended that his reform was the granting of a democratic constitution or the first step towards Parliamentary self-government. On the contrary he distinctly stated that if he had thought his measure to be anything of the kind he would have immediately withdrawn it. All that he promised was a scheme by which Indian public opinion could be more liberally consulted, and there were from the beginning distinct indications that the Government would put its own meaning on the phrase and draw a distinction between Indian opinion and Indian educated opinion. If the Moderates chose to interpret this limited concession as the granting of a constitution and a new Magna Charta, neither Lord Morley nor Lord Minto are to blame for a deliberate and gratuitous self-deception and deception of the people. The complaint that the non-official majority is ineffective and unreal, means simply that it is not a popular majority. We do not think the Government ever promised a popular majority; they promised a non-official majority and they have given it. If the Moderates chose to believe that the Government would go out of its way to make the non-official majority a popular one, they have themselves to thank for this pitiful self-delusion, against which the Nationalists have been warning the country for some time past. The

truth is that they have been utterly worsted in their diplomatic relations with British Liberalism and they are now trying to exculpate themselves before the public by throwing the blame on their allies. No English statesman can be condemned for trying to get the best of a diplomatic bargain of this kind; the loser must blame his own folly, not the good faith of the other party. Did not the Bengal Moderates recently propose a similar bargain to the Nationalists in the United Congress Committee's negotiations? And, if the Nationalists had been fools enough to agree, would they have been justified afterwards in quarrelling with the good faith of the Moderates merely because they themselves had chosen to enter the Convention on conditions which would have meant hopeless ineffectiveness in that body and political suicide outside? If infants in diplomacy choose to cherish an obstinate admiration for their own Machiavellian cleverness or mere bookmen who do not understand the A. B. C. of practical politics, elect to play the game with past masters of political statecraft, the result is a foregone conclusion. We have exposed over and over again the hollowness of the pretensions of this measure to figure as a great step forward in Indian administration or the beginning of a new progressive era in Indian politics, but we did not need the publication of the Regulations to open our eyes to this hollowness. Lord Morley's own statements, the nature of things and of humanity and the clauses of the Reform Bill itself were a sufficient guide to anyone with even an elementary knowledge of politics.

The Nasik Murder.

The tale of assassinations is evidently not at an end; and it is difficult to believe that they will be until a more normal condition of things has been restored. The sporadic and occasional character of these regrettable incidents is sufficient to prove that they are not the work of a widespread Terrorist organisation, but of individuals or small groups raw in organisation and irresolute in action. The Anglo-Indian superstition of a great Revolutionary organisation like the Russian Revolutionary Committee is a romantic delusion. The facts are entirely inconsistent with it.

What we see is that, where there is sporadic repression of a severe kind on the part of the authorities, there is sporadic retaliation on the part of a few youthful conspirators, perfectly random in its aim and objective. The Nasik murder is an act of terrorist reprisal for the dangerously severe sentence passed on the revolutionary versifier Savarkar. It is natural that there should have been many meetings in Maharashtra to denounce the assassination, but such denunciations do not carry us very far. They have no effect whatever on the minds of the men who are convinced that to slay and be slain is their duty to their country. The disease is one that can only be dealt with by removing its roots, not by denouncing its symptoms. The Anglo-Indian papers find the root in our criticism of Government action and policy and suggest the silencing of the Press as the best means of removing the root. If the Government believe in this antiquated diagnosis, they may certainly try the expedient suggested. Our idea is that it will only drive the roots deeper. We have ourselves, while strongly opposing and criticising the actions and policy of the bureaucracy, abstained from commenting on specific acts of repression, as we had no wish to inflame public feeling; but to silence Nationalism means to help Terrorism. Our view is that the only way to get rid of the disease is to disprove Mr. Gokhale's baneful teaching that violence is the only means of securing independence, to give the people hope in a peaceful and effective means of progress towards that ideal, which is now the openly or secretly cherished ideal of every Indian, and to that end to organize peaceful opposition and progress within the law. If the Government can retrace their steps and remove the ban from lawful passive resistance and self-help and the Nationalist party, while holding its ultimate political aim, will define its immediate objective within limits which a Radical Government can hereafter consider, we believe politics in India will assume a normal course under normal conditions. We propose to do our part; we will see whether the Government think it worth their while to respond. They ought to be able to under-

stand by this time that Nationalism and not Moderatism is the effective political force in India.

Transvaal and Bengal.

There are two crying grievances which have done more than anything else to embitter popular feeling against the authorities and in both cases the populations most directly affected have resorted to passive resistance as the only remedy open to them. The first is the gross and systematic oppression now being practised on the Indians in the Transvaal, the other the repression of national aspirations towards unity and self-development in Bengal, typified by Partition and Deportation. Nothing can be more inconsistent than the attitude taken by the Moderate Convention towards these two questions. They have telegraphed their sympathy with the heroic passive resistance of the Transvaal Indians; they have shown their sympathy with Bengal by boycotting our boycott. Eighteen thousand rupees were promised for the Transvaal Indians in the one scene of enthusiasm which relieved the depressed dullness of the proceedings, and although we have little hope that this spasmodic activity will be followed up by steady support, it is better than nothing. On the other hand the Bengal questions were left to be moved by Bengalis, the Partition to S. J. Bhupendranath, the Deportations to Mr. A. Chaudhuri. A deputation was appointed by the Convention to proceed to lay the question of Partition once more before Lord Morley; and of whom, think you, the deputation is to consist? S. J. Surendranath Banerji and S. J. Bhupendranath Bose. Not a single Moderate deputy is forthcoming from the whole of India to support Bengal even to this extent in its bitter and arduous struggle. Yet men are not ashamed to go from Bengal as self-elected delegates to a Convention which has disowned and dishonoured Bengal and which Bengal has disowned.

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not an easy thing in this country to establish a weekly review of this standard written in English; and it has therefore been necessary for us at the outset to place a price on the paper which should ensure its being self-supporting even with a limited circulation. The *Karmayogin*, however, is now sufficiently successful to allow of a concession of this kind being made without financial injury. The subscribers to the dearer edition will be compensated by the superior get-up and paper, while the cheaper edition will remove the grievance of the large number who have hitherto been debarred from reading the review by their scanty means.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

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From the beginning of the national movement, in spite of its enthusiasm, force, innate greatness, a defect has made itself apparent, a fatality of insufficient effectiveness has pursued it, which showed that there was a serious flaw somewhere in this brilliant opening of a new era. The nature of that flaw has been made manifest by the period of trial in which, for a time, the real force which made for success has been temporarily withdrawn, so that the weaknesses still inherent in the nation might be discovered and removed. The great flaw was the attempt to combine the new with the old, to subject the conduct of the resurgence of India to the aged, the cautious, the hesitating, men out of sympathy with the spirit of the new age, unable to grasp the needs of the future, afraid to apply the bold and radical methods which could alone transform the nation, sweep out the rottenness in our former corrupt nature and, by purifying Bengal, purify India. It is now apparent that it was the Nationalist element which by its energy, courage, boldness of thought, readiness to accept the conditions of progress, gave the movement its force and vitality. Wherever that force has been withdrawn, the movement has collapsed. The older men have shown themselves utterly unable either to supply the moral force that would sustain the forward march of the nation or the brain-power to grapple with national problems. In swadeshi the force

of sentiment supplied, and the persistence of the great mass of silent nationalism in resisting any attempt to draw back from boycott has preserved the movement to prefer indigenous and boycott foreign goods, but the withdrawal of active Nationalist endeavour has resulted in the stoppage of progress. Swadeshi maintains itself, it no longer advances. National Education languishes because the active force has been withdrawn from it; it does not absolutely perish because a certain amount of Nationalist self-devotion has entrenched itself in this last stronghold and holds it against great odds under the most discouraging circumstances. A certain amount only,—because part of the active enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which created the movement, has been deliberately extruded from it in obedience to fear or even baser motives, part has abandoned it in disgust at the degeneration of the system in incapable hands and the rest is now finding its self-devotion baffled and deprived of the chance of success by the same incapacity and weakness at headquarters.

The National Council of Education, as it is at present composed, has convicted itself of entire incapacity whether to grasp the meaning of the movement or to preserve or create the conditions of its success. To the majority of the members it is merely an interesting academical experiment in which they can embody some of their pet hobbies or satisfy a general vague dissatisfaction with the established University system. To others the only valuable part of it is the technical instruction given in its workshops. The two or three who at all regard it as part of a great national movement, are unnerved by fear, scepticism and distrust and, by introducing the principles of Chanakya into its public policy, are depriving it of the first condition of its continued existence. It is folly to expect that the nation at large will either pay heavily or make great sacrifices merely to support an interesting academic experiment, still less to allow a few learned men to spoil the intellectual development of the race by indulging their hobbies at the public expense. That the people will not support a mere technical education divorced from that

general humanistic training which is essential to national culture, has been sufficiently proved by the failure of Mr. Palit's Technical College to command adequate financial support. Unless this movement is carried on, as it was undertaken, as part of a great movement of national resurgence, unless it is made, visibly to all, a nursery of patriotism and a mighty instrument of national culture, it cannot succeed. It is foolish to expect men to make great sacrifices while discouraging their hope and enthusiasm. It is not intellectual recognition of duty that compels sustained self-sacrifice in masses of men; it is hope, it is the lofty ardour of a great cause, it is the enthusiasm of a noble and courageous effort. It is amazing that men calling themselves educated and presuming to dabble with public movements should be blind to the fact that the success or failure of National Education is intimately bound up with and, indeed, entirely depends upon the fortunes of the great resurgence which gave it birth. They seem to labour under the delusion that it was an academical and not a national impulse which induced men to support this great effort, and they seek to save the institution from a premature death by exiling from it the enthusiasm that made it possible. They cannot ignore the service done by that enthusiasm, but they regard it merely as the ladder by which they climbed and are busy trying to kick it down. They are really shutting off the steam, yet expect the locomotive to go on.

The successful organisation of the Bengal National College in Calcutta was the work of its able and enthusiastic Superintendent aided by a body of young and self-sacrificing workers. The National Council which nominally controlled, in reality only hampered it; all that the Council contributed to the system, was its defects. The schools in the Mofussil were created by the enthusiasm of the Nationalist party, the propaganda of its leaders and the ardent self-devotion of little bands of workers who gave their self-sacrifice and enthusiasm to lay the foundations. The Nationalist Council has never lifted a single finger to help the Mofussil schools, beyond doling out unsubstantial

grants to maintain them merely as necessary feeders of the Calcutta institution. But unless a movement of this kind is supported by wise organization and energetic propagandism emanating from an active central authority, it must soon sink under the weight of unsolved problems, unsurmounted difficulties and unamended defects. The curriculum of the Council is extraordinarily elaborate and expensive, and involves a great outlay for the formation of library, laboratory, and workshops, and, arranged as it is on the vicious Western system of driving many subjects at a time into the growing intellect, is slow, cumbersome, a strain on the mind of the students, wasteful of time, impossible without an unusual number of good teachers. The financial problem created is one of crushing difficulty, yet the Council think they have done their duty when they have created the problem and do not seem even to dream that there is any call on them to solve it. Even for the Calcutta College in whose maintenance they are more keenly interested, they can only make feeble and spasmodic efforts when, as annually happens, there is a deficit in the budget. The academical problem of teaching so many subjects in so short a time without outdoing the exploits of the Calcutta University as a brain-killing and life-shortening machine, does not seem to occur to these lofty and secluded minds. They are content with creating the problem and maintaining it by their system of examinations. Even if funds were forthcoming, there would still be the necessity of providing a regular and plentiful supply of teachers trained in an entirely new system of instruction. This urgent problem the Council has systematically ignored, and not even the elementary steps of establishing a Teacher's Training Class in Calcutta and issuing a series of suitable books in the vernacular has been attempted. The only problems which the Council seems willing to grapple with are, first, the problem of supporting National Education without incurring the wrath of the officials and, secondly, the problem of evading the spirit of the clause which forbids it to subject itself to any form of Government control.

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while observing the letter so as to prevent the invalidation of its endowments.

But if the National Council is content to fail in its duty, the country cannot be content to allow this great educational enterprise to perish. We do not know how or by whom the Council is elected. It seems to have followed the example of so many bodies in India which have started as democratic institutions and ended as close corporations self-electing and self-elected. But if it is impossible to alter the component character of this body and put into it keener blood and clearer brains, some other centre of effort must be created which will undertake to grapple with the problems of National Education, the supply of trained and self-devoted teachers and of books which will guide them in the imparting of knowledge on new lines, the reawakening of interest, hope and enthusiasm in the country, the provision of the necessary funds to the mofussil schools, the forcing on the Council by the pressure of public opinion of a more rational and a more national system of teaching. But the first condition of success is the reawakening of the national movement all along the line, and this can only be done by the organisation and resolute activity of the Nationalist party.

STEAD AND MASKELYNE.

—oOo—

The vexed question of spirit communication has become a subject of permanent public controversy in England. So much that is of the utmost importance to our views of the world, religion, science, life, philosophy, is crucially interested in the decision of this question, that no fresh proof or disproof, establishment or refutation of this genuineness and significance of spirit communications can go disregarded. But no discussion of the question which proceeds merely on first principles can be of any value. It is a matter of evidence, of the value of the evidence and of the meaning of the evidence. If the ascertained facts are in favour of spiritualism, it is no argument against the facts that they contradict the received dogmas of science or excite the ridicule alike of the enlightened sceptic and of the matter-of-fact

citizen. If they are against spiritualism, it does not help the latter that it supports religion or pleases the imagination and flatters the emotions of mankind. Facts are what we desire, not enthusiasm or ridicule; evidence is what we have to weigh, not unsupported arguments or questions of fitness or probability. The improbable may be true, the probable entirely false.

In judging the evidence, we must attach especial importance to the opinion of men who have dealt with the facts at first hand. Recently, two such men have put succinctly their arguments for and against the truth of spiritualism. Mr. W. T. Stead and the famous conjurer, Mr. Maskelyne. We will deal with Mr. Maskelyne first, who totally denies the value of the facts on which spiritualism is based. Mr. Maskelyne puts forward two absolutely inconsistent theories, first, that spiritualism is all fraud and humbug, the second, that it is all subconscious mentality. The first was the theory which has hitherto been held by the opponents of the new phenomena, the second the theory to which they are being driven by an accumulation of indisputable evidence. Mr. Maskelyne, himself a professed master of jugglery and illusion, is naturally disposed to put down all mediums as irregular competitors in his own art; but the fact that a conjuror can produce an illusory phenomenon, is no proof that all phenomena are conjuring. He farther argues that no spiritualistic phenomena have been produced when he could persuade Mr. Stead to adopt conditions which precluded fraud. We must know Mr. Maskelyne's conditions and have Mr. Stead's corroboration of this statement before we can be sure of the value we must attach to this kind of refutation. In any case we have the indisputable fact that Mr. Stead himself has been the medium in some of the most important and best ascertained of the phenomena. Mr. Maskelyne knows that Mr. Stead is an honourable man incapable of a huge and impudent fabrication of this kind and he is therefore compelled to fall back on the wholly unproved theory of the subconscious mind. His arguments do not strike us as very convincing. Because we often write without

noticing what we are writing, mechanically, therefore, says this profound thinker, automatic writing must be the same kind of mental process. The one little objection to this sublimely felicitous argument is that automatic writing has no resemblance whatever to mechanical writing. When a man writes mechanically, he does not notice what he is writing; when he writes automatically, he notices it carefully and has his whole attention fixed on it. When he writes mechanically, his hand records something that it is in his mind to write; when he writes automatically, his hand transcribes something which it is not in his mind to write and which is often the reverse of what his mind would tell him to write. Mr. Maskelyne further gives the instance of a lady writing a letter and unconsciously putting an old address which, when afterwards questioned she could not remember. This amounts to no more than a fit of absent-mindedness in which an old forgotten fact rose to the surface of the mind and by the revival of old habit was reproduced on the paper, but again sank out of immediate consciousness as soon as the mind returned to the present. This is a mental phenomenon essentially of the same class as our continuing unintentionally to write the date of the last year even in this year's letters. In one case it is the revival, in the other the persistence of an old habit. What has this to do with the phenomena of automatic writing which are of an entirely different class and not attended by absent-mindedness at all? Mr. Maskelyne makes no attempt to explain the writing of facts in their nature unknowable to the medium, or of repeated predictions of the future, which are common in automatic communications.

On the other side Mr. Stead's arguments are hardly more convincing. He bases his belief, first, on the nature of the communications from his son and others in which he could not be deceived by his own mind and, secondly, on the fact that not only statements of the past, but predictions of the future occur freely. The first argument is of no value unless we know the nature of the communication and the possibility or impossibility of the facts

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stated having been previously known to Mr. Stead. The second is also not conclusive in itself. There are some predictions which a keen mind can make by inference or guess, but, if we notice the hits and forget the misses, we shall believe them to be prophetic and not ordinary previsions. The real value of Mr. Stead's defence of the phenomena lies in the remarkable concrete instance he gives of a prediction from which this possibility is entirely excluded. The spirit of Julia, he states, predicted the death within the year of an acquaintance who, within the time stated, suffered from two illnesses, in one of which the doctors despaired of her recovery. On each occasion the predicting spirit was naturally asked whether the illness was not to end in the death predicted, and on each she gave an unexpected negative answer and finally predicted a death by other than natural means. As a matter of fact, the lady in question before, the year was out, leaped out of a window and was killed. This remarkable prophecy was obviously neither a successful inference nor a fortunate guess, nor even a surprising coincidence. It is a convincing and indisputable prophecy. Its appearance in the automatic writing can only be explained either by the assumption that Mr. Stead has a subliminal self, calling itself Julia, gifted with an absolute and exact power of prophecy denied to the man as we know him,—a violent, bizarre and unproved assumption,—or by the admission that there was a communicant with superior powers to ordinary humanity using the hand of the writer. Who that was, Julia or another, ghost, spirit or other being, is a question that lies beyond. This controversy, with the worthlessness of the arguments on either side and the supreme worth of the one concrete and precise fact given, is a signal proof of our contention that, in deciding this question, it is not a priori arguments, but facts used for their evidential value as an impartial lawyer would use them, that will eventually prevail.

ANANDAMATH.

CHAPTER XII.

It was after much tribulation that Mohendra and Kalyani met again. Kalyani flung herself down and wept, Mohendra wept even more than she. The weeping over, there was much ado of wiping the eyes, for as often as the eyes were wiped, the tears began to come again. But when at last the tears had ceased to come, the thought of food occurred to Kalyani. She asked Mohendra to partake of the food which the ascetic's followers had kept with her. In this time of famine there was no chance of ordinary food and vegetables, but whatever there was in the country, was to be had in plenty among the Children. That forest was inaccessible to ordinary men. Whenever there was a tree with fruit upon it, famishing men stripped it of what it bore, but none other than the Children had access to the fruit of the trees in this impenetrable wilderness. For this reason the ascetic's followers had been able to bring for Kalyani plenty of forest fruits and some milk. In the property of the Sannyasin were included a number of cows. At Kalyani's request, Mohendra first took some food, afterwards Kalyani sat apart and eat something of what he had left. She gave some of the milk to her child and kept the rest to feed her with again. Then both of them, overcome with sleep, took rest for a while. When they woke, they began to discuss where they should go next. "We left home" said Kalyani "in fear of danger and misfortune, but I now see there are greater dangers and misfortunes abroad than at home. Come then, let us return to our own house." That also was Mohendra's intention. It was his wish to keep

Kalyani at home under the care of some suitable guardian and take upon himself this beautiful, pure and divine vow of service to the Mother. Therefore he gave his consent very readily. The husband and wife, rested from fatigue, took their daughter in their arms and set forth in the direction of Podchinha.

But what way led to Podchinha, they could not at all make out in that thick and difficult forest. They had thought that once they could find the way out of the wood, they would be able to find the road. But now they could not find the way out of the wood itself. After long wandering in the thickets, their circlings began to bring them round to the monastery once more, no way of exit could be found. In front of them they saw an unknown ascetic in the dress of a Vaishnav Gosain, who stood in the path and laughed at them. Mohendra, in some irritation, said to him, "What are you laughing at, Gosain?"

"How did you enter the forest?" asked the Gosain.

"Well, we have entered it, it does not matter how."

"Then, when you have entered, how is it you cannot get out again?" So saying, the ascetic resumed his laughter.

"Since you laugh," said Mohendra, much provoked, "I presume you can yourself get out?"

"Follow me," said the Vaishnav, "I will show you the way. You must undoubtedly have entered the forest in the company of some one of the ascetics. No one else knows the way either into or out of the forest."

On this Mohendra asked, "Are you one of the Children?"

"I am," answered the Vaishnav, "Come with me. It is to show you the way that I am standing here."

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"What is your name?" asked Mohendra.

"My name" replied the Vaishnav "is Dhirananda Goswami."

Dhirananda proceeded in front. Mohendra and Kalyani followed. Dhirananda took them out of the forest by a very difficult path and again plunged back among the trees.

On leaving the forest one came after a little to a common with trees. To one side of it there was the highway running along the forest, and in one place a little river flowed out of the woodland with a murmuring sound. Its water was very clear, but dark like a thick cloud. On either bank beautiful dark-green trees of many kinds threw their shadow over the river and in their branches birds of different families sat and gave forth their various notes. Those notes too were sweet and mingled with the sweet cadence of the stream. With a similar harmony the shadow of the trees agreed and mingled with the colour of the stream. Kalyani sat under a tree on the bank and bade her husband sit near. Mohendra sat down, and she took her child from her husband's lap into her own. Kalyani held her husband's hand in hers and for some time sat in silence, then she asked, "To-day I see that you are very melancholy. The calamity there was on us, we have escaped; why then are you so sad?"

Mohendra answered with a deep sigh, "I am no longer my own man, and what I am to do, I cannot understand."

"Why?" asked Kalyani.

"Hear what happened to me after I lost you," said Mohendra, and he gave a detailed account of all that had happened to him.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO LORD MORLEY.

Mr. W. T. Stead, the Editor of the "Review of Reviews," has addressed the following open letter to Lord Morley:—
To the Right Hon. Lord Morley, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Indian Affairs.

My Lord,—I venture with all respect to approach you with a humble but earnest request. Publishers, editors, booksellers and newsgents concerned in the publication and sale of papers and periodicals circulating in India now find themselves exposed to the summary confiscation of their property and the imprisonment of their agents without any right of appeal to jury or without any hope or redress from an appeal to superior courts. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that newsgents should demand from the producers of periodicals published in England or elsewhere a guarantee that each number sent them for sale contains nothing which might lead the Bombay police magistrate to send them to gaol for disseminating sedition.

My Lord, it passes the wit of man to conceive what Mr. Aston would not consider to be sedition. Judging from his recent decision the case of the "Swaraj" if he had been administering Statute 123A in England under Mr. Forster's "regime of 1881-3, he would certainly have placed the editor and publisher of the "Pall Mall Gazette" under lock and key as persistent sedition-mongers. But this uncertainty as to the measure of Mr. Aston's foot has led newsgents in India to send the October number of the "Review of Reviews" to the police authorities instead of supplying it to their customers fearing lest in the legitimate exercise of their lawful calling they might unawares have brought down upon themselves the wrath of a police magistrate. The fate of the "Swaraj" yesterday is the fate of the "Review of Reviews" to-day, it may be the fate of the "Times," the "Spectator," and the "Nineteenth Century" to-morrow. By terrorising the newsgents the sale of any public journal or review which ventures to criticise any act or policy of the Indian Administration can be suppressed, and in self defence we shall be compelled to advertise on the cover of our journal that we guarantee it contains no independent comment of any kind upon the administration of the Indian Empire.

I am well aware that no man alive can contemplate such a gagging of the

Press with more abhorrence than my old chief of the "Pall Mall Gazette"; nor do I believe that the conversion of an editor into a Secretary of State can have effected such a transmigration of souls as to render it possible for you to regard Mr. Aston's decision, backed as it is by the High Court, without a keen sense of humiliation not, to say, of despair. The situation which confronts us to-day compels me to approach you with a humble request that you will mitigate the severity of the arbitrary "regime" to which the Press the English Press is subjected in India by establishing without delay in the ante-chamber of the India Office an Official Censor to whom we can submit proofs of any article which we contemplate to publish, in order that, if it is passed, our newsgents and booksellers in India may be delivered from the dread of imprisonment by pointing to the official "imprimatur."

I hope that you will not regard this suggestion as springing from my sympathy with the Russian censorship. No one knows better than I that every censor—even the official whom I am asking you to establish at Downing Street—will usually be a podant and occasionally a blockhead. But it is better to have to deal with one censor living in the free air of this country, whose absurdities and petty tyrannies can be shown up in the Press and in Parliament, than to live under the harrow of those who are terrorising the newsgents into suppressing all independent criticism of their administration. I admit that it would be a curious culmination of your distinguished career if the famous Radical journalist of the "Morning Star," the "Fortnightly Review" and the "Pall Mall Gazette" were to crown his administration of India by the establishment of a Press censorship in London for all articles on Indian affairs. But under the circumstances, unless you see your way by some unprecedented exercise of autocratic authority to reverse the judgment of the Courts, I had to see how in future there is to be any liberty of discussion upon questions of Indian policy in the English Press circulating in India.

I pray you then with all earnestness to mitigate the intolerable "regime" established by Mr. Aston, by the institution of a censorship under whose "imprimatur" we might hope to be allowed hence to carry on our profession in the future.

It is better to have our wings clipped by a censor in Whitehall than to be first gagged and then suppressed by your police magistrate in India—I am, Your obedient servant,

W. T. Stead

THE CONVENTION CONGRESS

It will be seen that, as we anticipated, the Congress had passed a strong resolution embodying a comprehensive protest against the Reform Bill. While it is possible to sympathise with the view that, perhaps, in devising a mode of separate election for the ... has been done to ...

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we doubt whether any useful purpose will be served at the present stage by raising the question afresh. It is quite possible, as we said that Government will only be too glad to modify the Regulations, at the earliest possible opportunity, but we fail to see how the much larger change involving in tearing up the Regulations so far as they affect the privileges granted to the Moslems can be set aside. It is not practical politics, and we quite believe that a practical politician of the calibre of Sir P. M. Mehta refused to make himself a party to a proposal of that character. We have made no secret of our opinion that the grant of separate representation, was unfortunate. But at the same time we recognise that it is one of those blunders which are easier mourned than rectified. The people must make the best of an unfortunate situation. For Government to withdraw the privileges granted to the Moslems would array the entire body of Moslems both against the Government and against the Hindus. We put to Hindu politicians whether that is a consummation they would contemplate with equanimity. Most certainly not. Therefore we should have liked wiser counsels to have prevailed than to let a resolution pass which cannot command the assent of practical men. Our impression is that if the representation allowed to the Moslems were not as large as it is, the general electorate would have elected a much greater proportion of Moslems than they have done. However that may be it seems to us that the immediate duty of all classes alike is to let bygones be bygones and to work with a single eye to the common advantage of all. Working in that way it should be possible to neutralise whatever evil has been wrought, and to hasten the time when it may be found to be both politic and desirable, to withdraw the present restrictions.

The leading men amongst the Conventionist have all come to the support of the executive here. Babus Surendranath Banerjee and Bhupendra Nath Bose and Mr. A. Chaudhuri, after prolonged parleying with the Bengal Extremists, have been compelled to leave them alone, at any rate for this year. These three gentlemen, with barely half a dozen more from Bengal, have arrived here.

From Bombay have arrived the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Mr. D. E. Wacha, Mr. J. A. Khare, Mr. H. S. Dikshit, Mr. N. M. Samarth and a fairly large contingent of delegates which is expected to comprise about eighty from the whole Presidency, including Sind. The number from Madras is very disappointing, not more than a dozen having come, so far, with Dewan Bahadur L. A. Gobindaraghava Iyer at their head. The United Provinces contingent is estimated at sixty to eighty. The Central Provinces are also poorly represented. Even from the Punjab only about two hundred delegates are expected.—*The Statesman*.

The *Punjabee* makes the following remarks on the convention Congress:—

"If there were any particular proof needed that Congress has outlived its career of usefulness and now falls far behind the progress of ideas and the march of events, it is furnished by draft resolutions, framed by the wise heads of the All India Congress Committee. There

could not be a more belated or lame statement of the views of the class of men, the advanced educated community who are supposed to be particularly interested in the success of the movement. What has been said by hundreds of newspapers repeated in a multitude of representations and put forth from scores of platforms with a great deal more warmth and freshness, but without producing any effect on the bureaucratic mind, is now offered in the form of an insipid rehearse with all its flavour gone, its warmth cooled down and its strength diluted. The condemnation of the reform scheme from the Congress platform at this date is bound to be a useless and ineffective performance, considering that it is the leading lights of the Congress who by the sorry part of blind panegyrist they played at Madras made themselves one of the main factors, responsible for the shape which the Regulation have taken. The police locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen has never been recognised as sound wisdom nor, can those who wish to run the hare and hunt with the hound be regarded as persons in any way capable of getting at the real game. Men who have once consented to act as tools of a policy can never again expect to be its shapers and framers.

The *Advocate of India* observes:—"It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Congress, by the mouth of its President has virtually condemned the Reform Scheme in the working out of which its sympathy sought by its promoters.

Of so much of his address as we have been privileged to read, it can only be said that throughout it was temperate and dignified and strictly in keeping with the best traditions of the Congress. That of course, will not lessen in the least the disappointment of those of us who were looking to the Congress, which claims to be a body of great national import to give the people a lead in receiving the new measures in a genuine spirit in which they were conceived."

POLICE RAID AT BENARES.

Babu Ghanasyam Banerjee is a respectable resident of Benares. There lived in a portion of his house a man of the name of Durga Das. As the result of some investigation the Police came in a body and surrounded the house to arrest him, on the 19th instant. The police demanded the door, which was barred from within, being opened by the inmates but they had not the patience to wait till it was opened. They entered the adjoining house of Gosain Babu, got upon the roof and effected an entry into Ghanasyam's house. There were ladies in the house at the time. But the Police without giving them an opportunity to remove began a sifting enquiry in every nook and corner of the house. They seized among other things an old "Bhojali" which Ghanasyam had kept as a memento of his deceased father Durga Das, however, was in Gosain Babu's house at that time and he was arrested there.

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S. D. KRISHNAYANGAR.
Secretary.

NEWS.

MYSTERIOUS REVOLVER FIND.

Inspector W. Mulchy of the Arms Act, is investigating a rather mysterious find of revolver, under a culvert outside the Presidency Jail limits. It would appear that at about 5 P. M. on the 21st instant, three Mahomedan boys named Sheik Kochi, Abdul Goffur and Abdul Kalik employed as extra hands in the Presidency Jail Printing Press were going home after finishing their work and were crossing the north end of the road near the Victoria Memorial Hall structure. The boys who had been previously worrying jackals that had taken shelter under the culvert by pelting stones were engaged in doing the same thing that evening, when the first named boy found the revolver inside the opening of the culvert. The boy picked it up and showed, it was then decided to make it over to the Deputy Superintendent of the jail. Mr. Gray in due course sent the revolver with particulars to Mr. Halliday, Commissioner of Police who in turn sent the matter to the Deputy Commissioner of third Division, in whose jurisdiction the revolver was found for investigation. Mr. Finy with Inspector Koch of the local thana visited the spot and questioned the lads and made also other necessary enquiries. The revolver, which is a small six-chambered one, was simply useless owing to the amount of the rust it had accumulated. By the appearance of the weapon there seems to be no doubt that it must have been there for a very long time and thrown away by some one out of fear during the house searches which closely followed the detection of the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy. The Police attach no importance to the presence of the revolver so near the jail and as that part is practically deserted both at day and night, it would be quite easy for some one to throw the revolver under culvert and also difficult to be so easily found had that part been more frequented. The police are still enquiring into the matter.

BAPTALA SEDITION CASE.

In the Baptala sedition case in Madras their Lordships delivered judgment on the 22nd reducing transportation of five years to rigorous imprisonment of two years.

NEWS.

AN APPEAL TO THE STUDENTS.

The Vice Chancellor, speaking of the relations of students and teachers, said he had heard of influence excited on the part of teachers to involve their students in matters beyond their sphere, and to influence them in directions which were not for their advantage. If these rumours were true, no words could be too scathing in condemnation, and no action too drastic. Concluding, he said the name of the Indian student was in danger of becoming a by-word for self-conceit, want of discipline and moral ballast, and other undesirable qualities. He wanted the students of the Punjab to give a satisfactory answer to that by their conduct.

"I want," he said, "each one of you starting on your life's work to sit down and think how you can best frame your life so as most to serve God and man."

THE NEW COUNCILS.

The number of seats on the Bengal Legislative Council allotted to the landlord interest is five and they have direct representation on the Viceroy's Legislative Council as well. It is very much to be wished that the landlords will be content with the ample representation they have got. We understand that two Zemindars are likely to offer themselves for election to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, by the Non Official Members of the Bengal Legislative Council. It is to be hoped they will be better advised and not offer themselves for election. The effect of the election of two landlords by the Non-Official Members of the Bengal Council, in addition to the representatives directly elected by the landlords' vote, will be to give undue representation to the landlord interest and particularly to the Bengalee landed interest on the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Properly considered, the two seats should be filled by representatives of the educated middle-class who, by their training and experience of affairs, would be better fitted to take an advantageous part in the deliberations of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

A NEWSPAPER PROSCRIBED.

The Government of India has prohibited bringing into India by land or sea the paper called *Tulzer* (or *Shamsher*).

NEWS.

ARREST OF AN URDU BOOK-SELLER.

One Iswariprasad, an Urdu book seller at Lahore has been arrested under section 121A of the Penal Code.

ARREST OF AFGHANS.

As Monday Inspector Sullivan of the C. I. D. has placed nineteen fine bodied Afghans before the Magistrate stating he arrested them in consequence of a telegram received from the Punjab Government that they were the accused who were proceeding to the Persian Gulf to traffic in arms. 393 sovereigns were found on them. The Magistrate remanded them into custody.

A WOMAN SHOT DEAD BY A. S. P.

Tuesday morning one old native Christian woman was shot dead by the Assistant Police Superintendent Macleod at Mymensingh while she was tethering her cow near the Sahel's bungalow. It is said that the Sahel mistook her for dog. When the mistake was discovered he treated her carefully till dead. Accurately mistake indeed!

PROPRIETOR OF THE "AKASH."

The proprietor of the "Akash," arrested before at Delhi, has been brought to Lahore where his trial is likely to take place before Mr. Harrison, the Special Magistrate now trying the Lahore sedition case. The search of the press premises is still going on. The accused is not an Arya Samajist.

It was known here on Monday that, besides a warrant for the arrest of Lala Ishri Prasad a more warrant had been issued that day. One of the two warrants now proves to be against P. Ganeshi Lal, the other being commonly believed to be against P. Munshi Ram, of Sahiyak, who is said to be now absconding.

HOUSE SEARCHES AND ARRESTS.

At Naryane guing Kulu, a porter of Messrs. Thomas David and Co., and Babus Nishi Kanta Roy and Rajani Kanta Roy have been arrested this morning by Assistant Superintendent of Police who came accompanied by a posse of constables and C. I. D. officers, headed by Atul Chandra Banerjee, on a charge under section 396. Their houses were searched, but nothing incriminating was found.

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২১৫ নং

NEWS.

LALA LAJPAT RAI'S FAMINE FUND.

Lala Lajpat Rai has made over about Rs. 35,000, the balance of the Famine Fund collected by him in 1908, to a committee, consisting of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur Lanchand, the Hon'ble Mr Shadilal and others, for the relief of Hindu widows, orphans and depressed classes and for creating a permanent famine fund. The Committee has decided to allot Rs. 7,000 for the education of the depressed classes.

KHULNA SEDITION.

On the 21st December the Khulna Police Superintendent suddenly arrived here in a steamer and searched the "Pallichitra" press office, and Babu Gobinda Mitra's and Doctor Sarada Bose's houses and arrested Bidhubhusan Bose the Editor and Abanmohan Dey Printer, under Sections 124A and 153A, bail being politely refused by the Sub-Deputy Magistrate before whom the arrested men were produced. The press and all the papers and materials were seized. The posting of the Kartick number of "Pallichitra" was prevented. A confiscation notice was served. The police behaved well.

LAHORE SEDITION.

News come from Delhi that Lala Ganeshilal Khasta, editor and publisher of "Akash," was arrested on the 21st instant. The "Akash" office and the "Indra Prasth" press were searched.

Further particulars regarding the arrest of Pundit Ganeshilal Khasta proprietor, printer and publisher of "Akash" go to show that he was arrested at 9 o'clock in the morning on the 21st and was taken to the police station handcuffed. The Press premises were searched. The charge is under Section 124A. A warrant was issued at the instance, it is said of the District Magistrate of Lahore. Most probably the case will be tried by the Special Magistrate now trying the Lahore sedition case.

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NEWS.

DEPORTATION IN EGYPT.

167 PERSONS CONFINED TO AN OASIS.

In reply to questions by Mr. Mackarness M. P. as to the number of persons deported in Egypt under the law of July 4 1909 whether it was possible for them to find the security demanded, and the conditions of confinement in the Oasis of Khargh, Sir Edward Grey has given the following information.

"Up to November 5th 167 persons had been ordered to reside in the oasis having been condemned to supervision in their villages, and having failed to find the necessary security. Their cases were heard in public. I cannot say whether the accused were in all cases assisted by counsel, but they had the opportunity of obtaining legal assistance in accordance with article of the law; and the report in my possession shows that some at least availed themselves of it. The proceedings were conducted on the same lines as those of the ordinary law court. The amount of security demanded varies from £E.100 to £E.1,000 except in eleven cases in which for special reasons it was fixed between £E.1,000 and £E.1,500, but I have no information to show that any of these amounts were unreasonably high. At the time named 85 cases were still before the Appeal Committee.

"Information regarding the conditions in which persons are detained under the law is contained Article 19 of that law, which provides of their employment on field or other labour if they so desire in accordance with rules to be drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior. I understand that the conditions of residence in the appointed locality will have no penal character and persons there confined will be allotted a residence to which they can bring their families and will be allowed and encouraged their livelihood in any way they pleased. Those who have no means of subsistence will be provided with suitable employment for which they will receive proper remuneration.

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NEWS.

NASIK TRAGEDY.

Further inquiry into the murder of Mr. Jackson shows that Police officers and men raided three houses and one shop, situated in the native town and have arrested five persons on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy to murder Mr. Jackson. The first accused is Narayan Savarkar brother of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar who was transported recently for life. The names of the other four persons are Shanker Ramahandra Seman, Vinayak Narayan Deshpande, Krishnaji Gopal Kharve and Narayan Krishna Joshi. It appears that Kharve is a B. A. of the Bombay University and is studying for the L. L. B. Examination. The police have seized some documents and have, it is said sufficient evidence to connect them with the assassin Kanare. It has further been ascertained that Kanare is the real name of the assassin. The shop searched by the police was the Co-operative Swadeshi Store of Nasik of which Shanker Vaidya Secretary and Director Charges against two Vaidyas will be those of abetting Kanare in murdering Mr. Jackson.

While searching Narayan Krishna Joshi's place a British Constabulary revolver and ninety-six cartridges, used in Browninig automatic pistols and one hundred more cartridges of another kind were discovered by the police. They were found buried in a brick wall. The Police inquiry is not yet complete.

The Vaidya brothers who were arrested were placed before the City Magistrate and were formally remanded to police custody in order to enable the police to make further inquiries.

A number of shops were searched with the result that some persons have been arrested on suspicion and some important documents discovered.

A public meeting has been called for under the presidency of Sirdar Vinchu with a view to take steps to raise a memorial to Mr. Jackson.

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NETRA DACOITY CASE.

The case in which Tincorry Dass and Bhusen Chandra Mitter were charged with having committed dacoity in the house of the Mitter family of Netra, came on for hearing before Mr. C. H. Bompas, the District Magistrate of Alipore. On the 22nd. When the accused were brought up, the Magistrate asked the Court Inspector what was happening in the case. The Court Inspector replied that the enquiry was not yet completed and the verification is still going on. The Magistrate observed that the verification had been completed long ago and unless the final charge sheet be submitted by the 5th of January he would admit the accused to bail. A pleader appeared on behalf of Tincorry Dass and applied for bail admitting that his client was in the *hajat* for nearly two months and nothing incriminating was found during the search of his house. The Magistrate remarked that he would consider his case on the 5th proximo.

(SPECIAL.)

GROWTH OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN PERSIA.

A correspondent writes to the Pioneer on the new regime in Persia:—The strained relations between the bulk of the Nationalist party and the members of the Government in Teheran reached a climax recently, when the Siphdar, it is stated approached the Regent with his resignation of office as Prime Minister. The Regent, however persuaded him to reconsider the matter and to continue the work of the Government. There are signs of the growth of an extreme Nationalist party. There is a considerable body among the Nationalists who are dissatisfied with the present Government on account of the latter's slowness and would like to see a less cautious and more progressive Government take its place.

The offer of the Siphdar, to retire from office has resulted in lifting the cloud

that intervened between the Government and the people. There is an improvement in the feeling towards the Government, and there is no immediate prospect of a change although large numbers of political societies have now come into existence in Teheran. These societies promise to furnish the future political parties of Persia. At the present moment they are not perfect in their organisation and have no distinct creed beyond faith in the Nationalists, but with the progress of time the number of these societies will decrease. What is, however, of greater consequence to the Government is the rise in the number of secret societies.

The reports of progress by the new Government of Arabistan, Fakhr-ul-Mulk are most satisfactory. Fakhr-ul-Mulk, arrived at Shustar some months back and commenced work in earnest. A few days after his arrival his son a youth of twenty, led an expedition against a notorious brigand in the neighbourhood of Shustar. In this encounter the chief of the brigands managed to escape, but ten of his followers were taken prisoners while ten others were killed.

There is a full in other parts of South ern Persia, and Shiraz has been busy with its elections for the Mejlis. The followers of the ex-Shah seem to have hit upon a novel plan in arousing the sympathy of Europeans in their master's favour. It is reported that a number of them now in Vienna have succeeded in winning over a newspaper to their cause, and some graphic descriptions of their condition in exile appear in the paper.

FREE TRADE VS. INDIAN WEAVERS.

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world. How the handloom industry in Bengal was ruined by Manchester and Free Trade is a matter of history. What took place in Madras is related by a writer in the current number of the *Indian Review*. It is a sad story, and will be read with mournful interest by every native of India.

To give an idea of the flourishing condition of the Madras weavers before the advent of Manchester *plus* Free Trade, the writer mentions a particular section of weavers called differently *Devangas*, or *Jandravars*, who reside throughout the length and breadth of the Presidency and bulk large in the census returns as well. The prosperity enjoyed by this class of weavers in the beginning of the seventeenth century is impossible to conceive now. When the East India Company first settled on the Coromandel Coast they were struck with the flourishing handloom industry of Madras, chiefly carried on by *Devangas*. They at once conceived the idea of exporting Madras piece-goods to England. They obtained a piece of ground five miles long and one broad on the sea-coast on which to build a town and fort. Without waiting for the orders of the Court of Directors they proceeded to erect the new Factory and gave the fortification the name of Fort St. George. At this period there were only a few fishermen's huts on the spot, and to encourage the people, particularly weavers to settle in the English possession they proclaimed that for thirty years no custom on anything to be eaten drunk, or worn would be taken from any of the town dwellers. As a result the settlement was rapidly colonised by weavers and others, and houses for merchants and servants of the Factory soon sprang up on all sides. Thus was established the great city of Madras.

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in those days, will be evident from the following extract from a rare old document in the possession of the writer in the *Indian Review*:

Upon the earnest desire and humble petition of Arluu Gurulingam and Pannu Ragisa, etc., five weavers of the Jandavar caste, to be admitted to settle and inhabit with their families and set up and exercise their handicraft trade of weaving within the city and suburbs thereof, on due consideration whereof and the future and benefit and increase of the revenue of this place, we do hereby give and grant to the said Arluu Gurulingam, Pannu Ragisa and to all other weavers of the said Jandavar caste with their families, etc., that are at present here, or shall come hereafter, full liberty and freedom to purchase, build and dwell in any part of the out-town from the Jandavar Street [probably Mint Street, or Govindappa Naick's Street where there were several weavers settled by that time], as far as the river to the westward [the present Buckingham or Cochrane Canal], and to the utmost of the Right Hon'ble Company's limits to the northward, and therein to have full liberty to follow their said trade and calling and to have the free exercise of their religion with its ceremonies. In sign and witness whereof and encouragement to the said new-come weavers, the Governor [Elphinstone] now hath ordered a large well to be built and given them at his own proper cost and charge for a landmark or memorial of these their Liberties and Privileges aforesaid.

This was before the days of Lancashire, when Indian weavers ruled the markets of the old. But the British commercial geniuses who had found their way into India would not have been true to themselves if they had failed to make the most of the opportunity. Otherwise who can now conceive a foreign trading Company going the length of finding a settlement for Indian weavers tax-free and building a large well for their use and showing such affection for their "Liberties and Privileges?"

Long before the establishment of Madras, the village Arni—a few miles from Ponner, a Railway Station on the north-east section of the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway—was a large

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centre of weaving. Arni *dhotties* and Arni *muslins* were celebrated throughout the Presidency and even far beyond it. Most of the weavers who settled first in Madras came from Arni. During the best days of John Company thousands of looms were flying in Madras, and the Company had a large volume of trade in all sorts of cloths which were sent home for consumption at a considerable profit.

The East India Company ceased to trade in 1834, and for two or three decades following private English firms carried on considerable trade in Madras piece-goods. From about the year 1860 Manchester found itself in a position to turn its attention to India's "true interests," and only nineteen years after Mr. C. S. Crode, writing in his *Manual of the Chingleput District*, gave the following account of the Madras weavers:—

"Except weaving there are really no private manufactures of the slightest importance, and as regards it even hand weaving is under a cloud as its days are numbered in India. Formerly the produce of their looms was much sought after. The Muslins of Arni, which once formed staples encouraged by the East India Company and on which not a little of their trade depended, are now almost things of the past. They have been elbowed out of the market in the competition with the European fabrics, Manchester goods especially, and in regard to Muslins and Chintzes, the very ability to make them has died out. The weaving community has fallen into great indigence, for although a very industrious set of people, men, women and children all working together, they find that they cannot compete with machinery." In the same volume, he says that the fineness of the Muslins produced at the looms of Arni made it famous in those regions.

Since Mr. Crode's melancholy record of the steady ruin of the Madras weavers under the benevolent auspices of Free Trade, many of them have "found their occupation gone and their bread snatched away from their mouths." Many even of the well-to-do weavers have had to take to other walks of life for sustenance, and the greatest number are now actually living from hand to mouth, and their condition is miserable in some of the outlying tracts. In Swadeshim, which is abroad with the spirit of the times, lies their only hope, says the writer in the *Indian Review*, and to this hope they now naturally cling as the drowning man catches at the straw. — *The Panjabee*.



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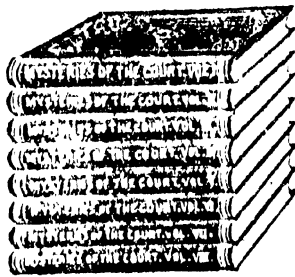
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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Sir Edward Baker's Admissions.

Of all the present rulers of India Sir Edward Baker is the only one who really puts any value on public opinion. He has committed indiscretions of a startling character, he has loyally carried out a policy with which he can have no heartfelt sympathy, but his anxiety to conciliate public opinion even under these adverse circumstances betrays the uneasiness of a man who knows the force of that power even in a subject country and feels that the ruling class are not going the best way to carry that opinion with them. While all the other provincial Governors have confined their inaugural speeches to the most empty platitudes, he alone has sought to speak as a man would who feels the difficulties of a perplexing situation. But we do not think he has helped the Government by his speech. It is in fact a series of damaging admissions. He admits that the exclusion of the Calcutta men by the restrictions attending Municipal election is deliberate, and he cannot be ignorant that this means the exclusion of the leading brains and the most influential personalities in the country. He admits that the Government have taken care to preclude the chance of being face

to face with a numerically strong and robust opposition in the Council. If so, the Councils are not a mirror of the political forces in the country, not a free popular assembly, but a carefully limited council of notables friendly to the existing state of things. Whether the Government are to blame or not for guarding their interests by this manipulation of electorates, is quite another question. All we say is that they have so guarded themselves and, as a result, these Councils may be the kind of advisory body the Government want, they are not the popular assemblies, mirrors of public opinion and instruments of rapid political development, which the people want. Sir Edward Baker says that no Government can be expected to run the risk of putting itself into a permanent minority,—such a state of things cannot be allowed for a day. We quite agree. That is what we have been telling the people for a very long time. Unfortunately, very different hopes and expectations were raised in the minds of Moderate politicians and communicated by them to the people at large. If the eulogies of the Reform Scheme and the benevolent intentions of Government had been couched in less glowing language, with less of misleading fervour, the present disappointment, irritation and revolt would have been

avoided. It is much the best thing for a Government circumstances like ours to be quite frank and say from the beginning, "This much we mean to give; farther you must not expect us to go."

Calcutta and Mofussil.

The point which Sir Edward Baker, in common with all Anglo-Indian publicists, makes of the distinction between Calcutta and the Mofussil, is quite justifiable if the Councils are to be only a superior edition of the local Municipalities out of all relation with the political actualities of the country. It is an indisputable fact that a great deal of the best in the life of Bengal gravitates towards the capital and the Partition of Bengal has made no difference in this powerful tendency. Calcutta is to Bengal what Paris is to France. It is from Calcutta that Bengal takes its opinions, its inspirations, its leaders, its tone, its programme of action. One very important reason of this almost inalienable leadership is the greater independence which men enjoy in Calcutta, another is the higher organization of life, resources, activity in this great centre of humanity. So long as these causes exist, the supremacy of Calcutta will remain. The object of the electoral rules is to destroy the supremacy of the Calcutta men, whose independence and freedom of speech and action are distasteful to

the instincts of the dominant bureaucrat. The attempt to decentralise the political life of Bengal is not new. In the earlier days of the new movement the Nationalist leaders made strenuous appeals to liberate themselves from Calcutta domination and become equal partners in a better organized provincial activity. They thought it possible then because, in the first surge of the movement, the mofussil centres in East Bengal had developed a young political vitality and independence far in excess of the old vitality and independence of Calcutta. But even in these favourable circumstances it was found that, though the districts far outran the capital in the swiftness and thoroughness of their activity, they always waited for an intellectual initiative and sanction from the leaders in Calcutta. Barisal under S. Aswini Kumar Dutt was the exception. What the people themselves could not accomplish under the most favourable circumstances, the Government is not likely to effect merely by excluding the Calcutta leaders from the Council. The very conditions of the problem forbid it. They can only disturb the present equilibrium by making political life in the Mofussil as free and well-organized as the life of Calcutta. By their own action they have destroyed such freedom and organization as had been created. Nor can they make their Councils the instrument of so vital a change unless they also make them the centre of the political life of Bengal. Thus they can only do by a large literate electorate, free elections and effectiveness of the popular vote. But, at present, that is not what the bureaucrats desire. They do not desire a free and vigorous political life evenly distributed throughout the country,—that is the Nationalist ideal. They desire to foster a faint political life confined to the dignified and subservient elements in the country while killing the independent popular life, which finds its centre in this city, by an official boycott. They forget that artificial means are helpless against natural forces.

The Non-Official Majority.

Sir Edward complains strongly of the attribution of motives to the Government in the matter of the non-official majority. He argues in effect that the non-official majority

cannot be described as unreal or a sham merely because the electorates are so arranged as to return a majority of men favourable to Government. The majority is a non-official majority, but it is not a popular majority. Sir Edward answers that it was never intended to be a popular majority. It was meant only to represent the "honest" public opinion which is capable in most things of seeing eye to eye with the Government; all the rest of public opinion is not honest and therefore unfit for representation. A most delightful specimen of bureaucratic logic! The plain question rising above all sophisms in this, is the Government aware or is it not that the great body of educated opinion in India demand a change in the system of Government involving popular control in the administration, a change which Lord Morley, with all Anglo-India to echo him, has declared impossible? If the Government doubts it, dare they take a plebiscite of literate opinion on the question? They dare not, because they know what the result will be. Is not this knowledge the reason for so manipulating the electorates that they shall mainly represent special interests easily influenced by the Government and not the mass of the literate population? We do not charge the Government with a breach of faith or a departure from their original promises. We do say that the Reforms are purely a diplomatic move to strengthen the Government and weaken the popular interest. Sir Edward stigmatises the popular sentiment which sees an opposition of interest all along the line between the Bureaucracy and the people, as dishonest and unfit for self-Government. What of the very fundamental opposition of interest we have pointed out? It is easy to fling epithets; it is not so easy to disprove facts. We do not wish to be unfair to any one and we acknowledge that Sir Edward Baker has shown a liberality of purpose far superior to that of any other provincial ruler. If there were a chance of any of the Councils being a genuine popular assembly, Sir Edward's creation would have the best chance. But it is not that and cannot be. If he is satisfied with its present composition, his admiration is not shared by the people of this country. He says in

effect that it is quite as dignified as any previous Council. We agree, even more so. But it is not dignity to which popular sentiment is advancing, it is democracy. If the Councils do not provide a channel for the advance of that sentiment, it will seek other means of self-accomplishment.

Sir Louis Dane on Terrorism.

The amazing lecture given by the Satrap of the Punjab to the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the other gentlemen who were ill-advised enough to approach him with their expressions of loyalty and of abhorrence at the Nasik murder, is a sample of the kind of thing Moderate politicians may expect when they approach the bureaucracy with their "co-operation." What it is precisely that the various Satraps want of their long-suffering allies, we cannot conjecture. Some seem to want, like Sir George Clarke, the entire cessation of political agitation, because the political agitator is the spiritual granduncle of the political assassin. Others seem to want the entire Indian community to leave their ordinary avocations and turn detectives, in order to supply the deficiencies of that costly police force through which the bureaucracy governs the country. But Sir Louis Dane's diatribe, seems difficult to account for except on the supposition that he is a disciple of Hare Street and believes that the whole population of India, from the Maharaja of Darbhanga to the grocer and the shoemaker, know the personality, intentions, plans and secret operations of the Terrorists and conceal them from Government out of innate cussedness or invincible sympathy with the assassins. It is difficult to have patience with the insensate folly which persists in these delusions and, by lumping all political agitation into one category, does its best to bring about the calamity which it imagines. The fewer rulers like Sir Louis there are in this country, the better for the nation and the Government; for they are the best allies that Terrorism has.

The Menace of Deportation.

Once more rumours of deportation are rife, proceeding this time from those pillars of authority, the police. It seems that these gentlemen have bruited it abroad that twenty-four men prominent and

unprominent are within the next six or seven days to be deported from Bengal, and so successfully has the noise of the coming coup d'état been circulated that the rumour of it comes to us from a distant corner of Behar. It appears that the name of Sj. Aurobindo Ghose crowns the police list of those who are to be spirited away to the bureaucratic Bastilles. The offence for which this inclusion is made, is, apparently, that he criticises the Government, by which we presume it is meant that he publicly opposes the Reforms. It is difficult to judge how much value is to be attached to the rumour, but we presume that at least a proposal has been made. If we are not mistaken, this will make the third time that the deportation of the Nationalist leader has been proposed by the persistence of the police. The third time is supposed to be lucky, and let us hope it will be the last. The Government ought to make up its mind one way or the other, and the country should know, whether they will or will not tolerate opposition within the law; and this will decide it. Meanwhile, why does the thunderbolt linger? Or is there again a hitch in London?

A PRACTICABLE BOYCOTT.

Boycott is an ideal, like freedom; it means independence in industry and commerce, as freedom means independence in administration, legislation and finance. But it is not always possible to accomplish the whole of the ideal by the first effort towards it. So long as we cherish the ideal whole and unbroken, we are at liberty to consult the demands of practicability and realise it, not at one rush, but by successive approximations, each being the vantage-ground for a fresh rush forward. This does not imply slow progress, the leisurely and gentleman-like spreading out of the struggle for freedom through five or six centuries in order to avoid the perils of the struggle; it is rather the necessary condition of rapid progress. The force of the hunger for the whole ideal, of impatience with half realisations must remain behind, but the means of each advance must be secured by that which went before.

When the boycott movement first began, it was the opinion of Mr. Tilak and other Nationalist leaders that the exclusion of foreign goods should be directed against British products first of all. The immediate exclusion of all foreign goods was obviously impracticable. But very soon it became evident that the voice of the whole nation in Bengal and Maharashtra was for the more comprehensive movement, and the leaders wisely put aside their own opinion and made themselves simply executors of the national will. Wisely, because at such times there is something divinely inspired in the motions of the national mind which exceeds the human wisdom and statecraft of the individual. It was and remains true that the exclusion of all foreign goods is an impracticable measure in the present economical condition of India. But the comprehensive boycott movement was necessary,—first, in order that the ideal might stamped deep into the consciousness of the people; and that has been done by the very acts of repression which were largely designed, as admitted by Mr. Hobhouse, to crush the Swadeshi Boycott movement;—secondly, in order that the idea of India's separate and self-sufficient existence as a nation might thoroughly replace the habit of dependence and contented economical servitude which English education and the effacement of political life had induced. That work also is done. The idea of Swadeshi has entered into the very marrow of our thought and feeling. It is therefore time now to consider the practical measures by which boycott may be made gradually and steadily successful.

Boycott is essentially a form of voluntary protection and it cannot do more than protection does, towards the creation of industries. Protection serves two ends; it prevents the infant industry from being strangled in its weak unestablished state by full-grown and powerful competitors, it gives a stimulus to it by assuring it a market. It cannot supply the place of enterprise, business capacity, naturally favourable conditions. It can however mitigate the incidence of natural conditions

not entirely but comparatively unfavourable, by throwing a counter-vailing disadvantage into the scale of the more favourably circumstanced competing country. This is the limit of the utility of protection; it is also the limit of the utility of boycott. What boycott could do for the cloth industry, it has done, but for the producer to lean entirely on boycott and expect it to take the place of business enterprise, energy, capacity, the improvement of his goods, is to lay a burden on the national spirit which it is neither possible nor desirable that it should bear. The nation agrees to purchase an inferior indigenous article in place of a superior foreign article, not with the intention that the producer should be excused the necessity of improvement and should be able to force the inferior article on us to all eternity, but solely to give him time to improve his methods, his processes, his machinery, his dexterity in spite of the competition of his superior rival. It saves him from extinction, it gives him a period of grace; he must use it to reach and outdistance the excellence of his rival's methods and production, and if he neglects this duty he does it at his peril and it is not open to him to cry out against the want of patriotism in the people because they withdraw a support which he has abused. The nation, again, agrees to deny itself necessities or restrict the quantity of its purchase, not with the intention of permanently lowering its standard of comfort and living a barer and more meagre life, but in order to give time for capital and enterprise to increase the supply, so that eventually the wants of the nation may be supplied from within. If it is found that there is not an expansion of industry commensurate with the self-denial in the nation and that only a few business men are exploiting the national sentiment for their own personal profit, it is idle to expect the boycott to survive. We have noticed signs of a most unhealthy spirit of mutual trade jealousy among Swadeshi millowners, who seem to be under the impression that they are natural rivals to the patronage of the consumer. No single Indian producer can monopolise the supply necessary for national consumption, nor can even the whole body.

USE CHATTERJI BRO'S RAZOR AND SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS THE BEST & RELIABLE IN THE MARKET.

of Indian producers combined, at present, meet the demand. Our Indian millowner gets nothing by the decline of another; on the contrary, his prosperity is bound up in the prosperity of all other Indian mills; for the maintenance of the boycott, which saved the mill industry at a crisis of its destinies, depends on the increased supply of Swadeshi cloth. Instead of attempting to rise by pressing each other down, it would be far better for the Indian producers to follow the example of English manufacturers and combine for the welfare of the national industry.

The first condition of a successful boycott, therefore, is the organisation of national industry with a view, first, to the improvement and extension of that which exists, secondly, to the opening up of new lines of enterprise. This is largely a work for the producer himself, but there is one duty which the leaders of the national movement can perform and that is to organise information. The nature of the industries that can be profitably opened in India, the unfavourable circumstances, the favourable, the means of obviating or mitigating the former, utilising and improving the latter, the conditions of success, the cost of outlay and management, this is the information that capital and enterprise need; the Swadeshi articles that can be procured, the place of their manufacture, their price, quality and supply, this is the information needed by the consumer. To organise all this information would be to give a great stimulus to the advance of Swadeshi.

The second condition of a successful boycott is the organisation of supply. It is not possible for everyone to hunt swadeshi articles to their source and purchase them. There must be a supplying agency which brings the goods to a near and convenient market and, as far as possible, to the doors of the people. The difficulty of supply is grievously felt in many parts of Bengal; but there is no one whose duty it is to consider the difficulty and meet it. Swadeshi is in danger of being stifled under the mass of spurious goods, foreign masking as indigenous, which the dishonest methods of European Commerce pour into the country. There is no

one to consider the problem of baffling this flank attack and devise methods of assuring the consumer that he gets the article which he wants. The organisation of a genuine and sufficient supply is the second condition of a practicable Boycott.

These measures will help the growth of Swadeshi, but by themselves they can only partially serve the wider national aim which is the heart of the great movement commenced in 1905, the industrial independence of the Indian people. There is no doubt that the great mass of the Indian people cherish this aspiration and would willingly follow any practicable means of bringing it into the list of accomplished ideals. Previous to the great movement in Bengal this idea had been twice put into motion and produced a certain result, but the idea then was absolute abstention from all purchase of articles not genuinely Indian. Such a self-denial may be possible for the individual, it is not possible for great masses of men. The good sense of the nation therefore qualified the vow of abstinence by the proviso that it should be "as far as possible." This, however, is a vague and fluid phrase. It has to be made precise if the movement is to advance from its purely idealistic character and put on the garb of practicability. Some attempt has been made to define it. The boycott of cloth, salt and sugar was made absolute; machinery, medicines, objects of art and literature were exempted. But this was largely an empirical division based neither on a consideration of immediate possibility, nor on a reasoned policy. As a matter of fact the boycott of foreign sugar has hopelessly broken down, the boycott of cloth has had a partial success qualified by the necessity of taking yarn for Swadeshi cloth from England. A more practical definition is necessary.

The first principle we would suggest is to make a clear division between articles of necessity, interpreting the word in a broad sense, and articles of luxury and to have an absolute interdict of the latter unless they are of indigenous manufacture. The first reason for the interdict is that many articles of luxury are produced in India, but find it difficult to maintain themselves because they depend on the

patronage of the rich, who are wedded to European vulgarity and want of taste in the appointments of their life. The poorer classes cannot indulge in luxuries; the middle class, in the present condition of the country, should not. An organised preference of Swadeshi arts and crafts by the rich would revive and stimulate a great source of national wealth and reopen a field of national capacity. Articles of necessity can be divided into those indispensable for life and a decent existence and those necessary for our work and business. In the former we can always prefer an inferior but usable indigenous article, in the latter no such self-denying ordinance can be imposed. I cannot be called upon to use an article or implement which cripples my business or puts me at a serious disadvantage with my competitor, merely because it is produced in the country, just as in my own home I cannot be called upon to use a pen which will not write, a lamp which will not give light, a cup which cracks and breaks after a few days' use. But if the home article is usable or if the business implement is only slightly inferior to its foreign rival, then it would be unpatriotic and a violation of the boycott oath to prefer the foreign to the indigenous production. On these lines we believe a rational and workable meaning could be put on the proviso "as far as possible" which would not put too great a strain on human nature and could yet form the basis of an effective and practical protection of Indian industry. A similar concession would have to be made in the case of Swadeshi articles which are too dear for the purse of the poorer classes, but there is no reason why the richer members of the community should not extend their protection to those industries which are compelled for the present to exceed greatly the foreign cost of production and yet have a future before them.

It will be evident therefore that, however far we may carry the boycott individually, there are limits which the mass of men cannot exceed. A considerable number of foreign articles must be purchased even for home consumption, still more for work and business. The

"The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market."

question is, cannot this inevitable resort to the foreigner be so regulated as to assist materially the progress of the boycott and prepare the future industrial independence of the nation? This is the subject we propose to consider in our next issue.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.)

Nationalism and Nationalists.

What is Nationalism? Who are Nationalists? So many things good, bad, and indifferent, are being preached in the name of Nationalism; and so many people, holding so many views, have commenced to claim the name Nationalist, that a little calm and careful consideration of these questions may not be quite useless at this juncture. Both the idea and the words are somewhat new in current Indian literature. The concept has yet to be coined in institutions, crystallised in traditions and supported by sanctified authorities. It is still, so to say, in the melting-pot. Some confusion is inevitable in this transitional and formative stage. Yet it is just at these chaotic stages that great ideas have to be most carefully watched, and the mind of the people trained to differentiate the real from the formal elements in them.

What is Nationalism? The concept is new. Mazzini, I think, was the first prophet of this idea in modern Europe. It was he who first saw the limitations of that maddening gospel of individual freedom, which the French Revolution had preached. The French Revolution was, really, the last word of Christian Protestantism. Voltaire and Rousseau carried out the inexorable logic of the teachings of Erasmus and Luther, even as Erasmus and Luther's were the last word, practically, of Christianity.

The human personality, as having an end unto itself, had but scant recognition in the social economy of the ancients,—outside India. In India alone, among the Hindus, the human individuality received the fullest recognition. In the Hindu economy alone was the right of the individual to be a law unto himself, fully recognised. It was, however, the individual perfected through a long and laborious course of social discipline and thus trained

to identify himself with the universal, who attained this right. Thus while in the first two orders of the student or Brahmacharin and the householder or Grihastha, subjection to authority was the rule, in the last two orders of the Vanprastha and the Sannyasin, when the individual at first partially and then completely gave himself up to the higher and the contemplative life, and was, therefore, freed from the conflicts of selfish passions and interests of the ordinary social duties and activities,—freedom was the law. In Sannyasa the individual was a law unto himself. And it was so because he was at least supposed in that stage to have really ceased to be an individual, that is an individual with private and personal ends and desires, but completely identified himself with the Universal. This identification with the Universal has always been the highest conception of freedom in India, among the Hindus. It was the peculiar fruit of the Hindu race-consciousness which has had from prehistoric times an overwhelming sense of the spiritual and the universal as an original and organic element of its intellectual and moral life.

Outside India, however, in all the ancient social economies, the individual as having an end unto himself received but scant recognition. The individual was a part, society was the whole: the individual was a limb, society was the body: the individual was an organ, society was the organism. The whole must regulate its parts: the body must control the limbs, the organism must rule the organs to its own needs,—this was the old social philosophy. This was the old pagan view in Greece and Rome.

The first protest against this view was raised in the Western world by Christianity. But even Christianity failed to free the individual from the old social bondage altogether. All that it did was really to substitute a new social whole, more comprehensive and cosmopolitan than the old ones. The new Church was substituted for the old social authority, but the subjection of the individual practically continued. The Church was the whole, the members were the parts, the Church was the body,

the members were the limbs. Thus the old subjection continued, only the authority that controlled the individual was transferred from pagan society to the Christian Church.

But even this transference of authority, due to the personal election of the individual, was a distinct advance towards personal freedom. It conferred upon the individual the right of choosing, though perhaps not of actually making, the laws that shall govern him. Even this choice was a great thing. It was a first step towards personal freedom. In taking converts from pagan religions, Christianity, thus, started with a recognition of that right of private judgment, upon which the subsequent Lutheran protest was based. The right of private judgment was fully recognised in the acceptance of Christianity by every convert. The Lutheran protest, therefore, did not discover a new principle, but simply expanded somewhat the field of the application of an old principle. The authority of the individual was valid and absolute in his choosing Christianity against paganism. It was valid and absolute in his first act of choosing, but it ceased with that first act. That was Catholicism. Luther denied that this right ceased with that first act of choice. He claimed that as originally it was the reason and conscience of the individual which was vested with the right of deciding the truth of Christianity against other religions, so the same individual reason and conscience must have the right of deciding what is true and what is false in the traditional interpretations of the Christian Scriptures and the Christian dogma.

This is the necessary logic of all missionary religions. This is the essential implication of all credal systems, mis-called universal in contradistinction from national or ethnic systems. There is no need or room for the exercise of personal choice in ethnic religions. Every man belonging to an ethnic religion is born into it. But missionary religions are different. Not the accident of birth, but the acceptance of a creed, is the soul of missionary religions. Acceptance implies exercise of choice. All missionary religions appear before

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the bar of individual reason and conscience, pleading for acceptance. It is an appeal to individual reason and conscience. And the logic of this appeal is the recognition of the right of private judgment.

Christianity in the West, and, centuries before Christianity, Buddhism in the East—both credal and missionary religions,—first raised the standard of personal freedom against social and sacerdotal authority, in the world that is known to us. But every new creed is essentially protestant. Buddhism was protestant Vedicism in India; Christianity was protestant paganism in Europe. And protests are mere antitheses. Protests are always half-truths. They cannot rest in themselves. They create new problems, requiring fresh solutions. They soon reveal new conflicts demanding a fresh reconciliation. The gospel of individual freedom proclaimed by both Buddhism and Christianity, had therefore, to be reconciled with authority, progress with order, intuitions with truth, the individual with the universal. In the sacred formula—

Dhammam Saranam Gacchami :
Buddham Saranam Gacchami :
Sangham Saranam Gacchami :

I take refuge in Dharma or the Law, I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in Sangha or the Order or Church,—this higher synthesis and reconciliation was found by Buddhism. The individual, thus, subjected himself to Dharma which was above him, to Buddha who was above him, and to the Sangha or Order, which was above him. The invisible Dharma and the bodily-absent Buddha were both visibly represented by the Sangha or the Church. In accepting the new creed, the individual, thus, became a part of Dharma, of Buddha, and

of the Sangha or the Church. Through a new freedom he entered into a new subjection. And in proportion as he was able to completely identify himself with these larger entities, with Dharma with Buddha, and with the Sangha,—this new subjection became, really, a larger freedom. He was not free as an individual, as standing apart from the universal as manifested about him, not as standing apart from the Law and the Order to which he belonged, but only as part of these, consciously participating and actively co-operating with, this larger life. The freedom of the individual in Buddhism was freedom not really in himself but in and through the Universal of which he was a part. This was also Christian freedom in Catholicism. Substitute the Bible for Dhamma, Christ for the Buddha, and the Church for the Sangha, and you have the Catholic scheme of freedom and salvation. Both Buddhism and Christianity stood up with a denial of the old and established order about them. Both were at their start antithetical and protestant. Both required, therefore, a new synthesis and a new assertion. Both arrived at this new synthesis through the help of a new set of symbols of the Universal in place of the old ones.

But the Lutheran protest has so far failed, it seems to me, to work out a similar synthesis and reconciliation. Neither Buddhism nor Christianity repudiated the right of the whole to control the parts. They did not set up the individual as a law unto himself. They only freed the individual from the authority of that which had really ceased to be his larger and higher self, and set him in conscious relation with something which he was

able to accept as his own larger and higher self. True it is that the Lutheran protest did not altogether deny all authority, but the denial of the authority of the Church was a practical repudiation of all objective authority. The Scriptures which Luther retained as authoritative, without the Pope, and with the right of individual private judgment, ceased really to be an objective, and became essentially a mere subjective authority. The Lutheran protest was, thus, practically a transference of the regulative authority of individual reason and conscience from outside him to within himself. And with this transference really started the modern individualistic movement in Europe which reached its culmination in the French Revolution.

The new synthesis has come with the gospel of Nationalism. And in Europe Mazzini was its first apostle and prophet.

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THE SIMLA EXODUS.

(Capital.)

A great deal of attention has lately been attracted by the appearance of various articles and letters in the columns of the leading papers of the country on the subject of the annual migration of the Government of India to the hills. Some are denouncing it as useless and expensive luxury and dangerous to good government while others are justifying it on the score of climate and long established practice. Whatever may be said for and against these arguments it must, in justice and fairness to the general taxpayer, be admitted on all hands that the question of good and efficient administration and economy should be given the first consideration. It is my intention in the present article to say a word or two on the financial aspect of the question.

The subject has been so thoroughly threshed out that I with some diffidence tread on the trodden ground. But the great interest which is taken by all classes of people in the matter is my justification; moreover, it is desirable in the best interests of the country that attention of the Government should be frequently drawn to it, as they do not appear to have taken any steps in the matter, and unless that is done the point is likely to be lost sight of.

The exponents of the exodus put forward the "climate consideration" as a plea of justification. No one will deny that the "bracing and invigorating climate" of the hills is better suited for prolonged and arduous work than a debilitating one, but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact the work in the plains is performed as efficiently as in the hills. Are the district officials living in the sweltering heat of the plains, discharging their duties less efficiently than their more fortunate brethren in the hills, or, as their duties considered less onerous? Does the majority of the members of the Indian Civil Service, the custodians of three hundred millions of people, whose work extorts admiration from even the bitterest and uncompromising opponents of the British Government live in the hills? Do the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court and the District and Sessions Judges go to the hills to deliver their judgements? Are the merchant princes, who constitute the backbone of the British Empire in India, handicapped in the discharge of their duties owing to their prolonged residence in the plains? It is no use citing further

examples. It cannot be imagined why the stock-in-trade argument of "climatic factor" is put forward in support of the exodus. These who do so, do simply from selfish motives. No one will ever grudge if His Excellency the Viceroy with a necessary staff go to the hills, but what is strongly objected to is the wholesale move of the Government of India with an army of clerks, duffries, peons, jamadars, etc., the cost of which the public has no idea. I do not think any attempt has been made in giving public any idea of the enormous expense involved in the move up and down of the huge establishment of the Government. The following figures quoted from the Government Finance and Revenue Accounts will give an approximate idea of the expenditure; though by no means, is the subjoined statement absolutely accurate as I have, for obvious reasons, omitted various other items of minor importance:

Foreign Dept.—

	Ra.
Hill Journey Allowances ...	1,13,300
Hill Journey Charges ...	9,200
Total ...	1,22,500

Railway Dept.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	94,950
Hill Journey Charges ...	4,00
Total ...	98,950

Home Dept.—(excluding the attached offices.)

Hill Journey Allowances ...	70,000
Hill Journey Charges ...	7, 50
Total ...	77, 500

Dept of Commerce and Industry (excluding the attached offices.)

Hill Journey Allowances ...	68,800
Hill Journey Charges ...	8,000
Total ...	76,800

Finance Dept.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	64,300
Hill Journey Charges ...	800
Total ...	72,300

Public Works Dept.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	45,000
Hill Journey Charges ...	3,300
Total ...	48,300

Public Works Accounts.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	41,700
Hill Journey Charges ...	2,500
Total ...	54,200

P. W. D. Attached Offices.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	47,500
Hill Journey Charges ...	3,080
Total ...	50,580

Dept of Revenue and Agriculture—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	47,500
Hill Journey Charges ...	3,080
Total ...	50,580

Army Dept.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	45,000
Hill Journey Charges ...	4,500
Total ...	49,500

Finance Dept (Military Finance) —

Hill Journey Allowances ...	28,480
Hill Journey Charges ...	3,500
Total ...	29,980

Dept. of Military Supply.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	45,000
Hill Journey Charges ...	4,580
Total ...	49,580

Legislative Dept.—

Hill Journey Allowances ...	25,500
Hill Journey Charges ...	4,200
Total ...	29,700

Staff of the household of the Governor-General.

Total ...	98,000
-----------	--------

Total ... 8,60,840

From the economic point of view alone the whole move is to be deprecated more particularly in view of the present financial depression. With the dark shadow hanging over our opium revenue with the heavy military charges, with the increasing expenditure on the railways, the Public Works, the Police, etc., the continuance of the move seems to be an act not consistent with the policy of economy and retrenchment which the Hon'ble Finance Member proposes to enforce in all directions. Though the expenditure of the move sinks into insignificance in comparison with that of the Army, the Railways, the Public Works, etc., it is the duty, of a sound financier to see that economy is effected in whatever directions possible.

Now, after long and anxious suspense, the final Regulations for the working of the Legislative Councils have been published. Under the new Councils Act the Imperial Legislative Council has been enlarged to a considerable extent and its scope and functions greatly increased. With such a Council consisting of 67 members, it seems somewhat impracticable to assemble at Simla when the majority of Additional Members cannot be present and without their aid no important legislation should be undertaken. Lord Salisbury addressed the following to the Government of Lord Northbrook:—"In providing that laws for India should be passed at a council consisting not only of the Ordinary Members of the Executive Government, but of Additional Members specially added for the purpose (of whom some always have been unofficial), it was the clear intention of

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Parliament that in the task of legislation the Government should, in addition to the sources of information usually open to it, be enlightened by the advice and knowledge of persons possessing other than official experience." So it is desirable in the interests of both Government and the people that this wise and salutary practice should be observed in cases of minor legislation also.

In these circumstances is it not possible to discontinue the move? It is high time that the Government bid something in the matter, but apparently the complex nature of the subject accounts for the indecision. A solution will be found if a strong representative Committee is appointed by the Government to enquire into the whole matter thoroughly. Much time has already been lost and it is hoped that Government will now avert itself to energetic action as further delay is likely to add to discontent and unrest.

NEWS.

PATIALA SEDITION.

The Special Tribunal trying the sedition case assembled on the 3rd after Christmas holidays. Before the proceeding began Mr. Grey, Counsel for prosecution, informed the Court that he had gone through the evidence against all the accused and come to the conclusion that he could not press the case against thirty of the accused persons for want of sufficient evidence against them. Counsel said that he had applied to Ejlaz Khas for permission to withdraw the prosecution against these thirty accused but no orders had up to the present moment been received. Mr. Grey asked for a short adjournment as he expected the Maharajah's orders within a couple of days. The Court accordingly adjourned the case till the 5th instant.

Amir Chand, an absconding accused, surrendered himself on that day.

THE UMBALLA BOMB.

The examination of the bomb which exploded and injured the hand of the "Goala" in the compound of the Deputy Commissioner at Umballa, shows that it was mainly filled with old gramophone needles, revolver cartridges and pieces of iron. The explosion took place mainly upwards, towards the ceiling of the hut which accounts for the comparative slight injury to the "Goala." The man picked up a box about 100 yards from the Deputy Commissioner's house and imagined the package was a tin of cakes or biscuits. The remains of the bomb have been sent to the Inspector-General of Explosives for the determination of the nature of the explosive employed.

LADIES' CONFERENCE AT LAHORE.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of Hyderabad wired the following message to the Ladies' Conference:—My message to you all is to remember that the true regeneration of India lies with her daughters. Let your watch-words be hope, love and service.

NEWS.

THE DURGHA DEPUTATION.

Addressing a Hindu deputation, headed by the Maharajah of Durbhanga, waited upon him on Saturday, Sir Louis Dane said that more than passive loyalty is requisite. "Those who are not with us," he said, "are against us," and active co-operation on the part of the community is wanted to stamp out sedition.

INDIANS COLONIES.

The "Times" in a leading article on the Indian National Congress says:—Among the grievances rehearsed there is only one which gives food for serious heart-searchings, namely the treatment of Indians in the Colonies. The Government of India can do nothing without the help of the Imperial Government while the latter is powerless with the help of the self-governing colonies. No truly Imperial question of greater complexity and more vital urgency exists.

SWADESHI ENTERPRISES.

SHARMA HINDU BISCUITS.

We have received several swadeshi articles for review which have been ordered to be placed in the market. The Sharma Hindu Biscuit factory has sent us a sample of its Swadeshi biscuits which the proprietor claims to be prepared in such a way as to satisfy all caste rules. The biscuits are well made and of a good quality.

SWADESHI SUGAR.

Mr. Ameer Chand of 7, Baroda Pal Thakur's Lane has sent us a sample of swadeshi sugar prepared by hand which is of a very high quality, well-purified and sweet. As far as quality goes this sugar deserves well to compete with any foreign sugar placed on the market and if the maker can overcome the difficulty of the higher cost, there is no other difficulty that ought to stand in its way.

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NEWS.

ANOTHER DACOITY.

Information reached the police headquarters at Jessore on 28th Dec that a dacoity believed to be of a political nature, had been committed on the previous night last at Nowapara, a village in the Jessore district. It is alleged that a dozen young Bengalis, armed with swords and revolvers, raided the house of a local merchant and carried away a quantity of jewellery and a considerable sum in cash. No arrests have been made. Further details are not yet forthcoming.

THE YUGANTAR AGAIN.

The "Yugantar" has re-appeared again this time from Lahore. It has now diminished to the size of a postcard typewritten, dated Dec. 1903, and termed the new Year's number. It contains a summarised description of the way to make a picric acid bomb and ends with the following reasonable sentiment: "The editor suggest that the formula is the only means of the people for co-operation with the Government. Wishing a Merry Xmas and a prosperous New Year. The Sub-Editor." This message appears openly on the reverse of a pink postcard posted from the Dabbi Bazar Post Office, at Lahore.

AN UMBALLA BOMB.

It is reported that the Goala of the Deputy Commissioner of Umballa has had his hand shattered by a bomb which he picked up at his master's gate at 11-30 am 28th ult. It appears that the bomb was in a tin wrapped up in rags and paper and the parcel was addressed to the Deputy Commissioner by name. The Goala took the parcel to his house in the Deputy Commissioner's compound and he was opening it when it exploded.

When the crowd left the meeting at Bradlough Hall on Thursday they were attracted by typewritten notices posted on the walls exhorting Punjabis to use bombs and revolvers and not sit idle and to kill Europeans. It was signed: "The Punjab section of Anarchist and ran to about eight lines.

GARDEN SEARCHED AT BALLYGUNGE.

Mr. Woodhouse Assistant Superintendent of Police, 24 Pargannas, with several officers and constables railed a garden at No. 64, Ballygunge Road, on the 20th Dec. For some time past it is stated a number of Bengali youths have been seen frequenting the garden. This aroused the suspicion of the police and resulted in this morning's raid. The garden was thoroughly searched but nothing of a doubtful character was discovered.

HOUSE SEARCH IN WATGUNGE.

In connection with several political dacoities committed in the outlying districts of Calcutta during the past two months the Watgunge Police, early on Thursday morning with Sub-Inspector Sinha at the head of a dozen constables and armed with a search warrant, surrounded premises N. 45, Watgunge Road occupied by a Bengalee named Begwan Das. The occupant offered no resistance to the Police, who began to search the house at 6 a. m. A thorough search of the premises was made, but nothing of an incriminating character was found. The search lasted for four hours. No arrests were made.

THE TRAIN DACOITY.

The enquiry in connection with the Rajendrapur, train dacoity is still proceeding and Nishikanto Roy and Rajani Kanta Roy who were arrested are still in hajat. Babu Girish Chandra Das Sub-Inspector of Naranganj, with a posse of constables searched the house of Ambikadaya Sing, cashier of Messrs. Jardine Skinner and Co., but nothing incriminating was found.

TRANSVAAL INDIANS FUND.

The Bishop of Lahore has subscribed Rs. 50 to the fund in aid of the suffering Indians in the Transvaal.

AMBALLA BOMB STORY.

Regarding the Amballa bomb explosion, it is ascertained that a small box addressed to the Deputy Commissioner in name and apparently meant to be an X'mas present was placed in the verandah of the Sahib's *kothi* during night. The following morning, a *darwaza* finding the box, picked it up as a curiosity and took it with him to his place. He opened the box and the bomb inside exploded.

THE NASIK CRIMINALS.

Further inquiries regarding the assassin Kumar show that he was a native of Ratnagiri, but had lived with his uncle Bharve, contractor of Hyderabad (Deccan), for the last eight or ten months. He was a student in the Art School at Aurangabad yesterday, but Gopal Rao Pafanker, who was arrested at Bombay, was brought down to Nasik. The assassin was arrested in a house at Kandawady. He is a life insurance agent of the Hindustan Co-operative Insurance Company.

The Nasik Police were busy the whole of yesterday making searches and after a diligent search found glass tubes and broken pieces of vessels used for holding Picric Acid in the house of Vinayak Deshpande, one of the arrested persons. This house is situated near the riverside. The search was conducted under the personal supervision of Mr. Guider. No arrests were made yesterday.

The following are the names of persons brought down from Yoola within the last two days:—

- (1) Vinayak Sachchidb Varve;
- (2) Narayan Gonesh Joshi;
- (3) Shivram Shadashib Sonar;
- (4) Eknath Balajee Gujarati.

In all 27 persons have been arrested.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, in consequence of information received, arrested one Chaturbhuj Zaverbhai Amoon Pattidar, aged about twenty-seven, in his house in Holi Chackha, Bombay, this morning in connection with the assassination of Mr. Jackson. His house was searched and a number of documents supposed to be showing a *cumuli* complicity with the tragedy were seized by the police. Accused has been sent to Nasik for enquiries.

THE NASIK TRAGEDY.

Chaturbhuj Javerbhai Amoon, who was arrested yesterday in Bombay in connection with the Nasik murder, was a cook in the India House. After the India House was closed, he came to Bombay and was working as a tailor in a tailoring establishment. He holds a diploma of tailoring.

The Police believe that all the sixteen Browning pattern revolvers have been smuggled by this gang, of which eight have been seized and the remaining eight are not yet accounted for.

The Police here are awaiting reports from Aurangabad, where special police officers have been sent to make

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২১৫৫ ।

NEWS.

THE SAND DUNES OF SIND.

"La Nature" contains a brief note on the "Sand Dunes of Sind" by M. Roger Ducompt, a well-known French forest authority. He describes with admiration the ingenious system employed by the towns of Karachi, in pinning down the sand by plantations of convolvulus (*Ipomoea biloba*), which require no water and which gradually are forming enough humus to grow shrubs and casuarinas and possibly coconuts. He is very confident that the monsoon which now passes over Karachi could be tapped by proper tree planting on a large scale. The aerial current of the monsoon is ready to get rid of its water as it does on the Ghat; the moment it meets a chill or an already moist environment such as a forest which brings it to saturation point.

"If the Monsoon," he writes, "traverses a desert region such as those on the east and west of the Lower Indus it only makes the air there a little damper without losing a drop of water. As it meets higher ground and milder conditions, as produced by cultivation and forests, it produces abundant rain. It is ascertained by this time that forests, through the lowering of the temperature which they produce (by absorption of heat) and by the humidity which they produce in the atmosphere (by transpiration), are equivalent to a mountain range. It is more than probable that if from the coast northward Sind was covered with wood for a breadth of 10 or 12 degrees of longitude to the extent of half its area it would obtain the South West monsoon and with it crops instead of sterility. Prosperity and life would return bit by bit to this unhappy country whose fertile lands (an immense alluvial basin formed by deposits of the richest elements of metamorphic rocks) are sterilised simply by the want of water."

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PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BENGAL.

It appears from the Government Resolution on Public Instruction in Bengal during 1930-31 that the total expenditure from all sources on institutions of all kinds has risen from 110½ lakhs in 1905-06 to 144½ lakhs in 1930-31 and within the same period expenditure from provincial revenues has risen from 34 lakhs to 49½ lakhs, while within the last two years there has been an increase of 13 lakhs in expenditure from provincial revenues. Mr. James who has emphasized the present report officiating Director has emphasized the need for further provision of funds and for a clearly defined policy in the Department as to the proportion of total expenditure which the main heads of education should receive. The number of boys undergoing primary education was about twelve hundred, these representing, 29.5 percent, of the total male population of schoolgoing age. A contrast has been drawn in the report between contributions of Bombay and Calcutta Municipalities to primary schools. The Bombay Municipality spends 1½ lakhs and possesses 93 schools of its own whereas the Calcutta Corporation has not a single school of its own and spends only one-fifth of a lakh on primary education. In Secondary Education, proposals for improvements have been kept in abeyance for want of funds. It is to be deplored that there is a tendency to prefer a bad education in Middle English Schools to a good education in Middle Vernacular schools. Collegiate and Mahomedan educations are making good headway but technical education is being hampered for lack of funds. As regards discipline in the best sense of the word it has still to be learnt in many school. As Mr. James expresses it, "there is an acquiescent discipline, that is to say, there is not an active result from discipline but there is not so much as there ought to be of respect for constituted authority and of the true spirit of active co-operation with authority."

DREDGING THE BHAGIRATHI.

The Government of India, it is stated have decided to defer the question of opening up the Bhagirathi river until there is a prospect of making the "Poyra" class of dredger, which is at present at work on the Eastern Canal System available for work. So far as this class of dredger is concerned, Government is convinced of the inadvisability of getting out any more at present until further experience of its working has been gained.

RUMOURD APPOINTMENT "TO" INDIA COUNCIL.

Strong rumours are current in Bombay that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has accepted the appointment in the India Council, caused vacant by the return of Mr. Syed Bilgrami for two years provided he continued in good health in England. The acceptance is believed to be due to pressure by his Excellency Sir George Clarke.

ARREST OF A STUDENT.

Pratap Chandra Chandra, an inhabitant of Narayanganj and student of the Dacca Survey School, was at Mohanapur on survey duty while he was arrested. Nothing is known about the arrest. The office of Messrs. Jardine, Skinner and Company was searched by the Police Superintendent with other officials in connection with the case of Ambika Dayal Singha cashier of the Company. Nothing incriminating was found.

DHINGRA'S PROPERTY.

The Commissioner of Police was summoned by an Indian at Bow Street to-day to show cause why he should not deliver revolvers, daggers and other property of the assassin Dhingra. The Magistrate asked the applicant if he claimed the property under will or as administrator. The reply was in the negative and the summons was dismissed.

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NEWS

NEWSPAPER PROSECUTIONS

Baba Singh, Printer and Publisher of the "Sahayak", was arrested at Kasur. The Editor is still at large.

Babu Ganeshilal, Editor of the "Aksa" of Delhi, has been brought to Lahore under police custody for trial.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON INDIA.

Interviewed by the "Daily Chronicle" on arrival in London, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said: "I have come away with a feeling almost a conviction, that as soon as the Councils begin to work the undoubted anomalies of the methods of election will be forgotten and things will go very smoothly and well. Lord Morley, Mr. Macdonald continued, "has a most wonderful influence in India, and it dates from a time before the introduction of his reforms. The people believe in him. They say all the things he has done which they consider bad, such as the deportations—were done because the officials overruled his better judgment, but the good things were done because Lord Morley wanted to do justice to India. It is a most extraordinary demonstration of popular loyalty I have ever known.

Touching on the wider problem of British rule Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said: "I am quite convinced that we have got to stay in India because what is wanted at the present moment is an authority superimposed on the complicated situations of Indian society—religious,

racial, social and political. I am convinced also that we must govern India more on Parliamentary lines and that the day of Government by the "obiter dicta" of officials is very nearly over. By Government on parliamentary lines, I mean that the Governors of provinces and the Viceroy must explain to the Government at home what they are doing it, and must submit to criticism. We have never been in the habit of explaining anything to the people of India. We have simply said to them, 'This is the best thing for you we know you don't like it, but it must be done' and so we went on ruling in this sort of way. One thing there must be more harmonious relations between the administrators and the House of Commons. Every educated native of India takes serious interest in British politics and this interest is shared by the inarticulate millions of the population although they may know more than that there are two rival parties concerned in their destinies. They have experienced the rule of both, and they know which makes for their greater good and contentment. Everybody in India without exception, even officials who are Conservative by instinct and training, wants the Liberal Government to be returned to office again. They are all afraid of two things if the Tories come in. They are afraid Lord Curzon will be made Secretary of State for India and that some one of his type will be sent out as the next Viceroy. He further observed it was sheer folly to treat the educated

native as the enemy of our rule, and he added: "The official attitude has been, I think, most unfortunate to regard these educated Hindus as sedition mongers, when as a matter of fact, they are only applying to India the conditions and ordinary methods of English politics. It would be far better to take these men into our confidence and assume they are going to have a great deal to do with the Government of India in future. I am fully convinced that this will make for the strengthening of our position in India."

THE LAHORE EXHIBITION.

SIR P. C. CHATTERJEE'S PROTEST

At the meeting of the Exhibition, committee Sir P. C. Chatterjee said that he would be stultifying himself if he became a party to the present proceedings. He consequently resigned office. It was eventually agreed that Mr. Harkishan Lal be entrusted with the entire management of the Exhibition and a Resolution was passed that he could overrule if he deemed proper the decisions of the Executive Committee. Whether Sir Chatterjee's resignation was accepted does not appear. *The Hindoo.*

ILLNESS OF AN EDITOR.

Mr. S. C. Sarbadhary, Editor and Proprietor of the "Hindoo Patriot" is lying seriously ill at Benares. His wife and daughter their only child are attending on him. We wish him a speedy recovery.

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NEWS.

MR. KEIR HARDIE AND SUN-DRIED BUREAUCRATS.

The London Correspondent of the Hindoo writes:—

Mr. Keir Hardie's booklet on India which as you know is mere reprint of the letters that he wrote to the *Labour Leader* from India in the winter of 1907-08, was the subject of discussion at the East India Association last Tuesday (December 7th) one Mr. R. A. L. Morre a retired Indian Civilian who had been employed it seems in revenue work in Bombay led the attack by a fairly long paper. The usual arguments against the Parliamentary tourist in India, — the impossibility of getting any knowledge worth the trouble of Indian life and problems within the conditions of a two or three month's tour over a vast continent — the necessary shallowness of any opinions about the people and the Government of India based upon such superficial knowledge, all these were trotted out in the usual Anglo-Indian style. The lecturer took up certain statements of Mr. Keir Hardie's and without any careful analysis or even any honest understanding of these statements and proceeded to controvert them in the usual fashion by citing a few solitary facts which are too widely known to need repetition. For instance Mr. Keir Hardie's statement that "the policy now being pursued by the Government is to show special favour to the Mahomedans", was sought to be met by a reference to a number of higher appointments that had been given to the Hindus and "the immense preponderance of Hindus in the ranks of the subordinate judiciary and the magistracy." These are admitted facts, but in spite of it all, there is as you know a very widespread impression among almost every section of the educated Indian community which fully supports Mr. Keir Hardie's opinion. Mr. Keir Hardie's statement regarding the economic drain on India due to the investment of the British capital in Indian enterprises, was also sought to be controverted by the specious economic theories with which Lord Curzon, among others, made you so extremely familiar. China, Japan, Siam, Zealand, Russia, and even the United States, have always been borrowers of foreign capital, and such investments have always helped the economic development of these countries. Why, then, should British capital cause a ruinous economic drain in India? This is the argument against Mr. Keir Hardie. You know what the difference is. While other countries pay only a moderate interest on borrowed capital, leaving the profits of the investment in the country, adding to the productive capital of the nation. British capital, invested in India, draws not merely interest but the entire profits of the investment, leading to the people only the wages of their labour and a small percentage of compensation taken by the middlemen. This is the drain. Those who deny it confuse fundamental economic facts. They seem to recognize no difference between wages and

capital. India gets the wages, the British capitalists appropriate the profits, which go back to India again in the form of fresh capital to draw fresh profits. This is the true story. But it is beyond the capacity of copy book economists, whether Indian or Anglo-Indian, to apprehend this truth.

But I have neither space nor time, nor even, to tell the truth, the patience, to critically consider Mr. Moore's paper. Nor is it necessary for the Indian reader. As for the English readers of Mr. Keir Hardie's book, I doubt if even the East India Association, which is spending some money and a good deal of idle energy in circulating "correct" information regarding India among the British people will be able to make any impression upon the large and increasing body of Mr. Keir Hardie's friends and admirers.

THE MAHARAJA OF DURGANGA ON NATION BUILDING.

The Maharaja of Durganga presiding at the Labour Industrial Conference said.

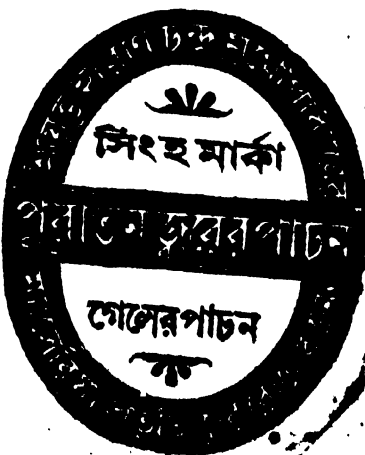
Rome was not built in day, and nation-building to be of a permanent order is necessarily a very slow evolutionary process. We are sometimes apt to get impatient and to hurry forward to reach a goal without going through the intermediate disciplinary stages which are necessary. But the more haste the worse speed. We must be content to do the work that lies before us in our lifetime, to carry on the torch in our own day and pass it with undimmed lustre to our successors in the race. The work of nation-building requires the co-operation of all sections of the community. And it is gratifying to find that this feeling of good fellowship and co-operation is beginning to manifest itself largely amongst the Mahomedan and Hindu communities everywhere in India. And why should it not be so? Why should not all the separate sections come closer together furthering the common interests of the country? We can be

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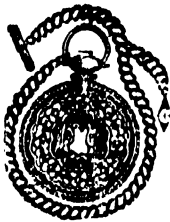
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KARMAYOGIN

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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Patiala Case.

The Patiala case has developed its real objective, which is the destruction of the Arya Samaj, the men arrested being merely pawns in the game. The speech of the Counsel for the prosecution, Mr. Grey, in no way sets out an ordinary case against individuals, nor is there any passage in it which gives any light as to particular evidence against the persons on their trial, but from beginning to end it is an arrangement of the Arya Samaj as a body whose whole object, semi-open rather than secret, is the subversion of British rule. Mr. Norton, taking advantage of the presence of Sj. Aurobindo Ghose in the dock, attempted to build up in the Alipur Case an elaborate indictment of the whole national movement as a gigantic conspiracy, but he did not neglect the individual cases and made some attempt to conceal the extra judicial object of his oratory by a continual reference to actual evidence, relevant or irrelevant, in the case. Mr. Grey has not given himself that trouble. The political character of his advocacy is open and avowed. But he follows his Calcutta precursor in the ludicrous jumps of his logic from trivial premises to gigantically incongruous conclusions, in

his heroic attempt to make bricks out of straw. His chief arguments are that the Arya Samajists read the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Punjabee*,—to say nothing of the long defunct *Bande Mataram*,—and that some of the prominent members of the Arya Samaj are politicians and yet remain members of the Arya Samaj. The perfectly general interpretations by Swami Dayananda of the Vedic view of politics, are the basis of his attack, and even the vehement character of the great reformer's polemics against other religions, the orthodox Hindu included, are pressed into the service of this unique argument. And all this is used to prejudice men under trial on a serious charge. Mr. Norton trifled with the traditions of the British bar by his pressing of trivial and doubtful evidence against the accused in the Alipur case, but it seems to us that Mr. Grey has departed still farther from those lofty traditions. And what if the Patiala Court decides that the Arya Samaj is a seditious body, seditious in origin, seditious in intention, seditious in action? Will the Government prescribe as an illegal association this wealthy, powerful and highly organised community containing more than half the brains and activity of the Punjab? Already the charge has been made that by giving special privileges to the

Mahomedans, the Government have abandoned definitely the principle of religious neutrality on which their rule has hitherto been founded. The present Governor of the Punjab is possibly capable of such a step,—after the whitewashing of the Police in the Gulab Bano case and his speech to the Loyalist deputation, we can believe him capable of any rash and headstrong step. Fortunately, there is little likelihood that Mr. Grey's oratory will be any more effective than Mr. Norton's.

The Arya Samaj and Politics.

We have received a communication from a member of the Samaj in which he puts to us certain printed questions relating to the aims, character and works of the Samaj and of its founder's teachings. We have not that direct and firsthand knowledge which would enable us to answer these questions with any authority. But on the general question our views are known. Aryaism is not an independent religion. It is avowedly an attempt to revive the Vedic religion in its pristine purity. The Vedic religion is a national religion, and it embraces in its scope all the various activities of the national life. Swami Dayananda as a restorer of Vedicism included the theory of politics in his scope and revealed the intensely national character of the Hindu religion and

morality. His work was avowedly a work of national regeneration. In dealing with the theory of politics as based on the Vedic religion he had naturally to include the truth that independence is the true and normal condition of a nation and all lapse into subjection must be a sin and degeneration, temporary in its nature. No man can deny this great truth. Freedom is the goal of humanity and Aryaism was in its nature a gospel of freedom, individual freedom, social freedom, intellectual freedom, freedom in all things, and the accomplishment of such an all-pervading liberation cannot come about without bringing national freedom in its train. If to perceive these truths of Vedism and of nature is to be political and seditious, then Swami Dayananda's teaching was political and seditious and the religion he preached may be stigmatised as political and seditious. But if sedition be limited to its proper meaning, an attempt by illegal and violent means to bring about the fall of the established authority or prepare by word or action lawless opposition and revolution, then there is no sedition in the Swami's preaching or in the belief and actions of the Arya-Samaj. They use the perfectly legitimate means of strengthening the national life at all points and their objective is national regeneration through an active and free religion, not political revolution. Individual members may be Loyalists, Moderates, Nationalists even Terrorists, but a religious body is not responsible for the political opinions of its individual members. The religious teaching of Swami Dayananda was inspired by national motives, not political; and the aims of the Arya Samaj are national not political.

The Arya Disclaimer.

The leaders of the Arya Samaj have issued a manifesto disclaiming the political motives attributed to them by the Counsel for the Prosecution in his extraordinary opening address at Patiala. But is there any use in these repeated disclaimers? To a certain type of official mind, not in the minority in this country, every movement, body, organ of opinion or centre of activity that makes for national strength, efficiency or manhood is by that very fact suspect and

indeed self-convicted as seditious and its very existence a crime to be punished by the law. The Governor of the Panjab is either himself an official of this class or aided by advisers of that temper. Under such circumstances it is enough to issue once for all a strong and dignified repudiation of the charge and then proceed calmly with the great work the Samaj has undertaken, serenely strong and unperturbed in good fortune or evil fortune, good report or evil report, confident in God's grace and the spiritual force communicated by the founder. This is the only course worthy of a manly community professing a robust and virile religion. Anxious repetition of unheeded disclaimers seems to us undignified and futile, **What is Sedition?**

The question, what is sedition, one of those Chinese puzzles which it seems impossible to solve, nevertheless, presses for solution. In Nagpur it has been established that to laugh at the holder of a Government title is sedition. In the Swaraj Case Justice Chandavarkar has declared it to be the law that to condemn terrorism in strong language and trace it to its source is sedition. At Patiala it is contended that to read the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Punjabee* is sedition. We are not quite sure that at Patiala the prosecuting counsel did not hint that to bring Christianity or Mahomedanism into contempt or hatred is sedition. And we have these remarkable cases in the Punjab, where to translate Seeley's *Expansion of England* or Mr. Bryan's opinion of British rule in India seems to have a fair chance of being established as sedition. Mr. Stead's *Review of Reviews* is now known to be a seditious publication. We are not sure, either, that the *Indian Daily News* is not even worse, for it is continually trying to bring the police, who are an indispensable part of the Government established by law, into contempt and hatred, and the incorrigible persistence of its efforts is sufficient proof of motive, if not of conspiracy. Now one of the charges against a Punjab accused is that he wrote impugning the character of the subordinate police service—just like the *Indian Daily News* or Sir Andrew Fraser. We would sug-

gest that Sir Andrew Fraser should be arrested in England and brought here to answer to the outraged police for the remarks passed by the Police Commission. The reasoning is perfectly fair. Any strong criticism, especially, if it is persistent, lowers the reputation of the Government and creates in people a tendency to belittle, that is to say, have a contempt for authority established by law. It is still worse if the Government is accused of injustice, say, in the matter of the deportations or the Gulab Bano case; for that inevitably creates hatred. Therefore strong criticism of the Government is sedition. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Punjabee* strongly criticise the Government. Therefore they are seditious papers and their readers seditious conspirators. Every official is a member of the Government established by law; therefore to criticise strongly an official or a policeman, still more, officials or policemen as a class, is sedition. Christianity is the religion of the Government established by law; to criticise Christianity is to bring Christians into contempt; the Government are Christians; therefore to criticise Christianity is to bring the Government established by law into contempt. That is sedition. Therefore to criticise Christianity is sedition. To say that repression fosters Terrorism may be true, but it is seditious. To suggest a Press censorship, seriously or ironically, is to bring the administration of the law of sedition into contempt, that is, to bring the administrators into contempt; and the administrators are the Government established by law. Therefore Mr. Stead's Open Letter to Lord Morley is seditious. We are almost afraid to go on, lest, finally, we should end by proving that the *Englishman* itself is an intolerably seditious rag,—for does it not try to bring Sir Edward Baker and the Government generally into contempt by intimating genially that they are liars, idiots and good-for-nothing weaklings,—in connection with the Reforms and their unwillingness to put the whole population of India into prison? Would it not save trouble to prohibit speech or writing in India altogether?

A THING THAT HADN'T

It is not the policy of the "Karmayogin" to discuss incidents whether of the present administration of the country or of the relations between the ruling caste and the people. To criticise persistently the frequent instances of highhandedness and maladministration inevitable under a regime like the present does not lead to the redress of grievances; all that it does is to create a prejudice against the reigning bureaucracy. The basis of our claim to Swaraj is not that the English bureaucracy is a bad or tyrannical Government; a bureaucracy is always inclined to be arrogant, self-sufficient, self-righteous and unsympathetic, to ignore the abuses with which it abounds, and a bureaucracy foreign and irresponsible to the people is likely to exhibit these characteristics in an exaggerated form. But even if we were ruled by a bureaucracy of angels, we should still lay claim to Swaraj and move towards national self-sufficiency and independence. On the same principle we do not notice or lay stress on the collisions between Englishmen and Indians which are an inevitable result of the anomalous and unnatural relations existing between the races. It is the relations themselves we seek to alter from the root instead of dealing with the symptoms. But the incident at Goalundo detailed in this week's *Dharma* is one which the country has to take notice of, unless we are to suppose that the movement of 1905 was the last flaring up of national strength and spirit previous to extinction and that the extinction has now come. We have received a letter from the sufferer translated into English, it is from his own account that we summarise the facts.

A Brahmin Pandit with the title of Kavyatirtha, ignorant of English, was proceeding with two Bengali ladies from Mymensing to Calcutta on Sunday the 2nd January by the Kaligunge mail steamer, and reached Goalundo at 11 o'clock at night, too late to catch the Calcutta train. He and some other passengers decided to spend the night in the steamer. While he was going down

to look after his luggage, an European came up to him, caught his wrapper, twisted it tightly round his neck and said in Hindustani, "Who are you?" Getting no answer to his request for an explanation except the repetition of the question, he replied that he was a passenger. Thereupon without further parley the Englishman proceeded to drag the unresisting Pandit to another steamer lying alongside. On the way the latter appealed to the sub-agent of the Steamer Company, a certain Sarat Babu, but, after a word from the Sahib, was told that he must accompany the aggressor to the Company's agent, with a name which the Pandit caught as Joyce. It was not, however, to the Agent, but into a first-class cabin where there were three other Europeans and two English women, that the Brahmin was dragged and the door closed behind him. No sooner was he in the hands of this company than he was charged with having abused the Englishman whom he had never seen before in his life, and a savage blow dealt him in the left eye which cut the skin and set blood flowing freely. Blows after blows were rained on head and body, the head being cruelly battered, the lips cut open and some of the teeth loosened. His appeals for mercy were answered by a shower of kicks with booted feet on his head and the English women joined in the pastime by beating him furiously on the thigh with a dog chain. The unfortunate Bengali was by this time sick, stunned and almost senseless with the beating. The pain of the blows falling on his already bruised and battered head was intense and the iron chain drew blood with each cut. Fortunately he happened to fall against the door and it flew open. With difficulty he managed to crawl to the staircase; but at this moment the Englishman drew a revolver and, pointing it at him, cried out "Shala, I will shoot you." In terror of his life the Brahmin managed anyhow to plunge down the stairs and dropped almost senseless at the bottom. His eyes were clotted with blood, but he caught a glimpse of Sarat Babu coming near him with an European whom he conjectured to be the Agent Mr. Joyce. A few

words were spoken between the two. Afterwards Sarat Babu returned and told the Pandit that he could expect no redress from the Company, but he might bring a criminal suit if he cared to do so. The farther happenings of that night need not be entered into, except to note the extraordinary conduct of the Company's officers who almost immediately separated the two steamers and took the Kaligunge mail into mid stream where they kept it until the Europeans had escaped in their steamer to Naraingunge. It was only possible to discover from the luggage labels that they belonged to a jute factory in Nakail near Aralia. There were some Bengali passengers present, including a pleader from Jossore and an employee of the Sealdah District Superintendent's Audit office but, though they sympathised with and cared for their compatriot after he had escaped with his life, there was none to assist him at the moment of the outrage, nor could even the piteous cries of the ladies awake a spark of resolution anywhere in those present. The societies of young men are disbanded, the cry of Bande Mataram has sunk to rest, and royally-minded individuals like the perpetrators of this murderous assault can finish their imperial pastime unhindered.

We feel a great difficulty in dealing with this case. We are not in the habit of dealing in violent language, yet to write coolly of it is a little difficult. And if we describe the assault as an infamous atrocity or describe these English gentlemen and ladies as cowardly ruffians and fiendish assassins, we have to recollect that such phrases are properly applied to Indian Terrorists and we may be prosecuted under Sec. 153A if we apply them to Europeans who, after all, did nothing but amuse themselves. Moreover, any indication of the proper deserts of these people, however carefully expressed, might expose us to forfeiture of our Press and prosecution under the new laws. If we point out that such things seem to happen with impunity under the present conditions in India, Sec. 124A is lying in wait, ready to trip us up, and the Andamans or twenty years' hard labour with handcuffs and fetters loom

before our uneasy apprehensions. We do not know whether, considering how the Sedition law is being interpreted in Bombay, Nagpur, and the Punjab, even mentioning this incident may not bring us within its provisions. It is impossible, however, to pass it over in silence, and we proceed, therefore, to make a few observations, treading amid the pitfalls of the law as carefully as we can.

First, we have a word to the Government of East Bengal. It is very busy dealing with romantic dacoities, shapeless conspiracies, vague shadows of Terrorism, Arms Act Cases, meetings of reform Councils overstocked with landholders and Mahomedans. We do not know whether it has any time or interest to spare for little sordid unromantic incidents of this kind. If it has any spare time, it might do worse in its own interests than glance once at that night's doings at Goalundo. It is obviously impossible to appeal to the law. Even if the identity of the assailants were fixed, the culprits would at once bring a trumped-up countercharge, say, of robbery, dacoity, Anarchism or any handy accusation, and the word of a hundred Bengalis, of whatever position or honourable antecedents, would not weigh with any but an exceptional Judge, against that of a single Englishman, whatever his antecedents or education. The only probable result would be to add a term of imprisonment to the Pandit's misfortunes. Even to reveal his name might expose him to the gentle mercies of the local Police in his District. All we can do, therefore, is to advertise the Shillong Government of what has happened and give them the chance of action.

Then, we have one word to say to the nation. The assault was motiveless and seems to have been committed merely because the Pandit was a Bengali and the Europeans felt in the mood to hammer a Bengali, perhaps out of the race-hatred which organs like the *Englishman* are busy fomenting with perfect impunity. There is no other explanation on the facts. The thing has happened and we wish to say at once that nothing in our remarks must be held to mean that we advise retaliation.

But incidents like these never happen to a brave, patriotic and self-respecting nation; they happen only to those who cower and fear and, by their character, justify men who think themselves entitled to treat them like slaves. When the Bengalis showed themselves in the first ardour of 1905 a brave, patriotic and self-respecting nation, these incidents ceased to happen. If they are now reviving with features of a studied atrocity absent from similar brutalities in the past, it must be because we are ceasing to deserve those appellations. The nation is cowering in silence under the terror of repressive laws, all symptoms of national life are discouraged by the leaders and the elders as dangerous and untimely. Those who dare to speak words of hope and courage to the people, are denounced by your vernacular journals, shut out by carefully devised creeds and regulations from the body you still call the National Congress, boycotted by some of your District Conferences. If the Government see anarchists and dacoits in every bush, you see deportations and house-searches in every *lal-pagri*. You cower in your homes, speak your opinions in hushed whispers, allow the national spirit to die out and your Mother to go down again into the black pit from which we raised her. And this incident at Goalundo is the first ominous warning God gives you of the inevitable result.

There is only one way to uphold a nation's honour and to compel outrages upon it to cease automatically,—and that is to show that we are a nation and not a herd. If by any means within the law, the perpetrators of this outrage can be made to feel that Bengalis cannot be half-battered to death with impunity, it should doubtless be done. But no personal anger, no violent language or violent actions are needed. The reawakening of the national spirit ready to act fearlessly and blamelessly—for self-defence and prevention of a crime are blameless,—on every emergency great or small, will of itself be sufficient.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.)
Nationalism and Nationalists.

II

The movement of individual freedom in modern Europe, originating with the Lutheran protest, found its culmination, as I said last week, in the French Revolution. Though the logic of Protestantism, with its right of private judgment, was really subjective individualism, yet in as much as it accepted the dogma of an objective and supernatural scripture, practically this freedom of the individual was circumscribed by the traditions of his religion. Individual reason had to exercise its freedom of judgment within the limitations of the Scriptures. The conscience of the individual had to submit to the accepted moral code of the sacred Book. Protestant freedom worked within these limits. The French Revolution, however, threw these old brakes away, and proclaimed a new gospel of freedom in which the individual really became a law unto himself. Hindu thought had of old recognised the right of the individual to be a law unto himself, but only under certain conditions, when the individual had, by long and laborious disciplines, cured himself of his conceit of individuality and had realised, thereby, his or her essential identity with the Universal. The gospel of individualism preached by the French Revolution was of a different kind. The freedom here proclaimed was an absolute right. It was an unconditional claim. The human unit was entitled to this freedom whatever might be the stage of intellectual or moral evolution in which it stood. Freedom such as this, reduces truth to mere opinion; destroys the validity of rational, as against irrational, judgment, both being ultimately a mere conjugation of the verb to think, and obliterates all distinction, on the ethical plane, between impulse and duty. The logic of this freedom, as I have often pointed out, is—“The Woman Who Did.”

But still the debt of modern humanity to the French Revolution cannot be ignored. In spite of its excessive individualistic emphasis, the French Revolution ushered in a new era of human progress. It proclaimed the law of

“The Bengal soaps are the cheapest and best in the market.”

right against the old authority of status. It preached the freedom of the individual against the hide-bound regulations of Society. This was no mean work. It meant the resurrection of the dead peoples of Europe. It meant new thought, new ideals, new aspirations, a new outlook, and a new life for the modern world. It created a new philosophy of life and a new organon of culture for Western humanity. But for all that, it was still an emphatically negative movement. It broke more than it was able to build.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,—the war-cry of the French Revolution, however inspiring it might have been to the down-trodden peoples of Europe among whom it was raised was, especially as understood and interpreted by the eighteenth century, essentially a formula of revolt. It was not a principle of reconciliation. It was the assertion of an antithesis, not the discovery of a synthesis. It was, no doubt, a gospel of freedom, but freedom conceived more in its negative than in its positive aspects. Freedom was mainly apprehended as mere absence of restraint. And this negative idea of freedom has largely dominated European thought up to our own time. The oft-quoted dictum of Herbert Spencer,—“Every man is free to do as he pleases provided he infringes not the equal freedom of others”,—still represents the prevailing idea of freedom in Europe. And this is Europe's heritage in the French Revolution.

And as long as Europe has not been able to completely work out this excessive individualistic emphasis of the French Illumination, it will never fully understand the philosophy of true nationalism.

Nationalism is, indeed, a comparatively new idea in Europe. The concept is still more or less nebulous and vague. Neither the scientific basis nor the ethical and spiritual significance of it has as yet been realised by the ordinary European mind. And this is because the European mind is still under the domination of the French Illumination. The necessary limitations of the eighteenth century individualism have, no doubt, commenced to be increasingly recognised, but the reform movement has not yet reached the form of Socialism and not of Nationalism. This is due mainly to the

predominantly economic character of the present phase of European evolution. Socialism represents the protest of European Democracy against the existing economic arrangements of European society. It is a demand for a more equitable distribution of economic privileges than what obtains at present. Competition is the basis of the existing economic structure in Europe; and individualism is the fundamental philosophy of this competitive economic arrangement. In this sense, and to this extent only, does Socialism represent a reaction against the excessively individualistic philosophy of the French Illumination. But though to a certain extent anti-individualistic, Socialism is in no sense a synonym for Nationalism. Socialism is a recognition of the limitations of individualism in one department of life only, namely, the economic. Nationalism recognises these limitations in every department of life. Socialism is a theory in economics, Nationalism is a fact in Sociology. It is a higher generalisation.

But the gospel of French Revolution was not merely individualistic, it was a gospel of universalism also. In fact it was this note of universalism which gave to the French Revolution its most fascinating feature. Its deeper idealism was really its intense humanitarianism. And in so far as it was humanitarian, the French Revolution was indeed, in a sense, anti-national. There were only two factors in the scheme of reform propounded by the French Revolution, namely, the individual human unit on the one side and universal humanity on the other. Liberty and equality for the individual, as members of a universal Human Brotherhood,—this was the complete philosophy of the French Revolution. It was individualistic and cosmopolitan, and Nationalism, as a philosophy of life, had no place in its scheme. It recognised no middle term between the individual and the universal. Nationality in its view was the antithesis of Humanity. Nationalism was opposed to cosmopolitanism. It was conceived almost as a crime against universal Brotherhood.

European culture in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, thus, really tried to stifle the spirit of nationality in the West. It is

only the conflict of political and commercial interests between the European peoples that has preserved the national sentiment among them. Nationalism, consequently, is a more or less mean, selfish, and degrading sentiment there. It has no no spiritual inspiration in it. It simply represents a scramble for power and pelf between rival communities.

But though Nationalism is a sentiment, Nationality is a fact. And the fact has always been present in Europe as much as in Asia, though it may not have been consciously realised, and, thus, formed the basis of a rational sentiment or a philosophic ideal everywhere. In fact, like every other thing, Nationality also comes within the range of consciousness only under certain conditions. And contact and conflict with other nationalities is the one universal condition of the growth of national consciousness. It is, indeed, the law of all consciousness. Human consciousness is always the result of the contact and conflict of the self with the not-self. The not-me in our physical surroundings, on the one side, and in our human associations, in other men and women, on the other—it is these which always awaken the self in us. Without this contact and conflict, no personal consciousness would have been possible. Similarly, it is contact, and, more than contact, keen and vital conflict, with other nations alone that can call forth the sentiment of Nationalism among any people. And the nature of this conflict always determines the character of the spirit of nationalism evoked by it. In Europe, international conflicts have almost always been political or politico-economic. And nationalism, in Europe, therefore, is essentially a political sentiment. This also accounts for the unusual vigour of the political and the economic life among these peoples.

This partial and very incomplete idea of nationalism in Europe, is largely due to the fact that from a long time past, there has ceased to exist any vital conflict of culture and civilisation among the different nations of the Western world. They are all more or less the inheritors of Greece and Rome. They are all mainly professors of one common religion. Their social life and ideals are practically the same. And there has been an almost constant flow

of peoples of one nation into the territories of the other nations, who have been rapidly absorbed into the nation of their adoption. And all these things have worked together to prevent the growth of any strong and fully determined national consciousness among the European peoples.

Mazzini was, I think, the only prophet of the complete national idea in modern Europe. And the psychology of it is also not very difficult to investigate. Rome had lost her empire, but not her traditions. Italy had lost her political freedom, but not her pride of race. Austria, though their political master, was yet a mere barbarian in the eye of the Italian people. Her political domination represented only superior brute force, but not superior intellectual or moral force. It struck not merely against Italy's political freedom, but against the entire Italian culture. It wounded the keen pride of race of an ancient people. Italy's struggle for freedom was not merely a political struggle, but a truly national struggle in the largest sense of the term. And it was the peculiar nature of this struggle which awoke in Mazzini a fuller sense of nationality and a deeper sentiment of nationalism than what is found ordinarily in Europe.

ANANDAMATH.

—oOo—

CHAPTER XII.

Kalyani said, "I too have suffered greatly and gone through many misadventures. It will be of no advantage to you to hear it. I cannot say how I managed to sleep in such exceeding misadventure, but today in the early hours of the morning I fell asleep, and in my sleep I saw a dream. I saw—I cannot say by what force of previous good works I went there,—but I saw myself in a region of wonder, where there was no solid Earth, but only light, a very soft sweet light as if of a cool lustre broken by clouds. There was no human being there, only luminous forms, no noise, only a sound as if

of sweet song and music at a great distance. Myriads of flowers seemed to be ever newly in bloom, for the scent of them was there, jasmynes of many kinds and other sweet-smelling blossoms. There in a place high over all, the cynosure of all, one seemed to be sitting, like a dark blue hill that has grown bright as fire and burns softly from within. A great fiery crown was on his head, his arms seemed to be four. Those who sat at either side of him, I could not recognize, but I think they were women in their forms, but so full of beauty, light and fragrance that every time I gazed in that direction, my senses were perplexed, I could not fix my gaze nor see who they were. In front of the Four-Armed another woman's form seemed to be standing. She too was luminous, but surrounded by clouds so that the light could not well manifest itself; it could only be dimly realised that one in the form of a woman wept, one full of heart's distress, one worn and thin, but beautiful exceedingly. It seemed to me that a soft fragrant wind carried me along, pushing me as with waves, till it brought me to the foot of the Four-Armed's throne. It seemed to me that the worn and cloud-besieged woman pointed to me and said, "This is she, for whose sake Mohendra will not come to my bosom." Then there was a sound like the sweet clear music of a flute; it seemed that the Four-Armed said to Me, "Leave your husband and come to me. This is your Mother, your husband will serve her; but if you stay at your husband's side, that service cannot be given. Come away to Me." I wept and said, "How shall I come, leaving my husband?" "Then the flutelike voice came again, "I am husband, father, mother, son, daughter; come to Me." I do not remember, what I said. Then I woke." Kalyani spoke and was again silent.

Mohendra also, astonished, amazed, alarmed, kept silence. Overhead the dove began its clamour, the papia flooded heaven with its voice, the call of the cuckoo set the regions echoing, the bhiringaraj made the

grove quiver with its sweet cry. At their feet the stream murmured softly between its banks. The wind carried to them the soft fragrance of the woodland flowers. In places bits of sunlight glittered on the waves of the rivulet. Somewhere palm-leaves rustled in the slow wind. Far off a blue range of mountains met the eye. For a long time they remained silent in delight. Then Kalyani again asked, "What are you thinking?"

"I am thinking what I should do. The dream is nothing but a thought of fear, it is born of itself in the mind and of itself it disappears,—a bubble from the waking life. Come, let us go home."

"Go where God bids you," said Kalyani and put her child in her husband's lap.

Mohendra took his daughter in his lap and said, "And you,—where will you go?"

Kalyani, covering her eyes with her hands and pressing her forehead between them, answered, "I too will go where God has bid me."

Mohendra started and said, "Where is that? How will you go?"

Kalyani showed him the small box of poison.

Mohendra said in astonishment, "What, you will take poison?"

"I meant to take it, but—" Kalyani became silent and began to think. Mohendra kept his gaze on her face and every moment seemed to him a year, but when he saw that she did not complete her unfinished words, he asked; "But what? What were you going to say?"

"I mean to take it, but leaving you behind, leaving Sukumari behind, I have no wish to go to Paradise itself. I will not die."

With the words Kalyani set down the box on the earth. Then the two began to talk of the past and future and became absorbed in their talk. Taking advantage of their absorption the child in her play took up the box of poison. Neither of them observed it.

Sukumari thought, "This is a very fine toy." She held it in her left hand and slapped it well with

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her right, put it in her right, and slapped it with her left. Then she began pulling at it with both hands. As a result the box opened and the pill fell out.

Sukumari saw the little pill fell on her father's cloth and took it for another toy. She threw the box away and pounced on the pill.

How it was that Sukumari had not put the box into her mouth, it is hard to say, but she made no delay in respect of the pill. "Eat it as soon as you get it;"—Sukumari crammed the pill into her mouth. At that moment her mother's attention was attracted to her.

"What has she eaten? What has she eaten?" cried Kalyani, and she thrust her finger into the child's mouth. Then both saw that the box of poison was lying empty. Then Sukumari, thinking that here was another game, clenched her teeth,—only a few had just come out,—and smiled in her mother's face. By this the taste of the poison-pill must have begun to feel bitter in the mouth, for a little after she loosened the clench of her teeth of herself and Kalyani took out the pill and throw it away. The child began to cry.

The pill fell on the ground. Kalyani dipped the loose end of her robe in the stream and poured the water into her daughter's mouth. In a tone of pitiful anxiety she asked Mohendra, "Has a little of it gone down her throat?"

It is the worst that comes first to a parent's mind,—the greater the love, the greater the fear. Mohendra had not seen how large the pill was before, but now, after taking the pill into his hand and scrutinising it for some time, he said, "I think she has sucked in a good deal of it."

Necessarily, Kalyani adopted Mohendra's belief. For a long time she too held the pill in her hand and examined it. Meanwhile the child, owing to the little she had swallowed, became a little indisposed,

she grew restless, cried, at last grew a little dull and feeble. Then Kalyani said to her husband, "What more? Sukumari has gone the way God called me to go. I too must follow her."

And with the words Kalyani put the pill into her mouth and in a moment had swallowed it.

TRAIN FIRED ON.

A SEALDAH SENSATION.

PASSENGER'S NARROW ESCAPE.

Passengers leaving Sealdah for the Suburban stations by 57 up—one of the evening trains—on Thursday had an exciting experience, while one European passenger had a narrow escape from death. It would appear that the office train which leaves Sealdah at 5.50 p. m. (17-26 Railway time) was fired on just past the railway bungalow of the railway employees outside Sealdah. The immediate locality is known as Kankurgachi Junction. A European gentleman the manager in a Calcutta office was seated in 2nd class compartment No. 119, reading a newspaper the other occupant of the compartment being a Mr. B. Lawson of Ichapur. The first named gentleman heard a swish and a shattering of glass and the top of the paper he was reading was cut through, just to the left of the middle letter in the title. He was sitting at the extreme left of the carriage (by the window) facing the engine side of the train. Mr. Lawson was on the opposite side in the middle of the seat. All the glass windows on the opposite side were up. The bullet passed through the middle pane making a clear round hole about half an inch in diameter. It was fired from the direction in which the train was travelling. This inference is drawn from the fact that a bullet leaves a larger hole on its exit side; and the larger perforation was on the inside of the carriage. The bullet passed out of the lefthand side window by which the passenger in question was sitting. The passengers would have pulled the communication cord at once, but by time they had finished their investigations the train travelled a good way from the spot and the passengers decided to report the matter when they got to Dum-Dum Junction. The report of the shot was heard by others travelling by the train. In the compartment behind that hit were a Mr. A. D. Abro of 60, Grand Trunk Road Barrack-

pore and Babu G. N. Sen, Paymaster of the E. B. & S. Railway. The passengers reported the matter at Dum-Dum Junction. It is the general opinion that the shot was intentional and deliberate and must have been fired from an elevated position as the hole was high up on the window.

The belief of the European gentleman above referred to is that it was fired from a garden house on the right-hand side of the line. He looked out of the window immediately (on the opposite side) and marked the position and he felt sure it was just opposite this old garden house. The guard Mr. A. E. Jacob took the names and addresses of the passengers concerned.

It was a composite carriage containing two second class compartments at either end of first class compartments in the centre. The train is a new train, composed of composite carriages. All the carriages 1st, 2nd and 3rd are exactly alike in external appearance, polished teak-wood with the classes printed on them in small letters. This train was specially designed like this so it is said that the various class carriages could not be distinguished when the train was travelling.

It was just dusk at the time, though not quite dark.

Later enquiries show that the second class carriage which was hit by the bullet was detached from 57 up at Bagoola and arrived at Sealdah at 11.25 p. m. by 2 down and was kept in a siding near the Police station under a police guard.

Inspector Ganguly, Senior Sub-Inspector Asparada and Sergeant Oetmann of the Railway Police proceeded on receiving information to Kankurgachi Junction for inquiring into the matter. But it is to be feared that nightfall was handicapping their exertions for up till a late hour last night no arrests or any searches were made.

Kankurgachi is an area between Sealdah and Dum-Dum junction and sparsely inhabited. It contains several garden houses of Calcutta people, while the local inhabitants are mostly agriculturists and fishermen. The place is said to be jungly.

The railway police who are being assisted by Daroga Gunga Churn Dey of the Belliaghata thana made a thorough search on both sides of the line from Sealdah B. Cabin to Kankurgachi. Enquiries were made of several people of the locality but no information was obtained.

The guard of the train who arrived at Sealdah last night having returned from Bogula for the purpose of police investigation said that the bullet struck the

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train between Sealdah B. Cabin and Kankurgachi, while the passengers in the carriage differ from him by locating the position as between Kankurgachi and Canal Junction. The guard did not personally hear any report but comes to that conclusion from the description given of the spot. In the evening Mr. Walker, District Superintendent of Police, visited the station. Fresh enquiries will be taken up again to-day and most probably something definite may be arrived at. So far the police do not suspect a local man but believe that the shot must have been fired by some person who is not a resident in the locality.

TRANSVAAL INDIANS. LUCKNOW MEETING.

The Public meeting on the Transvaal situation was held last evening instead of Saturday, there being a large and representative gathering. The Hon'ble Mr. Nasim, Advocate, presided. He introduced Mr. Polak and Mr. Gandhi, nephew of Mr. Gandhi of the Transvaal and asked the audience to show practical sympathy with the Indians in South Africa.

Mr. Polak delivered a long speech detailing the hardship suffered by the Indians in all the four Colonies of Natal Orange Free state, Cape Colony and the Transvaal forming the South African Union. The deputation that was to come to India consisted of four persons from four communities, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi and Christian, but while he alone could come out, the others were arrested and imprisoned on the eve of their departure. In Africa, he said, they could make no distinction of caste or creed, labouring as they were under disabilities common to all. The speaker took Colony by Colony and detailed the grievances of both the indentured labourers and free Indians, grievances that affected them in their every day life. He pointed out with what hardness the coolies under indenture were worked and how the arrangements lead to a breaking up of family ties and to degradation and demoralisation. He observed in his address that suicide among the indentured coolies was 551 per million while it was only 13 or 14 times less in India. Complaints against employers were hedged round with restrictions that exposed the labourers to untold sufferings both in jail and in gardens. As regards free Indians the disabilities heaped

upon them were meant to either crowd them out of South Africa or crush them to nonentity, if not to death. The speaker then quoted General Botha's election speech to show what the intention of the Government was. The General said in four years' time, if given a free hand, he would turn out all Asiatics from South Africa. All measures in the Colonies were, he said, intended to prevent Indians from going to South Africa any more and refuse the children of those resident in the Colonies education and make their daily lives miserable by imposing restriction of the most inhuman and degraded type,—restrictions that no self-respecting man could endure for a moment. But what made them respected throughout the world and entitled them to the respect and love and gratitude of their countrymen here was their refusal to secure all rights of citizenship in South Africa on condition of denying the same to all new comers. The honour of Indians as a race they loved more than their own personal rights and conveniences and this the Colonial Government refused to agree to and the Imperial Government confessed inability to help in the matter. The only course left was twofold to stop immigration of Indian labour under indenture to Natal and help the passive resisters in the Transvaal to carry on fight. To give up the fight was to accept the position of slaves and helots for Indians within the British Empire. Hence was the urgent need of agitation of a persistent and sustained character.

Mr. Gandhi explained in Hindustani what Mr. Polak said in English. Three resolutions were then adopted unanimously, the first being to petition the Imperial Government to remove the grievances of the Indians and grant the Indians equality with other races throughout the British Empire, and the Indian Government to retaliate by preventing immigration of Indian labour to South Africa; the second to express warm appreciation of the brave stand made by the Indians against the iniquities to which they had been subjected, and the third to start an Indian South African League for Oudh to carry on the agitation by investigating facts and collecting subscriptions.

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Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma, Mr. Sen, Pandit Gokarannath, Syed Zahur Ahmed, Mr. Baharai Lal, among others, addressed the meeting.

Mr. Varma thought retaliation was perhaps the only course left for both the Indian Government and the Indians.

Mr. Sen quoted Lord Lansdowne's assertion in 1899 made to justify the war against the Boers and repeated Lord Curzon's view of the Transvaal situation to emphasise the gravity of the question.

Pandit Gokarannath related Mr.

Ghandi's jail experiences to show the stage of which the leader is made.

Syed Zahur Ahmed said submission to the South African disabilities would mean submission in all other parts of the British Empire.

Mr. Baharai Lal, in a humorous speech, showed how there could possibly be no thought of class or creed interests in the struggle of the Indians in South Africa and said that the jingle of money was the best noise that could be made to express sympathy with those on the thick of the fight.

A fund was then opened and contributions in silver, nickel and copper were made and some promises were also made. Among the latter the most prominent were Raja Prithipal Singh with Rs. 1,500, Thakur Jagannath Atasad, Talagdar, Rs. 150, Babu Ishwaridyalal Rs. 125 and Messrs. Nasim, Gokarannath and Sen Rs. 100 each. Promises of Rs. 50, 25, 20 were many. Collections and promises together would amount to several thousands.

In response to thanks, Mr. Polak said he accepted them as a representative those who were fighting the battle against fearful odds.

THE NASIK TRAGEDY.

Mr. Stevenson-Moore, Director of Criminal Intelligence, arrived at Nasik on Monday in connection with the murder inquiry.

The total numbers of prisoners under trial has now reached forty-five.

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NEWS.

THE AMBALLA BOMB.

It is reported that the houses of several Hindus were searched at Amballa on Monday and Tuesday. The raids were supposed to be in connection with the bomb accident at Amballa, but details are yet wanting.

LAHORE SEDITION.

Kishen Singh, brother of Ajit Singh, who has been hauled up for alleged sedition as author of the book "Hindustan me Angrezi Hakumat" i.e. "British Rule in India" has filed a long list of defence witnesses, including, amongst others, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, Messrs. Gokhale, Ganga Parshad Varma, Alfred Nurdy, Jaswant Rai of the "Punjabee," the editors of "Hindustan" and "Paissa Akhbar."

In another sedition case proceeding against Kishen Singh, accused has mentioned as his defence witnesses the names of Sir Protul Chander Chatterji and Rai Sahib K. B. Thapar.

PATIALA SEDITION TRIAL.

On the Committee taking their seat on the 3rd instant; Mr. Grey, counsel for the prosecution, in the Patiala sedition case, mentioned that the Maharaja's orders had not yet been received on the reference made to His Highness regarding the production of police reports and the re-adjustment of the list of the accused. The Committee accordingly decided to adjourn till tomorrow pending the orders of the Maharaja on these points. The camp of the accused has brought within Court precincts. This arrangement will convenience the accused and facilitate communication between them and their pleaders.

ANOTHER SO-CALLED POLITICAL DACOITY.

Another dacoity is reported from Hughli. In the early hours of Sunday morning some 25 young men armed with lathies axes and swords attacked the house of one Sarat Chandra Das of Puratan Buga some 12 miles from Hughli town. The dacoits wore false beards and whiskers and were dressed like up-countrymen, but their voices betrayed their identity. They spoke among themselves in Bengalee. After breaking open the outer door they forced their entrance into house and decamped with valuables and cash. While retreating they were opposed by the villagers but the latter were no match for the dacoits. No arrests have been made.

NETRA DACOITY CASE.

On the 5th instant, before Mr. Bompas, District Magistrate of the 24-Pergannas, Bhusan Chandra Mitter and Tincowri Das were placed on a charge of having committed an alleged political dacoity at Netra, in Diamond Harbour Sub-division, in April last.

The Court Inspector stated that the prosecution was not ready with the case, and the Magistrate ordered the accused to be released on bail of Rs. 1,500 each, and adjourned the case till the 12th instant.

Bhusan Chunder Mitter is alleged to be an absconder in the Chingripata dacoity case, in which the accused were acquitted about two years ago. Bhusan is an inhabitant of Sonarpur, and Tincowri, of Majilpur, in the 24-Pergannas. It is alleged that the present accused were arrested on the strength of a statement by Lalit Mohan Chuckerbutty, who was arrested in Darjeeling in October last and who is at present in Police custody. Lalit is also said to have incriminated several others in his statement, and the matter is under police enquiry.

THE CASE AGAINST KISHEN SINGH.

In the Case of the book "Angrezi Hakumat" against Kishen Singha the elder brother of Ajit Singh, the accused filed a list of defence witnesses. On being questioned by the Court as to the necessity of calling the men on the list as witnesses the accused answered that he wanted to call Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Rasbehari Ghose because they were member of the British Indian National Congress Committee. The Court observed that the citing of so many witnesses from far off places would cost a heavy sum and so it would be desirable to issue a commission to record the evidence of Dr. Ghose a lawyer who might be earning a thousand rupees per day and might not be willing to undertake so long a journey. The accused said that in that case he would be denied the opportunity of cross-examination.

THE JABARKOLE DACOITY CASE.

In the recent dacoity at Jabarkole in Faridpur, a police Head Constable is reported to have been identified and taken under police custody. The case has attracted special attention and the superintendent of Police and the public are anxiously awaiting further developments of this strange case.

MISSING GUN AND REVOLVER.

On 28th December last, two breach loading guns, belonging to the Barnalupara estate were brought to the house of Babu Madhu Sudan Roy, who is a pleader of the estate for the renewal of the license. On the 30th, at about 9 p. m., the guns were found missing from his house. Immediate information was sent to the Thana.

A few days before a revolver of sub Inspector Moti Lal Sen was also stolen from his bed-room.

On the 3rd instant, about 60 or 70 constables surrounded the houses of Babu Kailash Chandra Ghattak, Kedar Nath Ghattak, Unesh Chandra Ghattak as well as the Swadeshi cloth shop belonging to Babu Kedar Nath Ghattak and his brothers. After a close search for several hours the police came away disappointed. Nothing incriminating was found and nothing was taken. The enquiry is proceeding.

NEWSPAPER PROHIBITED.

By order of the Maharaja of Jaipur, the possession or circulation and importation in the Jaipur State territory of 45 declared newspapers, published in different provinces of India, have been strictly prohibited. All Jaipur subjects and others in the State are warned that any infringement of this rule will render the offender liable to severe punishment in the same manner as for the offences against the terms of the notices published in the Gazette on the 9th June, 1901.

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NEWS.

BOMBAY ANARCHISM.

A "Gazette of India Extraordinary" published in Calcutta on Tuesday evening states:—"In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by section 1 (2) of Act XIV of 1908 (the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908) the Governor General in Council is pleased to extend the whole of the said Act to the Presidency of Bombay."

Act XIV of 1908 is the Act which introduced the Special Tribunals for "the more speedy trial of certain offences and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace." It was passed at the meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council on December 11th 1908. The second clause of the first section declared that the law extended to the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam but empowered the Governor-General in Council to extend it to any other Province either in whole or in part. The first part deals with the constitution of the Special Tribunals and the other alterations in procedure, while the second part deals with the unlawful assemblies and procedure for proclaiming them unlawful.

THE LAHORE SEDITION CASES.

The Lahore sedition cases were resumed by Mr. Harrison, the Special Magistrate, on January 3rd. The Court took up the case against Zia-ul-Haq, the first accused, and cross-examined a number of prosecution witnesses. Among others two copyists who copied the article in question which appeared in the "Pashwar," of which accused was the Editor.

Accused Ishri Parshad Editor of the "Bedari" newspaper, was then produced before the Court. The Court explained to the accused that on 14th September an article headed "Fidwi you Ki Bis Mar Khanian," appeared in the "Bedari" and it maligned the character of the subordinate police force in defamatory terms, punishable under section 400, I. P. Code. One prosecution witness was examined after which the Court asked the accused to study the official translation of the article in question or to put in a translation of his own. The case was adjourned to 24th January.

The Sedition case against the same accused. Ishri Parshad, was taken up. The complaint was to the effect that he was Editor, Printer and Publisher of a weekly newspaper, called the "Bedari," printed at the Bedari press at Lahore, and that in its issue of 5th October he published an article and a cartoon, thereby committing an offence under section 124 A. The accused wanted to be released on bail. Court said that in the defamation case against him the accused could be released on bail of Rs. 1,000, but in the sedition case the offence was nonbailable and consequently bail was not granted.

The case against Ganesh Lal, alleged Editor of the "Akash," was next taken up. The complaint, filed in case was that the accused was the Proprietor, Printer Publisher and Editor of an Urdu paper, called the "Akash" at the Indraprasath, National Press, Delhi. In its issue of 14th November the accused published a poem, entitled "Bharat mataki pukar," which comes within the purview of sections 124A and 153 A of the I. P. C. The case was adjourned to the 8th instant.

HINDUS AND GOVT.

Rai Sahib K. R. Thakur of Lahore writes a letter to the "Civil and Military Gazette" about the relations now existing between the Hindus and the Government. He observes: "It cannot be denied that the Hindu community of the Punjab is face to face with a serious crisis so far as its relations with the Government are concerned. It is well-known that objectionable writings and newspapers and publication of seditious books and pamphlets have had a good deal to do with the unsatisfactory character of these relations. I would suggest the formation of a vigilance league or committee the duty of which would be to read newspapers and books or pamphlets as they are published and to offer advice or admonition when and where necessary. The advice given will be private but in cases where it is disregarded public action will have to be taken in the shape of advice to the community at large to have nothing to do with the paper or the writer or the publisher concerned. The writer further exhorts Hindu organisations which exist in the province to take up the suggestion and give effect to it."

HINDUS IN JELLALABAD.

The Hindu population of the Jellalabad District have memorialised the Amir or the subject of their ill-treatment by their Mahomedan neighbours. They point out that during the reigns of Shere Ali, and Abdul Rahman, they were in no way neglected but that of late year certain Mullahs and officials have stirred up fanatical feelings against them. They ask that the Amir will personally enquire into the matter during his stay at Jellalabad as otherwise they will be unable to remain in the country.

THE BOMB AT AMBALLA.

Further particulars received about the police raids at Amballa, show that the houses searched were in the Umballa city as well as in the Cantonment, and it is reported, included those of Rai Sahib Murti Dhar, a pleader, who is styled as the grand old man of the Punjab, Pandit Madho Ram, a vakil, an old Congress man Mr. Lalla Duni Chand, pleader. Mr. Jamna Das, a merchant, Mr. Manohar Lal, a clerk in the Munsiff's Court, Mr. Deoki Nandan, a banker, Dr. S. G. Mukherji and Mr. Alakh Dhari, Secretary of the Upper India Glassworks. The Police, it is known, took with them a copy of the *Bande Mataram* newspaper, found in the house of Rai Sahib Munshi Dhar, and some books from the house of Mr. Madho Ram.

An Urdu daily of Lahore reports that it is rumoured that the bomb which was placed in the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner was wrapped in an issue of the *Hindustan* newspaper of 17th December, published in Lahore. It is further reported that the Police is trying to secure that particular issue of the "Hindustan" from its subscribers in Umballa.

A local paper reports that in connection with the Amballa bomb outrage two Bengalees were arrested from Kalibari, Lahore on Thursday afternoon. One of them is an old man of 70 years. He is a Sadhu and came to Lahore only recently from Amballa where he was seen a few days before the occurrence. Nothing incriminating was found on the man.

The news about the arrest of two Bengalis in Lahore in connection with the Amballa bomb incident has been confirmed. Both the accused are Sadhus who reside at Rishikesh in Hardwar and are master musicians.

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NEWS.

STEAMER ON FIRE.

A fire which has resulted in considerable damage to a vessel broke out on board the ss. "Aka" on Thursday evening last about 7 o'clock, while the vessel, proceeding to Khulna from Barisal, and owned by the River Steam Navigation Co., was passing Chagaldah Landing Station. Information was sent to Messrs. Macneil and Co., the Agents in Calcutta and Mr. Roy, the agent at Barisal, immediately left Calcutta and informed on has so far been received as to the cause of the fire, the damage done to the vessel, or loss of life, if any. An "Indian Daily News" representative on Sunday afternoon interviewing Mr. Taylor, the manager of the Shipping Department of Macneil and Co. learned that no information had reached him since Saturday. Mr. Taylor could not say what cargo the boat was carrying besides the mails at the time; neither could he say how or under what circumstances the fire originated or if the mail bags had been saved. The telegram which had been received by the agents went to show that there was no definite news of loss of life up to the time of wiring. It is, however, surmised from the nature of the fire, that the vessel must have been considerably damaged. The whole of the machinery fittings are totally destroyed. The vessel is now on its way to Calcutta under tow, and is expected in the Hooghly on Wednesday afternoon.

A Barisal correspondent telegraphs to the "Bengalee":—An accident of a rather serious type happened on the 6th instant when the mail steamer "Aka" plying between Barisal and Khulna caught fire between stations Sachida and Alaipur at about 6-30 P.M. There were about 150 to 200 passengers on board, including some women. Babu Bepin Behari Das, Pleader, Barisal, who came from Calcutta via Khulna next morning by the mail steamer "Manipuri" which was detained for about three hours at the place of occurrence for completely putting out the fire, took down the statements of some of the passengers of the "Aka" who happened to be still there together with the mail guard and the butler of the "Aka." The butler said:—A passenger was sitting near the jute bales close to the mail cabin with a lighted hurricane. It was about 5-30 P.M. and it grew dark when the steamer received a shock and the hurricane lantern

tumbled down and broke. Then the jute caught fire. I was on the upper deck when I saw a furious fire had broken out in the lower deck, I jumped into the water from the upper deck. There were nearly 150 passengers. There has been loss of life but I cannot say how many died. I had 180 rupees in my box and articles worth Rs. 50 and all that is gone.

A Khulna correspondent wires to the same paper:—The mail bags were burnt to ashes. Babu Sita Nath Sen, Inspector of Police, Khulna, was a passenger; and he narrowly escaped by jumping into the water. According to him the total number of passengers was about two hundred, of which one-third died, burnt or drowned. A blind gentleman in a cabin going to Calcutta for treatment is missing. A Christian lady jumped into the water with her dress and shoes on and escaped. Police investigation is proceeding.

MIDNAPORE BOMB CASE.

Readers may remember that notices were served on Mr. D. Weston, District Magistrate and Collector, Midnapore, Muzhuri Huq. D. S. P. and Lahmohan Guha, Inspector of Police, in September last.

Babus Abinash Chandra Mitter and Upendra Nath Maity have each instituted a case in the Subordinate Judge's Court, claiming rupees fifty thousand and twenty-five thousand respectively as damages for the false imprisonment and malicious prosecution against them in the alleged Midnapore bomb conspiracy case.

THE MIDNAPUR SEQUEL.

The damage suits brought against several members of the Midnapore police and Mr. Weston by some of the prominent accused in the Midnapore Conspiracy case will shortly come up for hearing. Report is current among Midnapore officials that the expenses that will be incurred in conducting the defence will be borne by the Government.

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Further details received by the River Steam Navigation Company in Calcutta about the fire on board the "Aka" go to show that owing to the confusion at the time the passenger who dropped the hurricane lamp was lost sight of, but his identity, it is believed, will be established shortly. A panic reigned among the passengers at the time and to avoid further disaster the serang promptly ran the boat on to the bank of the river. Most of the passengers were got off without much difficulty. While many of them jumped into the river and swam ashore. Of the latter one, a man, died on shore from exhaustion. So far this is the only casualty.

HALUDIBARI DACOITY.

Information had been received by the Bengal Police that three men named Nitto Gopal Mukerjee, Bina Prantik and Kanye Das, who were alleged to be implicated in the Haludbari Dacoity had absconded to Calcutta. These three men suddenly disappeared from their native village in the Jessore District. The local Police obtained information that they were putting up in the house of Surruth Chandra Mukerjee at No. 61-2, Nimtollah 1st Lane who is the brother of the first accused. The Police obtained a warrant and assisted by Inspectors Mulcahy and Pandit, searched Surruth Chunder Mukerjee's house on the 4th instant but found that the three accused had again absconded. It was since ascertained that the accused left Calcutta on Monday night by the Goalundo mail but to which place they have now proceeded the Police were unable to discover. A thorough search was made in the room of Surruth Babu with the result that sundry letters, post cards and books were seized.

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NEWS.

PATIALA TRIAL.

The Special Tribunal, composed of Sardar Bhagwan Singh, Lalla Ramprasad and Khan Bahadur Fazil Matin, assembled to-day when the Patiala case was taken up. Mr. Grey resumed his address on behalf of the prosecution, the first couple of hours being spent in trying to prove that the Arya Samaj was a political body and politics was an integral part of their activities. He first dealt with the alleged foul epithets used by Swami Dyanand against all religions other than that of the Aryas. He quoted several passages against the Christian divinity and in this connection asked if it was surprising that the Arya had so many enemies as they complained Counsel quoted from Mr. Lajpat Rai's writing in his introduction to the "Life of Mazzini" to the effect that it was unnatural for the nation to remain under another nation. Foreign yoke was tolerated by people under very strong compulsion and if the English had not come to India it would not be surprising that the Hindus would have gained possession of all India. There had been no instance in the history of India when the Hindus had not drawn their swords to gain the independence. After quoting several other passages from the utterances of the prominent members of the Arya Samaj, Mr. Grey said that that was clear proof that the Arya Samaj was a political body.

On behalf of the members and sympathiser of the Arya Samaj of Rawalpindi, Mr. Hakumat Rai, Secretary of the Arya Samaj, Rawalpindi, has circulated the following disclaimer:—The Arya Samaj places it on record that the imputations and accusations embodied in the criminal complaint of Crown "versus" Jawala Parshad and others filed at Patiala and in the opening speech of Mr. Grey, Counsel for the prosecution in that case against the Arya Samaj in particular and entirely baseless and untrue. The Society was neither founded nor ever engaged nor was it ever conducted for the purpose of any political propaganda nor for the object of spreading disloyalty and disaffection in British India and the Native states as is alleged. On the other hand the Arya Samaj, which has always consisted of the loyal subjects of the British

Crown, was founded and has existed and has been managed and conducted solely for carrying on religious and social reform throughout this country and elsewhere. That a copy of this resolution be submitted to the Local Government through the Deputy Commissioner of the District and to the All-India Arya League and the provincial representative bodies of the Arya Samaj."

TRIAL OF KISHEN SINGHA.

In the trial of Kishen Singh, one of the accused in the Lahore sedition cases, who filed the names of important persons to be summoned as defence witnesses, the Court decided that a responsible Magistrate of Calcutta be commissioned to record the statements of Mr. Gokhale, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, a Poona Magistrate to examine Mr. Kelkar, a Madras Officer to take Mr. Natesan's deposition and a Bombay Magistrate to record the statement of the Editor of the "Indu Prakash." Directions were also sent to the District Magistrate of Rawalpindi to examine Mr. Alfred Nundy, and the Magistrate of Lucknow to record Mr. Ganga Parshad Varma's statement. These gentlemen are witnesses in the case against the book "Hindustan me Angrezi Hakumat" i. e. "British rule in India," which purports to be a translation of Mr. Jennings Bryan's articles on the administration of India.

The accused Lalchand further desired that the Bishop of Lahore be subpoenaed in order to give evidence in the case of the book "Bagi Messhi," i. e. "Christ in India." It was decided to issue a commission to send a Magistrate to record the statement of the Bishop of Lahore. The accused also wanted to subpoena the Chief Secretary to the Local Government and the Secretary to Government and the Secretary to Government of India to elicit further information and know whether his prosecution was based on the whole writing or on an extract. His prayer was refused.

Kishen Singh prayed also to subpoena Sir Pratap Chandra Chatterjee which was granted.

At this stage Mr. Petman, Government Advocate, produced a telegram

from Dr. Rashbehari Ghose saying that at the time of publication of the book "British Rule in India," he was not a member of the British Committee of the Congress.

Mr. Lajpat Rai in his first letter to Parmanand, after discussing internal matters of the Arya Samaj said, that he had practically retired from the Arya Samaj and did not take any active part in the Samaj or D. A. V. College. Next he referred to and said that the "Punjabee" case had brought about more change in the country which ten years of agitation could not have done, but students behaved most rudely. The European community was in panic. Lajpat Rai then said that since the Editor and Proprietor of the "Punjabee" had gone to jail, the responsibility of conducting the paper rested on him. He asked Parmanand to send him one book at least each month dealing with politics, no matter of what character. In the end Lajpat Rai asked Parmanand whether he had shifted from the India house of Shyamaji Krishna Varma, and if so, why he expressed a hope that good literature will be placed in the hand of our boys. He asked what was the effect of the "Punjabee" case in England and closed with compliments to Shyamaji Krishna Varma. In the second letter to Parmanand, Lajpat Rai said that the matter had gone from bad to worse; people were sullen and morose and even agricultural classes had begun agitating, but he was afraid lest the bursting out might be premature.

ANARCHICAL LETTERS AND PAMPHLET IN LAHORE.

It is stated that a number of letters dealing with anarchical crimes and incitements to violence have been received in Lahore by the last English Mail. These include a printed pamphlet of two sheets styled "Talwar" reawakened with a miniature picture of Madanlal Dhingra on it. The pamphlet is reported to have been printed on Berlin. The Government of India have already prescribed the paper from coming into India.

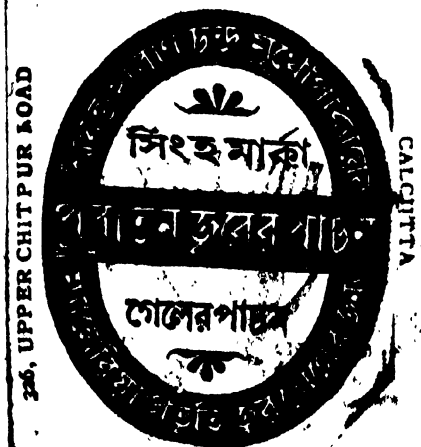
DACCA STABBING CASE.

Jogesh Rout and Surendra Majumdar, "alias" Bocha, accused in the Anantnagar case, have been discharged by the Additional Magistrate, the proceedings against two other accused arrested later being left at the disposal of the Crown.



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A COUNCIL OF THE RAILWAY POLICE
 (On the 6th January the Railway Police with the help of the local C. I. D. arrested one Sitanata Das a student of the second year class, Dacca College, in college premises, in presence of P. H. Archibald. The arrest was in connection with the Stripur running train dacoity case. The Binapani mess attached to the Dacca College where the above student lived was searched by the C. I. D. Inspector Atul Chandra and the Railway Police Sub-Inspector Haridas Bose, under the guidance of the senior Deputy Magistrate Mr. Girindra Banerjee, Mr. Archibald was present during the latter part of the search. Nothing was taken by the police except a copy of a diary of a boarder of the mess.

THE EDITOR OF THE "SAHAYAK."
 Munshiram Editor of the *Sahayak* newspaper, against whom an arrest warrant had been issued, surrendered himself before the Deputy Commissioner of Gurudaspur on the 4th instant. He was taken in custody and sent to Lahore.

AN ACCUSED ACQUITTED.

The Tilak newspaper, published at Hoshiarpur, was confiscated by Government some time back, and its Editor Bhagat Singh, got five years on two counts for possessing moulds to prepare counterfeit coins. The Chief Court acquitted the accused on Monday.

THE HEARING OF THE GOVERNMENT ADVOCATE'S CASE
 The hearing of the Government Advocate's case, was resumed before Mr. Harrison the Special Magistrate. A fresh case against Lalchand Falak, the accused, was taken up. The Government Advocate stated on oath, "I have been authorised by the Punjab Government to file a complaint against Lalchand. One Ajit Singh, now absconding compiled a book *Hindustan me Angrezai Hakumat* (British rule in India) and got it printed in the "Hindustan" steam press. The book was sold by Lalchand Falak and is an Urdu translation of a pamphlet entitled "British Rule in India" on whose cover it is mentioned that it was published by the London British Congress Committee and was a reprint from "India." Though Ajit Singh was mentioned as the writer of the book, was really written by Mr. Bryan, a candidate for the United States Presidency. British administration of justice had been brought into hatred in the book. It was prayed by the Government that Lalchand be prosecuted under section 124A.

Cross-examined by the accused the Government Advocate said that he did not know in the importation into India of American newspapers was prohibited. He had no knowledge about the "Sun" newspaper of America.

After recording some evidence, the Court framed charges against the accused to which the accused pleaded 'not guilty.'

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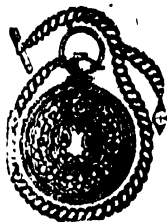
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বাবক মূল্য ২/৬

মাসিকের সুপ্রভাত।

এক কণের কোয়ার, কলিকাতা

KARMAYOGIN

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OF

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No. 29.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

Lajpatrai's Letters.

The case of Paramanand, the Arya Samaj teacher, whom with a singular pusillanimity the D. A. V. College authorities have dismissed before anything was proved against him, has been of more than usual interest because of the parade with which Lajpatrai's letters to him were brought forward. The letters were innocent enough on the face of them, but prejudice and suspicion were deliberately manufactured out of the connection with Krishnavarma, the expression "revolutionary" the use of the word "boys," and an anticipation of the agrarian outbreak in connection with the Punjab Government's ill-advised Land legislation. The bubble has been speedily pricked by the simple statement of facts in the *Punjabee* and by Lajpatrai's own evidence. That Lajpatrai was acquainted with Shyamji Krishnavarma when he was in England, was known already; so were many men who worked with him, Sir Henry Cotton among others, when he was only an enthusiastic Home Ruler and violently opposed to violence. The project of a Nationalist Society of India Society well equipped with a library and other appointments for political education was well advanced, and active in the same

country previous to the first deportations. The anticipation of the agrarian outbreak in the letter expresses an apprehension, not a desire, and merely shows that Lajpatrai was uneasy at the rate at which the discontent was swelling and feared that it might lead to an outbreak prematurely forestalling the use of a peaceful pressure on the Government. It is remarkable how throughout his career the honesty and consistency of Lala Lajpatrai's adherence to a peaceful but strenuous Nationalism has been vindicated at every step, and this last revelation of his private and even secret letters is an ordeal of fire out of which he has triumphantly emerged with his consistency and his innocence wholly established.

A Nervous Samaj.

It is with great regret that we find ourselves compelled to enlarge on the hint we gave in our last issue, and comment adversely on the methods by which the Arya Samaj is attempting to save itself from the displeasure of the Government. It is well that it should have disclaimed sedition and repudiated the charge of being not a religious but a political body. But to run nervously to all and sundry for a testimonial of respectability, to sue for a certificate of loyalty to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and express gratitude for an un-

gracious, ambiguous and minatory letter of reply, to prejudge by dismissal a man whose guilt has yet to be proved, are actions which show that Swami Dayananda's religion may have emancipated the intellects of the leading Samajists but has done little to elevate their character. We must also express our amazement at the action of the Samaj in accepting the resignation by Lala Lajpatrai of his offices on the various governing bodies of the Samaj. There are two men who are the glory of the Samaj and by whose adherence and prominence it commands the respect and admiration of all India, Lala Lajpatrai and Lala Munshiram. By its action with regard to the former, the Samaj will lose heavily, it has already lost heavily, in public estimation. In his generous anxiety for the body to which he has devoted the greater part of his life-work, Lala Lajpatrai offered to it the chance of freeing itself from the attacks its enemies founded upon his connection with it. It was an offer which he was bound to make, but the Samaj ought to have refused. Lajpatrai's only offence is that he has worked and suffered for his country. By its action the Samaj has announced to the whole world that no man must dare to feel and act, however blamelessly, for his country if he wishes to be recognised by the Samaj. If so, Aryaism will

perish from the face of India and leave no trace behind. The world has no use any longer for religious bodies which exclude courage, manliness, generosity, justice and patriotism from their moral practice. **The Banerji Vigilance Committees.**

The novel departure initiated by the fertile mind of Srijut Surendranath Banerji at Barrackpur in the creation of Vigilance Committees to check the nocturnal lovers of bomb and bullet practice on the E.B.S.R. has created great interest and amusement among his countrymen. There are many who are ungenerous enough to attribute this anti-Anarchical zeal less to loyalty and a noble "co-operative" instinct than to the fact that our great leader has himself to travel daily over the zone of danger. Even if it were so, the sneer is ungenerous. We all love our lives, we have all to travel occasionally by the E.B.S.R. in first or second class and we cannot ignore the fact that random bullets and explosive cocoanuts are not respecters of persons and, if they find the head even of a Nationalist leader in the way, will not be polite enough to walk round it. We shall all therefore be grateful to our old man eloquent, if he can ensure our common safety. But for ourselves, we do not see how he can effect his laudable object. It would be possible for Srijut Surendranath and the other estimable bourgeois of Barrackpur to patrol the railway at night, but the weather is still cold, sleep is pleasant, bullets and cocoanuts perilous missiles, and, if anything happens, the police are quite capable of suspecting and arresting the too vigilant patrons of the public peace. One might revive the "National Volunteers" for the purpose; but the Samities are disbanded, students forbidden to take part in politics or do anything that would interfere with their studies. They are not likely to be enthusiastic for this kind of volunteer work under these conditions. And, if such organizations were created, it would be more likely to alarm than gratify a suspicious and nervous Government which might see in it a disingenuous device for reviving the proclaimed Samities. The only other resource is for these novel vigilance men to turn detectives, discover the Terrorists and give information to the police, which

they can only do by becoming agent provocateurs and so worming themselves into the confidence of their quarry. That is, a kind of dirty work no Indian gentleman is likely to undertake even with the prospect of vindicating his loyalty, escaping house-searches and deportation and earning the encomiums of the *Englishman*.

Postal Precautions.

Sj. Aurobindo Ghose has recently received an anonymous letter giving him the momentous information that a certain Gopal Chandra Ray of the C. I. D. with several assistants is busy watching 6 College Square and the Post Office and copying all the letters and post-cards that come in his name without exception. Sj. Aurobindo has not the honour of the noble Gopal's acquaintance, nor is he even aware whether this gentleman has any corporeal existence. The letter may be a hoax; or it may be sent by one of the "assistants," weary to death of copying letters and post-cards and of the inelegant and uncomfortable business of an open air watch fanned by the breezes of Goldighi in this season. It does not matter to the gentleman honoured by these attentions whether the whole police force occupy Goldighi for inquisitorial purposes or whether numerous editions of his correspondence are turned out for the use of posterity by the disinterested labours of the C. I. D. Still, he has suggested to us certain proposals to be placed before the Government in this connection and we proceed to make them. In the first place, for the sake of humanity, a comfortable stall might be put up in the Square for the vigilant cow-keeper and his herd whence they could watch more happily and quite as effectively. Secondly, if the Government would kindly instruct the Post Office not to lose one-tenth of Aurobindo Babu's letters after copying them and delay the greater part of the others, there would probably be no harm done to the Empire. Thirdly, Sj. Aurobindo Ghose begs us to inform the authorities that he was never greatly in the habit of writing letters before and, after the exposure of his private correspondence with his friends and family by the prosecution in the Alipur case, he has almost dropped the practice, except in urgent matters of business.

It is possible, therefore, for this part of the investigation to be carried on very cheaply, and the Government must not be deceived by any representations on part of Gopal or others that a big staff is wanted. Further, we are instructed to inform all intending correspondents of the above-mentioned facts so that they may not be disturbed or anxious about Sj. Aurobindo's health if they get no answer to their letters. Secondly, it would be advisable for them, when writing to him, to forward a copy of the letter to the Secretary to the Bengal Government or to Mr. Denham of the C. I. D. Thirdly, if any one wishes to send by post specimens of bombs, revolvers, or anything explosive or picric, or plans and estimates for a conspiracy or insurrection great or small, he had better send it either by hand or through the editors of the *Statesman* or *Englishman*. No reply need be expected.

Detective Wiles.

While we are on this subject, we might suggest to the C. I. D. to train up a few spies and informers, send them for the completion of their education to France and then appoint them as teachers in the College in India. Just now they do their work very clumsily. We may instance the case of an Eurasian or European gentleman rejoicing in an Irish name or alias and a false address, who left his card on Sj. Aurobindo Ghose and then opened fire with a letter requesting the loan of a revolver, brand new and serviceable, without which the Irish gentleman could not live any longer. Neither is it a good opening for acquaintance to come for financial help to a man known to be himself the possessor of a very small income. To request advice how to serve the country or to become religious is a more plausible opening, but it ought to be followed up and sustained plausibly. Even the wearing of the saffron robe need not be a passport to effusive friendship, unless there is something behind, and not always even then. We may also refer to the romantic story of the Dead Letter Office return published the other day by Sj. Prabbaschandra Deb in the *Hitabadi*. This precious script was curiously enough addressed to Grey Street, without any number, in Prabhas Babu's handwriting.

and with his signature so exactly reproduced as to defy discrimination even by an expert. As both Prabhas Babu and the police are well aware that there is now no connection between Sj. Aurobindo and any number in Grey Street, it was obviously the writer's intention that it should go to the Dead Letter Office and from there to the C. I. D. Prabhas Babu's suggestion was not, as the *Hitabadi* reported, to send it to the Calcutta Police for inquiry, but to return it to the Dead Letter Office. Sj. Aurobindo preferred to consign it to the waste paper basket as a more fitting repository. We cannot imagine any earthly use for these clumsy devices. Even Mr. Norton would find it difficult to make anything of a forgery, however exact, more hopelessly suspicious even than the "sweets" letter.

THE NEW POLICY.

A policy of conciliation, a policy of trust in the people, a policy liberal, progressive, sure if slow,—that was the forecast made by the Moderate astrologers when the Reform comet sailed into our startled heavens. The prophets and augurs of the Anglo-Indian Press friendly to Moderate India—friendly on condition of our giving up all aspirations that go beyond the Reforms—prophesied high, loud and often to the same purpose, and if, like the Roman augurs, they winked and smiled mysteriously at each other when they met, the outside world was not supposed to know anything of their private opinions. Even the disillusionment caused by the publication of the Councils Rules has not prevented this party of wise and able politicians from supporting by participation the Reforms which they condemned, and belauding the intention of the Anglo-Indian reformers while swearing dismally and violently at their practice. Bad as it is, we must cooperate so as to make the best of the new measure. To make the best of a bad measure is to make it a success and so prevent or delay the coming of a better. This at least is our idea of the matter, but we belong to a party not of wise and able politicians who take the full profit

of that which they condemn as disastrous and injurious, but of men who have the misfortune still to believe in logic, principle and experience. To be logical is to be a mere theorist, to cling to principle is to be a doctrinaire and to be guided by experience, the world's and our own, is to be impractical. Only those whose theory is confused and practice self-contradictory and haphazard, can be wise politicians and capable of guiding the country aright. From this standpoint the proclamation of all India as seditious is, doubtless, the first step in the new policy, the policy of conciliation and liberalism. It is the sign-manual of the great reformer, Lord Morley, upon his work, the loud-tongued harbinger of the golden Age.

No particular motive can be alleged for this sudden proclamation, nor is any alleged. The people are left to speculate in the dark as to the mystic motives of Lords Minto and Morley in this remarkable step forward, or to get what light and comfort they can from the speculations of our Anglo-Indian friends and advisers, who seem to be as much in the dark as ourselves and can only profess their blind religious faith in the necessity and beneficence of the measure and appeal to all patriotic Indians to cooperate in coercing the national movement into silence. If India had been full of meetings of a seditious or doubtful nature, the necessity of the measure could have been established. Even if the national life were pulsating swiftly though blamelessly, its "aetiology",—if we may use a word which may possibly be condemned by Mr. Petman or Mr. Grey as seditious,—could have been understood, though not its necessity. But at present, with the exception of an occasional scantily attended meeting in the Calcutta squares, the only political meetings held are those in which abhorrence of Terrorism is expressed or Vigilance Committees of leading citizens organized to patrol the E.B.S.R. at night even in this chilly weather, and those in which the Deccan Sabha drinks deep of the political sermons and homilies of Lord Morley's personal friend, Mr. Gokhale. Was it to stop these that the proclamation of all India became necessary?

It has been freely alleged that the prevalence of bombs and Terrorism in Bombay, Panjab and Bengal is the justification of the measure, on the ground that open sedition leads to secret assassination, Nationalism to Terrorism. It is obvious that to attempt to meet secret conspiracy by prohibiting public agitation is a remedy open to the charge of absurdity. The secret conspirator rejoices in silence, the Terrorist find his opportunity in darkness. Is not the liberty of free speech and free writing denied to the Russian people by more rigorous penalties, a more effective espionage, a far more absolute police rule than any that can be attempted in India? Yet where do the bomb and the revolver, the Terrorist and the secret conspirator flourish more than in Russia? The conspirator has his own means of propaganda which the law finds it difficult to touch. The argument, however, is that it is only in an atmosphere of dissatisfaction, disaffection and sedition that the propaganda of the conspirator can be effective, and Nationalism creates that atmosphere. Criticism of the Government leads to dissatisfaction with the Government, dissatisfaction leads to the aspiration for a better form of Government, aspiration of this kind when balked leads to disaffection, disaffection leads to secret conspiracy and assassination. Therefore stop all means of criticising the Government and the first cause being removed, the final effect will disappear. That this is the actual train of reasoning, conscious or unconscious, in the minds of those who advise, initiate or approve a policy of repression is beyond doubt. It is evident in all they say or write.

Unfortunately the statement of the premises in this chain is incomplete and the conclusion is therefore vitiated. The first premise may be granted at once. In a country well satisfied with its lot, a nation at ease and aware of prosperity and progress, the propaganda of the secret conspirator must necessarily fail. In India itself, if we are to believe the *Times*, secret societies have existed for upwards of forty or fifty years. How is it that they had no success and no one was aware of their existence?

until the reaction after Lord Ripon's regime culminated in the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. Dissatisfaction is not created by public criticism, it is created by the adverse facts on which public criticism fastens, and it crystallises either in public criticism or in secret discontent. The public criticism creates public agitation, the secret discontent creates secret conspiracy. Both are born of the same circumstances, but the lines of development are entirely different, nor is there much sympathy between them. The public agitator dreads the secret conspirator the secret conspirator despises the public agitator, even when they are moving towards the same end. The man most detested and denounced by the Indian revolutionary organisations now active at Paris, Geneva and Berlin, is Sri Bipin Chandra Pal, the prophet and first preacher of passive resistance. Yet the object of both is almost identical, the Nationalist agitator insisting on perfect autonomy, the revolutionist on separation, both being merely different forms of independence. The question for the authorities is whether they will try to ignore or silence the public criticism or remove the cause of dissatisfaction. If they ignore without silencing public criticism, the dissatisfaction grows in volume until it becomes the aspiration for a better form of Government. They must then either satisfy that aspiration or silence it, they can no longer ignore it. This game of ignoring the obvious is, like the first crude attempt of Nationalism in India to ignore the Government, foredoomed to failure; it only postpones and intensifies the problem, it does not get rid of it. Yet this was the policy long followed by the Indian Government towards the Congress movement. On the other hand, they may silence the public criticism or trample on it. If they trample on it, the aspiration becomes dissatisfaction not necessarily to the sovereign, but to the form and system of Government then obtaining, with a cry for absolute transformation. This was what happened in India in 1905. Trampling on public opinion without silencing its expression is mere madness; it

leads to the genesis of great revolutionary movements, injures the Government, endangers public peace and order, and helps nobody. This method does not even postpone the necessity of a solution, it hastens it by intensifying the problem to breaking-point. Yet this was the policy of Lord Curzon. He not only permitted the expression of public discontent, but he fostered it by arguing with and trying to persuade it; yet he invariably trampled on the thing he permitted. It is statesmanship of this kind which ruins empires and destroys great nations. There is another kind of policy, and that is to play with the monster of discontent, to chide it, whip it and yet throw it sops while taking advantage of the monster's preoccupation with the sop to wind the chain round its neck tighter and tighter. This is also bad policy. The whip enrages, the sop does not soothe but irritates, the tightening of the chain only shortens the distance between the tamer and the brute;—for the difficulty is that, the tamer has to hold the chain, he cannot tie it to something else and get out of springing distance.

Eventually, either discontent has to be satisfied or silenced. If it is satisfied, the whole difficulty disappears and perfectly amicable relations are restored. That was the policy pursued by England with regard to its colonies after the severe lesson learned in America, with the result that the bond between the colonies and Great Britain still defies the efforts of Time and Circumstance to loosen or snap them. But if discontent is not to be satisfied, the question then for the ruler is whether he prefers it to crystallize in public agitation and peaceful but possibly effective resistance, or in secret conspiracy, terrorism and eventually armed insurrection. It must be one of the two, for to expect an immense impulse like the national impulse to sink to rest without being either crushed or satisfied, is to expect impossible miracles. The Anglo-Indian appeal to the political leaders to be satisfied and cease from agitation is a singularly foolish and futile one. If the political leaders were to comply, even the most popular and trusted of them, they would cease to be leaders the next day. The dwindling numbers that attend the Convention meetings are a signal proof of this very obvious fact; that diminution has been effected, it

must be remembered without public agitation, without any organisation or activity of the Nationalist party, by the mere operation of a law of Nature. The aspiration, however created, is there and it is a fire mounting out of the bowels of the earth, which no man's hand can extinguish. The political leaders know that they cannot quench it, if they would; the Government thinks it can. And the method it seems to favour, if the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and the prosecutions of papers and publications or their leaders all over India are any sign, is to silence public criticism.

If our view of the question is right, it is evident that to paralyse public agitation is to foster Terrorism, and we can only suppose that Government think Terrorism easier to deal with than public agitation. This seems to us a grievous error. If experience shows anything, it is that Terrorism is never extinguished except by the removal of its causes. The difference between Terrorism and open rebellion is that open rebellion often effects its object, but can easily be crushed, while Terrorism does not effect its object, but cannot be crushed. The only thing that Terrorism can do is to compel Government to satisfy partially the more moderate demands of peaceful agitation as the lesser of two evils, and this is a result which the Terrorist looks on with contempt. He is always extreme and fanatical and will not be satisfied with any thing less than immediate freedom gained by violence. He is confident of his result, he is passionately and intolerantly attached to his method. Irish Terrorism only disappeared because of the expectation of Home Rule by the alliance with British Liberalism; Russian Terrorism is still kept alive by the impotence of the Duma; Anarchism flourishes because the Governments of Europe have not found any way of circumventing it. Terrorism may perish of inanition; coercion is its food and its fuel.

The policy now being followed by Lord Minto's Government has neither immediate justification nor ultimate wisdom. It is the old futile round which reluctant authority has always trod when unable to reconcile itself to inevitable concession. It is a wasteful ruinous and futile process. For if the Government were to declare tomorrow that it would no longer tolerate public opposition and deport all the leaders of public and peaceful agitation in the country, it would only stimulate more formidable and unscrupulous forces and substitute a violent, dangerous and agonizing process for one which, even if a little painful, is helpful, economical and constructive.

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THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(By BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.)

III

Nationalism and Nationalists.

The Mazzinian Creed, upon which the whole philosophy of nationalism of the Young Italy School was based, may be briefly summed up as faith (1) in God, (2) in Law, (3) in Humanity, and (4) in Association. The French Revolution was essentially lacking in the sense of the Unseen. What is known as the God-idea found no place in the dominant thought of the French Illumination. While it tried in its own way to arrive at some sort of a social synthesis, seeking to discover a new principle of the social life, it almost entirely neglected the religious factor which had hitherto formed the basis of that life. To the authors of the French Revolution, religion meant a supernatural scripture and an infallible Pope, crippling and killing the freedom of thought and speculation of the individual; a priesthood, dominating the social and personal activities of the individual and oftentimes allied to the political autocracy on the one side, which denied the individual his rights of free citizenship, and with the aristocracy on the other, which kept him out of his legitimate share of the fruits of his own labour and his rightful participation in the general economic life of his country and nation. Swayed by the inevitable passions and prejudices of turbulent revolutionary times, they were almost physically incapacitated from differentiating the real from the mere formal elements of the religious life, and thereby discarding the current errors of that life without denying or destroying the eternal verities that underlie it and from association with which alone do even religious errors and superstitions derive their sanction and authority. Indeed, if anything, the authors of the French Revolution themselves, when they realised the need of a religious impulse to awaken and keep up the enthusiasm of the populace in the new order they

established in the country,—set up a travesty of the old and discarded religious forms and ceremonies, to symbolise the new faith and philosophy which they preached, and called the new cult the religion of humanity. Mazzini saw that neither pure individualism, nor humanitarianism, nor the two combined, one supplementing the other, can supply the basis of a rational synthesis. A synthesis means always the harmony of parts in a perfected whole. The conception of this perfected whole was practically wanting in the philosophy of the French Revolution. This was a fatal weakness, which really foredoomed the whole movement to failure, its lofty idealism notwithstanding. Mazzini fully recognised it. But the recognition of it did not drive him back to Catholicism, nor even to Christianity, as popularly understood; that would have meant a mere reaction. And a reaction is never a real synthesis, though it may help a synthesis by bringing out its need, and, perhaps, even to some extent indicating the fundamental lines along which it must be worked out. Mazzini did not go back to the old formulas and symbols of religion, but simply took up the eternal fact which they all tried to represent. That eternal fact of man's religious experience is expressed universally by the term God. In his conception of the Divine Unity, Mazzini sought and found the key to that higher synthesis which he proclaimed in Europe.

The gospel of the French Revolution had proclaimed one Law for all. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, are meaningless terms if there be no law. Law is the principle of association upon which all these are based. There can be neither liberty nor equality nor fraternity in real anarchism or a state of absolute lawlessness. But what is law? Law really means a relation, either actual or ideal. And a relation implies two or more factors of relation and a principle of relation which combines them, and, by so doing, makes the relation possible. This principle of relation must, on the

face of it, be such as will include all the different factors of the relation, but which shall not be confined to any of the particular factors, nor shall be exhausted by them all collectively. In other words, the principle of relation must necessarily be a universal principle, on its own plane, in the series of factors which it controls and relates to one another. If this series be an infinite series, then the principle of relation here must be an absolutely universal principle. The universe is infinite. Man stands in this universe in the midst of an infinitude of relations. The principle of relation which makes the Law of the universe and the Law of humanity, must, of necessity, be a Universal Principle. It is this Universal Principle, pervading this "congeries of relations" which we call the universe, holding together the infinite factors of this system of relations, and yet transcending them all, severally and collectively both,—the basis of their existence, the source of their law,—it is this which Mazzini called God. This conception of the Godhead followed, directly and as of necessity, from the idea of Law upon which the gospel of the French Revolution was based. Thus, in reply to the question—Whence come you? In whose name do you preach?—Mazzini said:—

"We come in the name of God and Humanity.

We believe in one God; the author of all existence; the absolute living Thought, of whom our world is a ray, the universe an incarnation."

And as if to indicate the basis of his theism, he next declared his conception of Law:—

"We believe in a general, immutable law: a law which constitutes our mode of existence; embraces the whole series of possible phenomena; exercises a continuous action upon the universe and all therein comprehended, both in its physical and moral aspect."

But law has no meaning unless there is an aim to be reached. No relation is really stationary. And

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the perpetually moving nature of phenomena can only be understood and rationally interpreted on the hypothesis of some far-off end towards which they are moving. Mazzini recognizes this end, and his conception of Humanity, as the progressive interpreter of the Law and its necessary end, is based directly upon this recognition.

As every law assumes an aim to be reached, we believe in the progressive development of the faculties and forces—faculties in action—of all living things towards that unknown aim. Were this not so, the law would be useless, and existence unintelligible.

But is this aim really unknown? There can be no rational assumption of that which is absolutely unknown. Of the unknown you cannot say that it is, you cannot say that it is not. To say that the aim which the law assumes, is absolutely unknown, is to make over the governance of the universe to the hands of blind Fate, in which, then, man with all his intelligence and conscience, can have possibly no conscious and rational participation. The aim being absolutely unknown, the value of the law which seeks that aim would also be absolutely undetermined, and as such it would have no rational or ethical claims upon our allegiance. This aim is, therefore, really not unknown, but only partially and progressively known; and to the extent it is known, it commands rational and willing acceptance. The fact really is that this "aim" is not absolutely unknown, but only progressively revealed in the course of cosmic evolution. And, though Mazzini here speaks of an "unknown aim," it is only the progressive character of its revelation which he means to indicate by the term unknown. And a Law such as this, continually reaching out to a progressively revealed aim, demands, necessarily, an ever-present and progressive interpreter. Who is to be this

Interpreter? Mazzini says—Humanity.

"Every law being interpreted and verified by its subject, we believe in Humanity,—the collective Being that sums up and comprehends the ascending series of organic creations; the most perfect manifestation of the thought of God upon our globe—as the sole interpreter of the law."

And like every other interpreter of laws, whether they be Popes interpreting the law of religion to Catholicism, or the Judiciary in our civilisation which interpret the civil Code in different countries, Humanity is also a progressive interpreter of the eternal Law of the universe. And Mazzini distinctly indicated the progressive character of this interpretation. This was, to him, the key of human progress and development.

We believe that harmony between the subject and the law being the condition of all normal existence, the known and immediate object of all endeavour is the establishment of this harmony in ever-increasing completeness and security, through the gradual discovery and comprehension of the law and identification of its subject with it.

But God, Law, and even Humanity, were not really terms of the new synthesis which Mazzini tried to work out. These are all, in some sense or other, what he would perhaps call "the terms of the anterior synthesis." The specifically new term of his own synthesis was Association. It was by this that he separated himself from the "epoch of exclusive individuality." It was in this that he found "a new basis to the principle of universal suffrage," and was, thus, able to elevate "the political question to the height of a philosophical conception."

Upon this, finally, he based his whole philosophy of Nationalism. In this declaration of faith, from which I have been quoting, he said:—

"We believe in Association, which is but the reduction to action of our faith in one sole God, and one sole aim,—as the only means we possess of realising the truth; as the method of progress; the path leading towards perfection. The highest possible degree of human progress will correspond to the discovery and application of the vastest possible formula of association."

And in what we would call the universal federation of humanity, but what Mazzini called the Holy Alliance of Peoples, he discovered this highest formula of association; and from this he deduced his creed of nationality. We believe, he declared,—

"in the Holy Alliance of Peoples as being the vastest formula of association possible in our epoch;—in the liberty and equality of the peoples, without which no true association can exist;—in nationality which is the conscience of the peoples, and which, by assigning to them their part in the work of association, their mission upon earth, that is to say, their individuality; without which neither liberty nor equality are possible;—in the sacred Fatherland, the cradle of nationality; altar and workshop of the individuals of which each people is composed. As liberty and equality are the fundamental principles of association, in the Holy Alliance of Peoples, so they are also in the secondary association of individuals composing the different peoples."

"As we believe in the liberty and equality of the peoples, so do we believe in the liberty and equality of the men (and he must have meant of the women also) of every people, and in the inviolability of the human Ego, which is the conscience of the individual and assigns to him his part in the secondary association; his function in the nation, his special mission of citizenship within the sphere of the Fatherland."

And as we believe in Humanity as the sole interpreter of the law of God, so do we believe in the people of every state as the sole master, sole sovereign, and sole interpreter of the law of Humanity, which governs every national mission. We believe in the people, one and indivisible; recognising neither castes nor privileges, save those of genius and virtue; neither proletariat nor aristocracy, whether

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landed or financial, but simply an aggregate of faculties and forces consecrated to the wellbeing of all; to the administration of the common substance and possession, the terrestrial globe. We believe in the people; one and independent; so organised as to harmonise the individual faculties with the social idea; living by the fruits of its own labour, united in seeking after the greatest possible amount of general wellbeing, and in respect for the rights of individuals.

This was Mazzini's message to his time. "God and his law; Humanity and its work of interpretation, progress, association, liberty, and equality; these with the dogma of the People"—formed the principal contents of his message. These are essentially the contents of our message also. The terms are practically the same, only they have, perhaps, a deeper meaning to us, especially of India, than what they had even to Mazzini. This does not take away, however, from the greatness of his genius or the grandeur of his vision; but only means that that progressive development of the race which he regarded as the very soul and essence of the Law that governed all living things, has not been arrested during the three quarters of a century which cover the period between 1835 and 1910.

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PATIALA SEDITION.

STATEMENT ON ARYA SAMAJ.

On the 11th of October the news was flashed across the wires that a large number of Arya Samajists had been suddenly arrested at Patiala on charges of sedition and seditious libel (i.e. of offences under sections 124A and 124B of the Indian Penal Code) and that their houses were being searched. The news convulsed the entire public of the Panjab with commotion. For several days it was impossible to say how far the sensational news which was going the round of the Press was correct, every paper published a story of its own, some Anglo-Indian papers fixed the number of arrests at several hundred others putting it below one hundred, some even saying that among those arrested were a large number of students, one or two Moslems and a few Sikhs. Similar discrepancies existed as to the origin (and causes) of these arrests and searches. All doubts were removed and all uncertainty was set at rest when an authentic account of the arrests appeared in the *Amrit*. It embodied the result of the enquiry of Mr. Roshan Lal, Bar-at-Law, who had been deputed by the friends of the principal accused to go to Patiala and ascertain the true facts. The net result of his enquiry, which may be accepted as true may be thus briefly summarised:—

1. That for sometime past it had been rumoured that the State Council was anxious to dispense with the services of Mr. Warburton, a retired officer of the Panjab Police who combined in his person the offices of the Inspector-General of Police, the Inspector-General of Prisons, and the District Magistrate of Patiala.

2. That Mr. Warburton had been suspecting the existence of sedition in territory of H. H. the Maharaja for some time past and had been engaged in pursuing the authorities to believe that his suspicions were not ill-founded.

3. On the 11th October and the following days 84 persons were arrested at Patiala and other important stations in the State. All Arya Samajists including Rai Jowah Prasad, Executive Engineer, President of the local Samaj, Lala Lachman Das, B.A., Secretary, Lala Nand Lal, Accountant, P. W. D., Lala Baij Nath, B.A., & T. Head Master of the State High School at Patiala and many other gentlemen of position and standing. Even the poem of the Samaj was arrested

and the Samaj *Mandir* was locked and placed under Police Guard.

4. That no intimation was given to the persons arrested of the nature of the charge against them except that sections 124A and 124B were mentioned in the warrants.

5. That the searches made were irregular and illegal in as much as they were conducted in utter disregard of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. It also came to light that they were not made on any clue as to the existence of incriminating matter in the houses of the accused but with the idea of finding out anything which could be proved to be incriminating. Cartloads of papers and books found in the houses were removed including books like the Bible and the Ramayana and photos of Swami Dayananda Saraswati.

A special Court was constituted by order of His Highness the Maharaja with the powers of a High Court to try these cases. When the Counsel for the accused appeared before the Special Court it was discovered that the orders of the Court, notwithstanding, no complaints had been lodged and no papers had been sent to the Special Tribunal. Mr. Warburton had acted in a manner which went to show that he had little regard either for the form of Law or for the authority of the Special Tribunal. Though Mr. Roshan Lal, the Counsel for the accused, approached Mr. Warburton armed with the written order of the Court, he was refused permission to see his clients on the strange and astounding plea that the investigation was still proceeding. One of the accused succeeded in obtaining an order from the Court for his release on bail. This Order was coolly disobeyed and the poor man was not released till the 22nd of November when the accused were brought to Court and the police applied for a further remand. It is interesting to note that Mr. Warburton, though he did not think much of acting in defiance of the express order of the Court in regard to the release of poor Chiranji Lal, released, on his own authority, one man Phul Chand on his personal recognisance.

The case came on for hearing on the 22nd of November. The police produced in Court cartloads of "seditious literature" including copies of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bible and works of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. No complaint was produced and it was even admitted that there was nothing on the file. The police applied for a remand. The Court adjourned the hearing of the case to the 25th of November when Mr. Grey appeared on behalf of the prosecution. Even on that day no complaint was lodged. The accused were not brought to Court and the judges as well as pleaders for the accused were kept waiting long for Mr. Grey who was cloaked with the Maharaja. After an hour's waiting an order was received from His Highness summoning the Judges to his presence. The Judges returned after an hour and a half and the

case was taken up. The Counsel for the accused insisted upon the sanction and the complaint being put in before the case could proceed. Mr. Grey opposed the demand on the curious plea that the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Court did not apply to the State wholly and that the "Maharaja was the law there." The Court overruled Mr. Grey's objection and he promised to prepare the complaint. The question of remand was then taken up. The Counsel for the accused opposed the application on the ground that it was unfair to keep the accused in custody when there was not the slightest evidence of their guilt before the Court. The question of bail was also taken up. The Defence Counsel pointed out that there were no reasonable grounds for believing that the accused had committed an offence. The Court promised to pass orders on the next day. In spite of the assurances of the police in open court that no difficulties would be placed in the way of the Counsel seeing their clients the Superintendent did not accord the permission. A written application was submitted to the Court complaining of this. On this the Court reiterated its order. Eventually the application for bail was refused and the police got another remand. The next hearing of the case was fixed for the 13th of December, 1909. On the first of December, the Maharaja issued an order that no pleaders not enrolled in the State could be permitted to appear for the defence unless they had previously obtained the permission of His Highness and that those permitted to appear would have to submit to all conditions and restrictions as to the length of examination, cross-examination and final speeches that the Court might think fit to impose. The case came on for hearing on the 15th. The complaint was produced. The majority of the accused were charged with being members of the Arya Samaj and the rest with being sympathisers thereof. It was alleged that the meetings of the Samaj were used for discussion of seditious subjects and the spreading of sedition. It was further alleged that the accused, with others, had conspired to deprive the King-Emperor of the sovereignty of British India. They were charged under sections 121A, 124A, 153A, and 505. Mr. Grey objected that the Counsel for the accused (who had been appearing since the case began with the permission of the Court) could not appear unless they had obtained the permission of the Maharaja to do so. The Court ruled that the order of the Maharaja could not have retrospective effect. Grey persisted in his demand even after the decision of the Court had been given. At this the Court said that their orders would be adhered to. The sanction was put in and it was argued on behalf of the prosecution that no written sanction was necessary as long as the Court was satisfied that the prosecution had been launched with the sanction of His Highness.

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Mr. Grey further said that he had in his possession a file containing the sanction but he was not prepared to put it in as it was a confidential document. On the Court's expressing an opinion unfavourable to Mr. Grey he held out a threat that in that case he would ask for adjournment in order to appeal to the Maharaja. On the 18th too the sanction and the list of witnesses were not submitted. When the list of accused submitted with the complaint was verified it was found that five of the accused were absent and eight persons were under custody whose names were not in the list. One of these eight had been illegally confined in a solitary cell for twenty-two days. Some of the accused complained of illegal treatment. On the 17th Mr. Grey contended that the Court had no jurisdiction over those 8 persons although, as a matter of fact, the prosecution had obtained remand after remand for their custody from that very Court. Mr. Grey then opened the case for the prosecution. He said that he would produce indirect evidence from which the Court would have to presume and draw inferences. He arrested that the Samaj worked on the lines of a conspiracy and was a seditious body. The "Sattiyarath Prakash" contained passages in which the founders of other religions were foully attacked. The *Review of Religions*, a Mahomedan and virulently anti-Aryan Magazine, was cited as an authority. The religion of the Samaj was based on abuse and the Samaj was, therefore, guilty under Section 153A. The perusal of Mr. Grey's speech leads one to the conclusion that there is no incriminating evidence against the accused and that their sole offence is that they

are Aryas by faith and are zealous in spreading the doctrines of the Vedic Religion and criticising other faiths. Mr. Grey was asked by the Court to furnish an abstract of the police report together with a list of witnesses. On the 18th he urged once again that the production of the police report would be prejudicial to the prosecution. The hearing of the case was postponed till the 3rd of January. So the accused have been in custody for about 3 months without the prosecution having filed the necessary sanction for all the accused and without their being told specifically anything about the crimes of which they are suspected. The anxiety of the prosecution to hamper the accused in their defence at every step and in every possible way is evident.

THREATENING MAHARAJA.

The Maharajah of Patiala by the last mail received a letter from Paris signed "Bande Mataram," stigmatising his rule as "tyrannical" and threatening swift and sure reprisal should he persist in such rule.

A Dacca Arrest.

The arrest of Indrada Charan Gupta, an employee of the Nawab, was in connection with a conspiracy to assassinate the Nawab. This rumour was based on the many rambling statements Indrada Charan had made before the police. He said that he knew of the existence of many secret societies and their work which, however, he could not localise or identify. The man seems to be an imbecile. He was arrested on charges of theft that had recently occurred in the Nawab's household.

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SEDITIONS MEETINGS ACT. THE FOLLOWING APPEAR IN THE INDIA GAZETTE.

In pursuance of section I sub section (2) of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (VI of 1907), the Governor-General in Council pleased to notify that the said Act shall have operation in—

The Presidency of Madras,
The Presidency of Bombay,
The Province of Bengal,
The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh,
The Province of the Punjab,
The Central Provinces.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section I, sub-section (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908), the Governor-General in Council is pleased to extend the whole of the said Act to the Presidency of Madras, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces.

In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to apply sections 1 to 7 of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1907 (VI of 1907) to Berar, and to declare that the said sections of the said Act shall have operation throughout Berar.

Provided that for the purpose of facilitating the application of the provisions of the said Act, any Court having jurisdiction within Berar may construe them with such alteration not affecting the substance as may be necessary or proper to adapt them to the matter before the Court.

In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1902 the Governor-General in Council is pleased to apply the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 (XIV of 1908) to Berar, and declare that the said Act shall have operation throughout Berar.

Provided that all references to the "Local Government" and to the "High Court" in the said Act shall be construed as referring to the Chief Commissioner and the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces respectively.

THE TEXT.

Whereas it is expedient to make a better provision for the prevention of meetings likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act 1907.

(2) It is extended to the whole of British India but shall only have operation in such provinces as the Governor-General in Council may, from time to time, notify in the *Gazette of India*.

2. (1) The Local Government may by notification in the official *Gazette*, declare the whole or any part of a Province, in which this Act, is for the time being, in operation, to be a proclaimed area.

(2) A notification made under sub-section (1) shall not remain in force for more than six months; but nothing in this sub-section shall be deemed to prevent the Local Government from making further notifications in respect of the same area from time to time as it may think fit.

3. (1) In this Act the expression "public meeting" means a meeting which is open to the public or any class or portion of the public and at which any subject likely to cause disturbance or ill-feeling or any political subject is discussed by one or more of those present or any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject is exhibited or distributed;

(2) A meeting may be public meeting notwithstanding that it is held in a private place and notwithstanding that admission thereto may have been restricted by ticket or otherwise.

(3) A meeting of more than twenty persons shall be presumed to be a public meeting within the meaning of this Act until the contrary is proved.

4. (1) No public meeting for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement or of any political subject or for the exhibition or distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject shall be held in any proclaimed area (Ordinance of No 1, 1907.)

(a) Unless written notice of the intention to hold such meeting and of the time and place of such meeting has been given to the District Superintendent of police or the Commissioner of Police, as the case may be, at least seven days previously, or.

(b) Unless permission to hold such meeting has been obtained in writing from the District Superintendent of Police or the Commissioner of Police as the case may be.

(2) Any officer of Police not below the rank of an Inspector may by order in writing depute one or more police officers or other persons to attend any such meeting for the purpose of causing a report to be taken of the proceedings.

5. The District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police, as the case may be

may, at any time, by order in writing of which public notice shall forthwith be given to prohibit any public meeting in a proclaimed area, if in his opinion, such meeting is likely to promote sedition or disaffection or to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity.

6. (1) Any person concerned in the promotion or conduct of a public meeting held in a proclaimed area, contrary to the provisions of section 4, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine, or with both.

(2) Any meeting which has been prohibited under section 5 shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly within the meaning of Chapter 8 of the Indian Penal Code and of Chapter 9 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898.

7. Whoever in a proclaimed area, in a public place, or a place of public resort, otherwise than at a public meeting held in accordance with or exempted from, the provision of section 4, without the permission in writing of the Magistrate of the District or of the Commissioner of Police, as the case may be previously obtained, delivers any lecture, address or speech on any subject, likely to cause disturbance or ill-feeling or on any political subject to persons then present, may be arrested without warrant and shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both.

8. (1) The regulation of the Meetings Ordinance 1907 is hereby superseded.

(2) Nothing contained in this Act shall affect the previous operation of the said Ordinance or anything duly done or suffered thereunder or any obligation or liabilities incurred under the said Ordinance or any punishment incurred in respect of any offence committed against the said Ordinance, or any investigation or legal proceeding may be instituted or continued and any such punishment may be imposed as if the said Ordinance had not been superseded or had not expired.

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TARANATH ROY CHOWDHURY. CASE AGAIN ADJOURNED.

In the Court of Mr. Swinhoe, Officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate, Taranath Roy Chowdhury, of Rajah's Lane, was placed again on his trial under the Arms Act for possessing revolvers and ammunition without license.

About a year ago the house of the accused was searched by the Calcutta police on a warrant, and a box containing the weapons and ammunition was discovered. The accused had, however, been expelled. A search was instituted, and he was eventually traced to Benares, where he was arrested a week or two ago.

Babu Taraknath Sadhu who appeared for the prosecution, said he was not ready to proceed with the case as the Alipore Bomb case record had not yet been received by him. He accordingly applied for an adjournment, which was granted.

At this stage, Mr. N. Sen, Barristers-at-law, intimated to the Magistrate that he wanted to have an interview with the accused, his client, in order to receive instructions from him.

Chief Court Inspector Mukerjee submitted that according to the jail rules, the interview should take place in the presence of a police officer, and that he had sent for a C. I. D. inspector for the purpose.

Mr. Sen: Of course your Honor, a C. I. D. officer might be present at a certain distance but I cannot take private instructions from my client in the presence of an officer who is instructing the prosecution I should like to keep my defence a secret at this stage.

Mr. Mukerjee: But according to the jail rules, an interview must always take place in the presence of the jail jemadar and the principle applies here.

Mr. Sen: When the accused is before your Honor, he is entirely at the discretion of the Court. The jail rules are, therefore, not applicable now. Besides, your Honor has had sufficient experience as to how my case could be affected if I take my instructions in the presence of a police officer. I am even ready to have the interview in the Court room instead of in the lock-up.

The Magistrate: Of course the interview cannot take place within the hearing of a police officer. He must be at a reasonable distance.

Mr. Sen was granted permission to have an interview in the Court lock-up, and the case was adjourned to the 26th instant.

NEWS.

INDIAN REFORM.

The "Pioneer's" London correspondent wires: "Lord Cromer, addressing the Classical Association on Ancient and Modern Imperialism, compared the achievements of Roman imperialism with our work in India and Egypt. Whatever impoverishment India had suffered, he said we had done more good than bad and our Government was inspired by beneficent intentions, such as never influenced the policy either of the Roman imperialists or of the indigenous Asiatic rulers. It was useless to hazard conjectures as to the consequences of the recent experiments in India. He was disposed to agree that our duty lay in a reasonable development of self-governing principles. The consequences might include serious difficulty in governing India, but he altogether rejected the extreme consequence of a withdrawal from the country."

TRANSVAL INDIANS.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, representatives of the Transval Indians took the platform last night on the 18th instant at the Town Hall Agia and addressed a crowded meeting on the subject of the grievances of the Indians in the Transval. Mr. Polak made a fervid appeal for subscriptions and urged his hearers to come forward and render assistance and support to their compatriots in the Transval. On a list being handed round nearly Rs. 1,000 was subscribed on the spot. Mr. Alay Naba, member of the Provincial Council and Mr. Narayan, Peshwa Asthana Vakil and Municipal Commissioner, were among the speakers.

Before the meeting broke up, a resolution condemning the dastardly murder of Mr. Jackson, Magistrate and Collector of Nasik, was adopted.

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"For some time past your petitioners have felt the need for, and have been desirous of, establishing a new university in India having a field of activity of a distinctive character from the existing universities, and possessing special features of its own. The most marked speciality of the proposed university will lie in the fact that it will affiliate no college in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of education given. It will make no distinctions between religions, accepting equally Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi, Christian and Mahomedan, but it will not affiliate any secular institution. It will thus supply a gap in the educational system of India, and will draw together all the elements which regard the training of youth in honour and virtue as the most essential part of education. It will be a nursery of good citizens instead of a mint for half-made men, a standard of knowledge. The most important speciality will be the placing in the first bank of Indian philosophy, history, and literature, and seeking in these, and in the classical languages of India the chief means of culture. While Western thought will be amply studied, Eastern will take the lead, and Western knowledge will be used to enrich, but not to destroy or cripple, the expanding national life. A third that and important speciality will be the paying of special attention to manual and technical training to science, applied to agriculture and manufactures, and to Indian arts and crafts, so as to revive these now decaying industries, while bringing from the West all that can usefully be assimilated for the increasing of national prosperity. The interests of education in India will be greatly advanced by the proposed undertaking, and the success of the said undertaking will be greatly promoted.

Mrs. Beasant is the only European member on the Board of Trustees of the proposed university, all the rest being Indians.

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NEWS.

A LADY ZEMINDAR'S CASE.

A Dacca correspondent telegraphs that in the dacoity case in which Sreenati Anandamoyee Chaudhurnai, a lady zemindar charged a number of persons, including some pleaders, with breaking into her house, assaulting her and carrying away over a lakh worth of jewellery and cash, the Deputy Magistrate has issued summons against five of the accused, but refused process against the pleaders.

SIR GEORGE CLARKE.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay arrived at Rajkot at 5 p.m. and was received by the Agent to the Governor who introduced the chiefs of the Province.

His Highness, the Jain of Janmagar read an address on behalf of the Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the propaganda of sedition which led to the attempt on the Viceroy's life at Ahmedabad and the foul crime at Nasik and stated that the infection of disaffection had been kept out of Kathiawar Province. His Excellency in the course of his reply said: "The difficulties and responsibilities of Government do not tend to diminish and the recent foul crimes, which you and I deplore, might well discourage all who are devoting their lives in a spirit of true sympathy to promoting the progress and well-being of the people of India. We shall not regard them in this light and while we keenly feel the disgrace which has been brought upon our Presidency by the murder, by enemies of the human race, we shall go straight on undeterred and undaunted in the discharge of our duties, believing that we have the support of every true man from prince to peasant in this country. Sedition in the form of prevailing race hatred is not likely to reach the masses of the people in Kathiawar. In its other form, that of seeking to undermine all lawful authority it may find a way into this province if it cannot be checked in time. Should this be, the Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawar will know how to deal with it and will as in the past show their devoted loyalty to the throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor and to British power with which as you justly say your destinies are lastingly intertwined and under the guardianship of which your peaceful onward progress is assured."

LAHORE SEDITION CASE.

In the joint trial of Lal Chand and Kishen Singh, accused filed a list of defence witnesses from outside the Punjab. The Government Advocate, Mr. Petman objected to some of the questions written out by the accused for examination of witnesses who are to be examined by commission. Counsel objected to questions 9 and 11 put to Dr. Rashbehari Ghose. He said, individual opinion could not be relevant. There are Moderates, Extremists and men of all sects in this country. The Court struck out the question 9 and the wording of question 11 was changed. Counsel objected to question 13 put to Mr. Gokhale and it was altered. Counsel also objected to the question about opinion of Sir G. Clarke about the "Servants of India Society Library." This was allowed after a verbal alteration.

Sheik Ghulam Kadir Fashi examined by the accused Lal Chand, said that he translated the "Mysteries of the Court of London" into Urdu and sold the translation for six or 7 years. In 1829 he was warned by the Local Government through the Deputy Commissioner, Shikot and all the copies of the book he had were confiscated. He also admitted that about two years ago Naryan Das, another publisher, who translated Hindman's speech was ordered to make over all copies to Govt.

THE CASE AGAINST LAL CHAND.

At the hearing of the case against Lal Chand for publishing a book "Government service" the accused stated he did not wish to cross-examine the Government Translator, nor did he like to put in any defence. He prayed the Court to destroy all copies of the book he had published and discharge him after he had apologised. The Court recorded the statement of the accused.

LALA LAJPAT RAI.

Lala Lajpat Rai has resigned his membership in the D. A. V. College Managing Committee in the Antarang Sabha of the Arya Samaj and in the Arapratinidhi Sabha of Arya Samaj, and all his resignations have been accepted.

BHAI PARAMANANDA AND D. A. V. COLLEGE.

A meeting of the D. A. V. College Managing Committee held on 13th January it was resolved that in continuation of the resolution, dated 11th November, 1906, suspending Phai Paramananda, his services be dispensed with as a criminal prosecution under section 110 (F) C. P. C. has instituted against him.

REFORM AND MALARIA.

Professor Ronald Ross writes to the press supporting Sir H. Risley's suggestion, that the new Council should be utilised for generalising as he calls it, the proposed anti-malarial measures through out India. He says he has been asked by Sir H. Risley call necessary attention to the proposal and quotes lengthily from the paper read by the Home Member of Council at the Simla Conference.

THE DEPORTATIONS.

The master of Elibank, in his speech at Wallyford in Midlothian, replying to a question with regard to the Indian deportations, said he accepted full responsibility for the action of the Indian Government in exceptional circumstances, but he could not add to the statements made in the House of Commons in vindication of the Government. The subject was engaging the constant earnest attention of Lord Morley, who was a humane statesman.

REVOLVER AND CARTRIDGES FOUND.

In connection with the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik it might be remembered that amongst those arrested in Bombay on suspicion of being implicated in the conspiracy for murder is one Chaturbhuj Javerbhai, Ameen Pattidar of Nadiad who was arrested in his house in the fort a few days ago. Inspector Naonji of the Criminal Investigation Department, under orders from Mr. Guider who is in charge, of investigations, went to Virsad town in Borad Taluka, the native place of Chaturbhuj, and searched his house when one automatic revolver of Browning pattern and two cartridges were found concealed under the eaves of the roof. They were seized by the Inspector.

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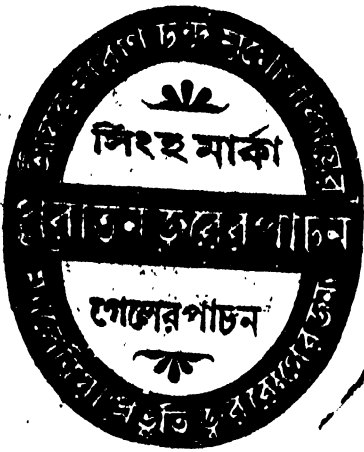
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NEWS.

THE TRANSVAAL INDIANS.

The text of the resolutions passed at a public meeting under the presidency of Mr. B. Cowasji, Barrister, protesting against the treatment of Asiatics in the Transvaal and asking to relax efforts to secure the fulfilment of pledge bequeathed by Her Most Gracious Majesty the late Queen and to disallow recruitment of Indian coolies for service in Natal, was submitted to the Viceroy. A reply has now been received from the Government of India that their attention has been drawn to the matter and that they are using their best endeavours to obtain sympathetic treatment for British Indian subjects in the colony.

THE "AKASH" SEDITION CASE.

The sedition case against Goneshi Lal, editor, printer and publisher of the newspaper the "Akash", was taken up on the 11th January by Mr. Harrison, the Special Magistrate. The accused offered an apology, which was accepted by the Court, subject to the production of one surety of rupees one thousand. The following are the wordings of the apology: "I beg to express my deep regret for having written and published a seditious poem entitled "Bharat Mata ki farayad" in the issue of my newspaper, the "Akash" dated 4th November, 1900, and for other articles, published from time to time in the "Akash" which I know to be seditious, objectionable. I humbly apologize to Government for publishing these articles and beg for forgiveness, and I hereby solemnly undertake not to write or publish any seditious matter in future."

GOORKHAS AT DACCA.

On the 11th instant in an ordinary ticca ghari, two girls of a very respectable zamindar's family were proceeding to the Eden Female School with their ayah. The driver seems to have displeased a detachment of six Goorkhas who were going to the Bank of Bengal, on which the latter first fell upon the driver, belabouring him with the butts of their guns. After this the Goorkhas fell upon the carriage and smashed one of the windows of the ghari. A crowd gathered, but none of them dared to intervene except Babu Satish Chandra Ghosh, late Accountant of the Nowah. He was very roughly handled. The girls were so much frightened they had to be escorted by Satish Babu to the Eden Female School in another ghari.

TOBACCO.

Experiments in the cultivation and curing of tobacco, which are in progress in Bengal, Madras and in part of Bombay Presidency have yielded some encouraging results. Among foreign varieties, Zimmer's Spanish has been found to give the best result at Pusa and Dalsing Serai, Tirhoot, both in point of quality and quantity. It is a plant which appears in every way suited to the soil and climate of Behar, and possibly to other parts of India. The variety is very much appreciated by the cultivators in Behar. Much work, however, remains to be done with regard to the indigenous varieties. Locally grown manufactured tobacco would probably take the place of imported tobacco, if proper methods of cultivation and curing were practised. But the many difficult problems connected with cultivation and curing yet remain to be solved. The Eastern Bengal and Assam Department has undertaken the study of these problems at Rungpur. The scheme of experiments proposed for this firm is based on enquiries made in the tobacco growing districts of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The results are, therefore, likely to be of substantial benefit to the ryots. A new curing house has been erected at Nadiad in Northern Gujrat from funds given by the Inspector-General of Agriculture in India, and was used for the first time last year. The leaf cured in the new bran was sent for valuation to the State Tobacco Co. of Bombay who declared it suitable for the purposes now served by imported leaf. The best sample was valued at annas per lb., when the value of country cured tobacco was 1 to 1½ annas. The advantages of deep ploughing for tobacco have been fully demonstrated at this station. Manurial experiments have shown that castor cake (90000lb.) with farm yard manure at the rate of 10 tons per acre gives a substantial net profit. This fact is of special interest in Northern Gujrat, because castor cake is largely manufactured at the Sabarmati mills near Ahmedabad. The effect of these manures was considerably enhanced by deep cultivation. Burma, arrangements have been made to experiment with American varieties and to introduce new methods in the experiments. In Madras Messrs. Spencer and Co. of Dindigul, are continuing experiments to determine whether good wrapper leaf can be obtained from Indian growth tobacco. Dr. Butler and Mr. Lefroy have made progress in investigations regarding the fungoid and insect pests which affect this crop. Mr. Howard hopes soon to complete the botanical survey of Indian tobaccos.

DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES.

Mr. C. W. F. Cotton, Acting Director, Department of Industries, having submitted the annual report to Government, the latter have passed order thereon and consider that there was satisfactory progress in every branch of the work under control of the Director. Referring to the remarks in paragraph 14 of the report the Government observe that it is not desired to obtain "a dividend-paying profit" from the Sembiam factory. The original object with which that factory was established was to demonstrate the possibility of successful carrying on in this presidency on commercial lines, of chrome tanning process in order both to assist the agricultural industry of the country and to avoid semblance of competition with private concerns. The manufacture of coarse leather was undertaken and making of shoes and boots arose in consequence of the difficulty of disposing of leather cutting not utilisable in the making of water-buckets, but Government have ordered that this branch of work should be closed as soon as possible and the work of the department restricted to manufacture of water buckets and making of sandals for sale to Government departments. The Director's attention has been drawn to the matter and he is requested to report when effect will be given to the wishes of Government on this subject. The Government agree with Mr. Cotton as to the useful results which might follow from the development of Co-operative Credit Societies for weaving and desire that the Director will in communication with the Registrar of the Co-Operative Credit Societies endeavour to take practical action to start such societies on a sound basis. The work done by the department in the promotion of pumping installations and well improvement is of great importance and Government trust that it is being pushed on by the current year.

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NEWS

INDUSTRIAL SURVEY.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in Council has had under consideration the question of instituting an industrial survey of the Presidency and has examined measures recently initiated in the other provinces in India for studying the industrial position and possibilities of those areas. The first industry selected for survey was the handloom industry of the Presidency and Mr. P. N. Mehta, a recent holder of Government of India's Scholarship for the study of textile industry in England, was selected for it. The Government have now decided to institute a survey of the leather industry of the Presidency. No expert with sufficient knowledge of industry being available in the Presidency the Governor-in-Council has selected a Mr. Guthrie, who besides having studied the chemistry of tanning at Leeds had seven years' experience of all the branches of leather industry in India. Mr. Guthrie will be employed for a term of six months from the beginning of January 1910. He is asked to report on several points. In particular the following points should be fully dealt with: (1) supply of hides and skins and conditions in which they reach the tanner; (2) tanning processes at present practised both in large establishments and at small works; (3) disposal of leather by tanners; (4) manufacture of leather goods; (5) economic condition of workers at all stages of the various processes.

TRANSAVAL INDIAN FUND.

The Transvaal Indian fund has amounted to Rs. 47,562.

H.H. the Aga Khan has contributed rupees 4,000 to the Transvaal Fund. In a letter to Mr. Gokhale accepting an invitation to join the Transvaal Committee and enclosing his subscription, His Highness says: I feel that this is one of the most urgent problems before us and sincerely hope that all classes in this country will readily come forward to give their assistance and support to our compatriots in the Transvaal. The Fund has reached the total of Rs. 48,562.

ENHANCEMENT OF LAND RENTS.

A few days ago, the Court of Wards Manager issued a notice to the merchants to the effect that the rent of *Chandina Karsak* lands should be enhanced according to the commercial advantages. On Saturday, the Magistrate and Collector came and held a Durbar here. On Sunday he called the merchants in connection with the proposed enhancement and asked them to consent to the proposal in order to save the encumbered estate of the Bhukailash Rajas, as a token of their high regard for them. The merchants, in a body, objected to the enhancement, on the ground that they had already been overtaxed. Babu Basik Lal Pal said and Babu Pulin Behari Roy supported that they might try to raise subscriptions to help their Raja's encumbered estate, but could not consent to the proposal. The merchants contended that the proposal was inconsistent with law.

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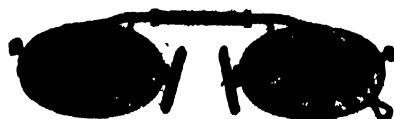
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Vol. I.

16th Magh 1316.

No. 30.

FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The High Court Assassination.

The startling assassination of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alam on Monday in the precincts of the High Court, publicly, in daylight, under the eyes of many and in a crowded building, breaks the silence which had settled on the country, in a fashion which all will deplore. The deceased officer was perhaps the ablest, most energetic and most zealous member of the Bengal detective force. It was his misfortune that he took the leading part not only in the Alipur Bomb Case in which he zealously and untiringly assisted the Crown solicitors, but in the investigation of the Haldubari and Netra dacoities. The nature of his duties exposed him to the resentment of the small Terrorist bodies whose continued existence in Bengal is proved by this last daring and reckless crime. Under such circumstances a man carries his life in his hand and it seems only a matter of time when it will be struck from him. We have no doubt that the Government will suitably recognise his services by a handsome provision for his family. As for the crime itself, it is one of the ugliest of the many bold acts of violence for which the Terrorists have been responsible. It is a crime which will surely bring home to the people the fact that the

perpetrators of these deplorable outrages are dastards and cowards; for, if it were so, Terrorism would be a thing to be abhorred, but not feared. On the contrary, the Indian Terrorist seems to be usually a man fanatical in his determination and daring, to prefer public places and crowded buildings for his field and to scorn secrecy and a fair chance of escape. It is this remarkable feature which has distinguished alike the crimes at Nasik, London, Calcutta, to say nothing of the assassination of Gosain in jail. With such men it is difficult to deal. Neither fear nor reasoning, disapprobation nor isolation can have any effect on them. Nor will the Government of this country allow us to use what we believe to be the only effective means of combating the spread of the virus among the people. All we can do is to sit with folded hands and listen to the senseless oburgations of the Anglo-Indian Press, waiting for a time when the peaceful expression and organisation of our national aspirations will no longer be penalised. It is then that Terrorism will vanish from the country and the nightmare be as if it never had been.

Anglo-Indian Prescriptions.

The Anglo-Indian papers publish their usual senseless prescriptions for the cure of the evil. The *Englishman* informs us that it is at

last tired of these outrages and asks in a tone full of genuine weariness when the Government will take the steps which Haro Street has always been advising. It seems to us that the Government have gone fairly far in that direction. The only remaining steps are to silence the Press entirely, abolish the necessity of investigation and trial and deport every public man in India. And when by removing everything and everyone that still encourages the people to persevere in peaceful political agitation, Russia has been reproduced in India and all is hushed except the noise of the endless duel between the omnipotent policeman and the secret assassin, the *Englishman* will be satisfied,—but the country will not be at peace. The *Indian Daily News* more sensibly suggests police activity in detecting secret organisations,—although its remarks would have sounded better without an implicit prejudgment of the Nasik case. If the police were to employ the sound detective methods employed in England and France, it would take them a little longer to effect a coup, but there would be some chance of real success. It is not by indiscriminate arrests, harassing house-searches undertaken on the word of informers and so much for each piece of information true or false, and interminable detention of undertrial

prisoners in jail that these formidable secret societies will be uprooted. Such processes are more likely to swell their numbers and add to their strength. The *Statesman* is particularly wroth with the people of this country for their objection to police methods and goes so far as to lay the blame for the murder of Shamsul-Alam on these objections. If we had only submitted cheerfully to police harassment, all this would not have happened! The bitter ineptitude of our contemporary grows daily more pronounced and takes more and more refuge in ridiculously inconsequent arguments. Is it the objectionable methods or our objections to them that are to blame? We may safely say that, whatever influences may have been at work in the mind of the assassin, the occasional criticisms of vexatious house-search in the Bengali journals had nothing to do with his action. The *Statesman* does not scruple, like other Anglo-Indian papers, to question the sincerity of the condemnations of Terrorist outrage which are now-a-days universal throughout the country, and to support its insinuations it has to go so far back as the Gosain murder and the demonstrations that followed it. Those demonstrations were not an approval of Terrorism as a policy, but an outburst of gratitude to the man who removed a dangerous and reckless perjurer whose evil breath was scattering ruin and peril over innocent homes and noble and blameless heads throughout Bengal. We do not praise or justify that outburst,—for murder is murder, whatever its motives,—but it is not fair to give it a complexion other than the one it really wore. If it had really been true that a whole nation approved of Terrorism and supported the assassin by secret or open sympathy, it would be a more damning indictment of British statesmanship in India than any seditious pen could have framed. The Chowringhee paper's libellous insinuation that these secret societies are not secret and their members are known to the public, has only to be mentioned in order to show the spirit of this gratuitous adviser of the Indian people. (Nor can one pass without a smile the suggestion that the Hindu community should use the weapon of social ostracism against the Terrorists. Whom are

we to outcaste, the hanged or transported assassin, or his innocent relatives?

House Search.

Where we are on the subject we may as well make explicit the rationale of our objection to house search as it is used in Bengal. No citizen can object to the legitimate and necessary use of house-search as an aid to the detection of crime; it is only to its misuse that objection can be made. We say that it is misuse to harass a man and his family merely because the police have a suspicion against him which they cannot establish or find any ground of evidence for—on the remote chance of finding incriminating correspondence or ~~trans~~ in his possession. It is a misuse to take this step on the information of characterless paid informers whose advantage it is to invent false clues so as to justify their existence and earn their living. It is a misuse to farther harass the householder by carrying off from his house half his library and his whole family correspondence and every other article to which the police take a fancy and which are often returned to him after infinite trouble and in a hopelessly damaged condition. A house-search is never undertaken in civilised countries except on information of the truth of which there is moral certainty or such a strong probability as to justify this extreme step. To find out the truth of an information without immediately turning a household upside down on the chance of its veracity is not an impossible feat, for detective ability in countries where all statements are not taken for gospel truth merely because they issue from the sacred lips of a policeman, and where police perjury or forgery is sure of swift punishment. Where a detective force is put on its mettle by being expected to prove every statement and take the consequences of illegal methods, they do manage to detect crime very effectively while the chances of the innocent suffering are greatly minimised. In other countries there have or have been anarchist outrages, Terrorist propaganda, secret societies, but nowhere, except in Russia, are such methods used as are considered quite ordinary in India, nor, if used, would they be tolerated by the European citizen. If the police would confine themselves to legitimate detec-

tive activity, they would receive the full support of the public and the occasional trouble of a house-search caused by the existence of a suspected relative or dependent, would be patiently borne,—though it is absurd of the *Statesman* to expect a householder to be cheerful under such untoward circumstances. This is the rationale of our views in the matter, and we do not think there is anything in them either unreasonable, obstructive or inconsistent with civic duty.

The Elections.

The Elections at the time of writing seem to point to the return of a Liberal Ministry dependent first on Labour, then on Irish votes for its very existence. At the end of last week after being long in a slight minority, the combined Liberal-Labour party exceeded the Conservatives by 14. But the Liberal vote, apart from the Labour representatives, was still well behind the Unionist numbers. The vicissitudes of this crisis have been utterly unlike those of any previous election. Instead of an even ebb and flow such as we find on former occasions, well-distributed all over the country, we see the United Kingdom ranged into two adverse parties on a great revolutionary issue, according to geographical, almost racial distribution, Wales, Scotland and the North are for the new age, the Centre and the South for the past. In the Southern, Midland and Eastern counties the Unionists have achieved a tremendous victory and we think there is hardly a constituency in which the Liberal majority has not been either materially, often hugely reduced or turned into a minority.

In the North, even in Yorkshire, still more in Westmoreland, the Unionists have achieved a few victories, but the verdict of the North as a whole has gone heavily against the Lords and for the Liberals. Wales is still overwhelmingly Radical in spite of one or two Conservative gains. In Scotland the Liberal party has been amazingly successful and increased its majorities in many places, maintained them in most and balanced occasional losses by compensating victories. The only everywhere has declared for revolution, as was to be expected from that untiring, mobile and imaginative sage, the frank, adventurous Scandinavian

blood of the North may account for its progressive sympathies; but the rest of England is the home of the conservative, slow-natured Anglo-Saxon always distrustful of new adventures and daring innovations. The struggle seems to us to have been not so much one of opinions as of blood and instinct. It is notable that the Conservative victories have been attained not so much by the reduction and transference of the Liberal vote as by a rush of Conservative electors to the polls who did not vote in previous elections. The unparalleled heaviness of the polling shows how deeply the people have been stirred and feel the magnitude and importance of the issues.

FATE AND FREE-WILL.

A question which has hitherto divided human thought and received no final solution, is the freedom of the human being in his relation to the Power intelligent or unintelligent that rules the world. We strive for freedom in our human relations, to freedom we move as our goal, and every fresh step in our human progress is a further approximation to our ideal. But are we free in ourselves? We seem to be free, to do that which we choose and not that which is chosen for us; but it is possible that the freedom may be illusory and our apparent freedom may be a real and iron bondage. We may be bound by predestination, the will of a Supreme Intelligent Power, of blind inexorable Nature, or the necessity of our own previous development.

The first is the answer of the devout and submissive mind in its dependence on God; but, unless we adopt a Calvinistic fatalism, the admission of the guiding and overriding will of God does not exclude the permission of freedom to the individual. The second is the answer of the scientist; Heredity determines our Nature, the laws of Nature limit our action, cause and effect compel the course of our development, and, if it be urged that we may determine effects by creating causes, the answer is that our own actions are determined by previous causes over which we have no control and our action itself is a necessary response to a stimulus

from outside. The third is the answer of the Buddhist and of post-Buddhist Hinduism. "It is our fate, it is written on our forehead, when our Karma is exhausted, then alone our calamities will pass from us;"—this is the spirit of tamasic inaction justifying itself by a misreading of the theory of Karma.

If we go back to the true Hindu teaching independent of Buddhist influence, we shall find that it gives us a reconciliation of the dispute by a view of man's psychology in which both Fate and Free-will are recognised. The difference between Buddhism and Hinduism is that to the former the human soul is nothing, to the latter it is everything. The whole universe exists in the spirit, by the spirit, for the spirit; all we do, think and feel is for the spirit. Nature depends upon the Atman, all its movement, play, action is for the Atman.

There is no Fate, except insistent causality which is only another name for Law, and Law itself is only an instrument in the hands of Nature for the satisfaction of the spirit. Law is nothing but a mode or rule of action; it is called in our philosophy not Law but Dharma, holding together, it is that by which the action of the universe, the action of its parts, the action of the individual is held together. This action in the universal, the parts, the individuals is called Karma, work, action, energy in play, and the definition of Dharma or Law is action as decided by the nature of the thing in which action takes place.—*swabhava niyatam karma*. Each separate existence, each individual has a swabhava or nature and acts according to it, each group, species or mass of individuals has a swabhava or nature and acts according to it, and the universe also has its swabhava or nature and acts according to it. Mankind is a group of individuals and every man acts according to his human nature, that is his law of being as distinct from animals, trees or other groups of individuals. Each man has a distinct nature of his own and that is his law of being which ought to guide him as an individual. But beyond and above these minor laws is the great dharma of the universe which provides that certain previous karma or action

must lead to certain new karma or results.

The whole of causality may be defined as previous action leading to subsequent action. Karma and *Karmaphal*. The Hindu theory is that thought and feeling, as well as actual speech or deeds, are part of Karma and create effects, and we do not accept the European sentiment that outward expression of thought and feeling in speech or deed is more important than the thought or feeling itself. This outward expression is only part of the thing expressed and its results are only part of the *Karmaphal*. The previous karma has not one kind of result but many. In the first place, a certain habit of thought or feeling produces certain actions and speech or certain habits of action and speech in this life, which materialize in the next as good fortune or evil fortune. Again, it produces by its action for the good or ill of others a necessity of happiness or sorrow for ourselves in another birth. It produces, moreover, a tendency to persistence of that habit of thought or feeling in future lives, which involves the persistence of the good fortune or evil fortune, happiness or sorrow. Or, acting on different lines, it produces a revolt or reaction and replacement by opposite habits which in their turn necessitate opposite results for good or evil. This is the chain of karma, the bondage of works, which is the Hindu Fate and from which the Hindu seek salvation.

If, however, there is no escape from the Law, if Nature is supreme and inexorable, there can be no salvation; freedom becomes a chimera, bondage eternal. There can be no escape, unless there is something within us which is free and lord, superior to Nature. This entity the Hindu teaching finds in the spirit ever free and blissful which is one in essence and in reality with the Supreme Soul of the Universe. The spirit does not act, it is Nature that contains the action. If the spirit acted, it would be bound by its action. The thing that acts is Prakriti, Nature, which determines the *Swabhava* of things and is the source and condition of Law or dharma. The soul or Purusha holds up the *Swabhava*

watches and enjoys the action and its fruit, sanctions the law or dharma. It is the king, Lord or Ishwara without whose consent nothing can be done by Prakriti. But the king is above the law and free.

It is this power of sanction that forms the element of free will in our lives. The spirit consents not that itself shall be bound, but that its enjoyment should be bound by time, space and causality and by the swabhava and the dharma. It consents to virtue or sin, good fortune or evil fortune, health or disease, joy or suffering, or it refuses them. What it is attached to that Nature multiplies for it; what it is weary of, has *viragya* for, that Nature withdraws from it. Only, because the enjoyment is in space and time, therefore, even after the withdrawal of consent, the habitual action continues for a time just as the locomotive continues to move after the steam is shut off, but in a little while it slows down and finally comes to a standstill. And because the enjoyment is in causality, the removal of the habit of action is effected not spontaneously but by an established process of time of many established processes. This is the great truth now dawning on the world, that Will is the thing which moves the world and that Fate is merely a process by which Will fulfils itself.

But in order to feel its mastery of Nature, the human soul must put itself into communion with the infinite and universal Spirit. Its will must be one with the universal Will. The human soul is one with the universal Spirit, but in the body it stands out as something separate and unconnected, because a certain freedom is permitted it in order that the swabhava of things may be diversely developed in different bodies. In using this freedom the soul may do it ignorantly or knowingly. If it uses it ignorantly, it is not really free, for ignorance brings with it the illusion of enslavement to Nature. Used knowingly, the freedom of the soul becomes one with surrender to the universal Will. Either apparent bondage to Fate in Nature or realised freedom from Nature in the universal freedom and lordship of the Paramatman and Paramatma, this is the choice offered to the human soul. The gradual self-liberation from bondage

to Nature is the true progress of humanity. The inert stone or block is a passive sport of natural laws. God is their Master. Man stands between these two extreme terms and moves upward from one to the other.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

The speech of Lord Minto on the occasion of the first meeting of the Viceroy's Council under the new regime is a very important pronouncement; and the most momentous of the passages in the pronouncement are two, the one in which he disposes finally of any lingering hopes in the minds of the Moderates, the other in which he threatens to dispose finally of any lingering hopes in the minds of the Nationalists. It has been a Moderate legend which still labours to survive, that the intention of Lords Morley and Minto in the Reforms was to lay the foundations of representative self-government in India. This legend was perseveringly reiterated in direct contradiction of the Secretary of State's famous pronouncement that, so far as his vision could pierce into the future, the personal and absolute element in Indian administration must for ever remain. Lord Minto has now stamped his foot on the Moderate legend and crushed it into atoms. We quote the important passages in which he accomplishes this ruthless destruction.

"We have distinctly maintained that representative Government in its western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern populations—that Indian conditions do not admit of popular representation—that the safety and welfare of the country must depend on the supremacy of British administration—and that that supremacy can, in no circumstances, be delegated to any kind of representative assembly.... We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils but not at the creation of Parliaments. I emphasise what I have just said in view of the opinions to which advanced Indian politicians appear not infrequently to commit themselves."

In the face of speech so plain and uncompromising it will be difficult indeed to keep up the fiction that that it is only the

regulations which are objectionable, and if only the regulations are changed, we can with a clear conscience accept and participate in the Reforms. The Act and the Regulations are not different in aim or purport; they have one origin, one object, one policy. Lord Minto has emphatically stated that the initiative in the Reforms was from beginning to end his own, and the facts bear out the truth of his statement. His inaugural speech has put a seal of finality on the death doom of Moderatism of which the publication of the Council's rules was the pronouncement. The objective of Moderatism is colonial self-government, the means, the grace and goodwill of the British rulers, and the two British rulers whom they have hailed as apostles and fathers of Reform have declared explicitly that in no future age, however distant, and in no circumstances, however changed, can the official supremacy be delegated to any kind of representative assembly however safely constituted. Not even, therefore a Russian Duma, that simulacrum of a Parliament, is to be granted to India even in remote and millennial futurity.

The other passage is the reference to the license of a revolutionary Press as a means of combating Terrorism. The revolutionary Press has long since disappeared and, therefore, we can only suppose that Lord Minto means the Nationalist Press and that this pronouncement heralds fresh coercive legislation. The platform has been silenced, the Press must follow. Then Thought alone will remain free from the prohibitions of the law and even that may be coerced by the deportation and exile of anyone whom the Police may suspect of entertaining liberal opinions. Just as the first-quoted passage ensures the extinction of all Moderate activity, so this passage portends the extinction of all Nationalist activity. We do not know that we shall be altogether sorry. If the *Englishman* is tired of assassinations, we also are tired of the thankless and apparently unsuccessful task of regulating popular discontent and pointing out legitimate paths to national aspiration on the one hand and attempting to save the official from themselves on the other. We have only government in the country. But we are not

to feel that Fate is more powerful than the strongest human effort. We feel the menace in the air from above and below and foresee the clash of iron and inexorable forces in whose collision all hope of a peaceful Nationalism will disappear, if not for ever, yet for a long, a disastrously long season.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.)
IV

Nationalism and Nationalists.

Mazzini was, as I have said, the first great apostle of Nationalism in Europe. "We—the men of the present"—he said, in a pamphlet called *Faith and the Future*, first written in—1835, "are standing between two epochs; between the tomb of one world and the cradle of another; between the boundary-line of the individual synthesis and the confines of the synthesis of Humanity." His voice was, as he himself confessed, but one among many that announced nearly the same ideas. But no one perhaps of his time so clearly recognised the limitations of the gospel of the French Revolution as he seems to have done. Summing up the current ideals about him, he said that the doctrine of rights, the last word of individualism "rules us still with sovereign sway; rules even that Republican party which assumes to be the party of progress and initiation in Europe; and the liberty of the Republicans—although they instinctively proffer the words duty, sacrifice, and mission,—is still a theory of resistance; their religion—if indeed they speak of any—a formula of the relation between God and the individual; the political organisation they invoke and dignify by the name of *social*, a mere series of defences raised up around laws framed to secure the liberty of each to follow out his own aim, his own tendencies and his own interests; their definition of the law does not go beyond the expression of the general will; their formula of association is society founded on Rights; their faith does not overpass the limits traced out nearly a century ago by a man—himself the incarnation of struggle—in a declaration of rights. Their theories of government are theories of distrust; their organs of freedom, a remnant of patched-up constitutionalism, re-

duces itself to the discovery of a point around which individuality and association, liberty and law, may oscillate for ever in resultless hostility; their people is too often a caste—the most useful and numerous it is true—in open rebellion against other castes, and seeking to enjoy in its turn the rights given by God to all; their republic is the turbulent intolerant democracy of Athens, their war-cry a cry of vengeance, and their symbol Spartacus". And thus summing up the life and thought about him, Mazzini declared that this was "the eighteenth century over again—its philosophy; its human synthesis; its materialist policy: its spirit of analysis and Protestant criticism; its sovereignty of the individual; its negation of an ancient religious formula; its distrust of all authority; its spirit of emancipation and resistance. It is the French Revolution over again; the past, with the addition of a few pre-sentiments; servitude to old things surrounded with a prestige of youth and novelty." And recognising the character of the times he cried out almost in deep agony of spirit—"The French Revolution crushes us, it weighs like an incubus upon our hearts, and forbids them to beat."

But Mazzini not only recognised the limitations of the message of the French Revolution, but actually worked out the logic of that great gospel of human freedom in Europe, bringing out its necessary and natural implications more rationally and completely than perhaps any others had done before. The French Revolution had started with the cry of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but it did not fully realise the organic relation existing between them. Equality necessarily followed liberty. There is no liberty without equality, as Fichte declared. You cannot have individual liberty in a society based upon inequality. The special privileges of one class would inevitably interfere with the freedom of the less favoured classes. This much the French Illumination fully recognised. Liberty and equality, therefore, formed really an organic whole the one necessitating the other. But pure individualism has no such necessary relation with fraternity. Fraternity is the formula of association, and the principle of association is very feebly grasped by individual-

ism as the French Illumination understood it. Fraternity, therefore, in the gospel of the French Revolution, was either another name for human equality or a mere general sentiment which had no necessary relation with the general philosophy of that epoch-making movement in Europe. French humanitarianism was really more sentimental than rational. Philosophical humanitarianism can only grow from a clear and strong conception of the organic unity of the human race. It is an essentially spiritual conception. It is not merely theistic but almost pantheistic in its logical implications. It is an almost new conception in Europe. The full significance of it has not yet been grasped by what is called modern humanity. The French Revolution had almost no idea of it. It is completely antagonistic to that ideal of almost absolute individualism which formed the very soul and essence of the French Illumination. The humanitarianism of the French Revolution was therefore a mere generous sentiment. It was the expression of a broad human sympathy, not the assertion of a systematised philosophy. Claiming freedom for themselves, as the highest good, they wanted it also for others. This was the underlying meaning of the gospel of fraternity preached by the French Revolution. This sympathy was, perhaps, not a little prompted by an intense hatred of royalty and the aristocracy in general. Fraternity, as Mazzini pointed out, "does not not supply any general social terrestrial aim; it does not even imply the necessity of an aim. It has no essential and inevitable relation with a purpose or intent calculated to harmonise the sum of human faculties and forces." He pointed out that fraternity, "though a necessary link between the terms liberty and equality,—which sum up the individual synthesis—does not pass beyond that synthesis; that its action is limited to the action of individual upon individual, that it might be denominated charity, and that though it may constitute a starting point whence humanity advances in search of a social synthesis, it may not be substituted for that synthesis."

Mazzini discovered that synthesis in the conception of Humanity.

Equality, fraternity, liberty, as summing up the gospel of individualism, must seek and find their legitimate meaning and purpose in this conception of Humanity. For the law of the individual, as he said, can only be deduced from the law of the species. The individual mission can only be ascertained and defined by placing ourselves upon an elevation, enabling us to grasp and comprehend the whole. And Humanity is this whole. This is almost an organic conception of Humanity, and this conception revealed the necessity of a general co-operation of harmony, of effort,—in a word, of association,—in order to fulfil the work of all. Hence, also the necessity of a complete alteration in the organisation of the revolutionary party, in our theories of Government, and in our philosophical, political, and economical studies; all of which have hitherto been inspired solely by the principle of liberty. The sacred word, Humanity, pronounced with a new meaning, has opened up a new world before the eye of genius—a new world as yet only forefelt—and commenced a new epoch.

This humanity was with Mazzini the Word of this new epoch. "By the affirmation of a new epoch," he declared; "we have found the existence of a new synthesis; a general idea destined to embrace all the terms of the anterior synthesis plus one; and starting from that new term to co-ordinate all the historical series, all the facts, all the manifestations of life, all the aspects of the human problem, branches of human knowledge that are ranged beneath it. We give a new and fruitful impulse to the labours of intelligence; we proclaim the necessity of a new encyclopædia, which, by summing up and comprehending all the progress achieved, would constitute a new progress in itself. We place beyond all controversy, in the rank of ascertained truths, all the terms which have been the aim of past revolutions,—the liberty, equality, and fraternity of men, and of peoples. We separate ourselves forever from the epoch of exclusive

individuality, and, still more decisively, therefore, from that individualism which is the materialism of that epoch. We close up the paths to the past. And, finally, by that affirmation we reject every doctrine of eclecticism and transition; every imperfect formula containing the statement of a problem without any attempt to solve it; every school seeking to conjoin life and death; and to renew the world through the medium of an extinct synthesis. By the very character of the epoch we proclaim, we furnish a new basis to the principle of universal suffrage; we elevate the political question to the height of a philosophical conception; we constitute an apostolate of Humanity by asserting that common law of nations which should be the sign of our faith."

This conception of Humanity as the Law and the Aim, as well of individuals as of nations, and the Principle of Association through which alone can this law be fulfilled and this aim fully realised,—revealed to Mazzini that ideal and philosophy of nationalism of which he was the first, and up till now almost the only distinguished apostle in Europe.

ANANDAMATH,

—oOo—

CHAPTER XIII.

Mohendra cried out, "What have you done, Kalyani, what have you done?"

Kalyani returned no answer, but taking the dust of her husband's feet on her head, only said, "Lord and Master, words will only multiply words. I take farewell."

But Mohendra cried out again, "Kalyani, what have you done?" and began to weep aloud. Then Kalyani said in a very soft voice, "I have done well. You might otherwise neglect the work given you by Heaven for the sake of so worthless a thing as a woman. See, I was transgressing a divine command, therefore my child has been taken from me. If I disregarded it further, you too might go."

Mohendra replied with tears, "I could have kept you somewhere

and come back,—but my work had been accomplished. I could have again been happy with you, Kalyani, my all! Why have you done this thing? You have cut from me the hand by whose strength I could have held the sword. What am I without you?"

"Where could you have taken me? Where is there any place? Mother father, friends, all in this terrible time of calamity have perished. In whose house is there any place for us, where is the road we can travel, where will you take me? I am a burden hanging on your neck. I have done well to die. Give me this blessing that when I have gone to that luminous world, I may again see you." With the words Kalyani again took the dust of her husband's feet and placed it on her head. Mohendra made no reply, but once more began to weep. Kalyani again spoke;—her voice was very soft, very sweet, very tender, as she again said, "Consider who has the strength to transgress what God has willed. He has laid his command on me to go; could I stay, if I would? If I had not died of my own will, inevitably some one else would have slain me. I do well to die. Perform with your whole strength the vow you have undertaken, it will create a force of well-doing by which I shall attain heaven and both of us together will enjoy celestial bliss to all eternity."

Meanwhile the little girl threw up the milk she had drunk and recovered,—the small amount of poison that she had swallowed, was not fatal. But at that time Mohendra's mind was not turned in that direction. He put his daughter in Kalyani's lap and closely embracing both of them began to weep incessantly. Then it seemed that in the midst of the forest a soft yet thunder-deep sound arose,—

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!
O Govind, O Govinda, O Mukunda,
O Shakti!"

By that time the poison had begun to act on Kalyani, her consciousness was being somewhat taken from her; in her half-unconscious

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one could hear the sound of herself to hear the voice singing out in the marvellous forest. She had heard in the Vaikuntha of her dream.

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!

O Gopal, O Govinda, O Mukunda, O Shani!"

Then Kalyani, in her semi-consciousness began to sing in a voice sweeter than any Apsara's.

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!

She cried to Mohendra, "Say, 'O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu.'"

Deeply moved by the sweet voice that rose from the forest and the sweet voice of Kalyani and in the grief of his heart thinking "God my is only helper," Mohendra called aloud,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then from all sides the sound arose,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then it seemed as if the very birds in the trees were singing,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

It seemed as if the murmurs of the river repeated,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then Mohendra, forgetting his grief and affliction and full of ecstasy, sang in one voice with Kalyani,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

From the forest the cry seemed to rise in chorus with their song,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Kalyani's voice became fainter and fainter, but still she cried,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

Then by degrees her voice grew hushed, no sound came from her lips, her eyes closed, her body grew cold, and Mohendra understood that Kalyani had departed to Vaikuntha with the cry of "O Hari, O Murari," on her lips. Then Mohendra began to call out loudly like one frantic making the forest quiver, startling the birds and beasts,

"O Hari, O Murari, O foe of Kaitabh and Madhu!"

At that time and came and began to call out loudly like one frantic making the forest quiver, startling the birds and beasts,

Then in that glory of the infinite, in that boundless forest, before the body of her who now trospelled the eternal way, the two sang the name of Eternal God. The birds and beasts were voiceless, the earth full of a miraculous beauty,—the fitting temple for this highest anthem. Satyanda sat down with Mohendra in his arms.

INSPECTOR ALUM SHOT DEAD.

At the High Court on Monday evening at 5-30 P.M. an outrage was perpetrated by a Bengalee youth of about twenty, who shot dead Khan Bahadur Moulvi Shama-ala Alum, Deputy Superintendent of Police, attached to the Criminal Investigation Department. The Khan, Bahadur, it will be remembered was in charge of the Alipur bomb case right through from its institution. In fact he was described by Mr. Eardley Norton as his right hand man.

As usual Mr. Alum was daily attending the High Court to instruct the Advocate-General, who appeared on behalf of the Crown in the hearing of the reference in the Alipore bomb appeal.

At five in the evening on Monday Mr. Justice Harrington, who is hearing the reference, rose for the day and Mr. Alum after arranging the books and exhibits came out of the Court room and went towards the staircase. In front of him was the Advocate-General. Mr. Alum was in the middle and was followed by Babu Atulya Charan Bose, Vakil, who is appearing in the case on behalf of the Crown.

Little suspecting the fate that awaited him Mr. Alum turned towards the step near the Court room on the south-east corner of the High Court, when he came in contact with a young Bengalee of rather short stature who appeared to be not of strong physique. He was dressed simply in a white "dhoti," a white shirt and a brown alwan wearing a pair of brown pump shoes.

Mr. Alum started back and almost immediately the report of the firing of a revolver was heard. The assassin who evidently was hanging about the verandah and watching the movements of his victim was prepared from behind and aimed the shot from close quarters, the revolver, almost touching the body of Mr. Alum. The shot penetrated right into the heart of Mr. Alum fell on the verandah on his back. He twice said "Fakroo" "Fakroo" and then dropped. All present there came to his assistance and poured water over the body, which was then bleeding profusely. In the meantime a cry of murder was raised and several men chased the murderer, who tried to escape.

In the confusion the assassin came down unopposed and ran towards the gate on the east side of the Old Court building, facing Old Post Office Street. Finding the passage blocked at the gate and a mounted police officer on duty the assassin fired a second time to scare away the crowd. This had the desired effect and finding the way clear he ran towards Hastings Street, revolver in hand.

The mounted Police officer gave chase but as the thoroughfare was crowded he could not keep pace with the assassin who was running at full speed. Ramdin a durwan attached to the gate of the new wing of the High Court, along with other peons followed the assassin to a distance of about fifty yards towards Hastings Street. Just in front of the office of Messrs. Pugh and Co., Constable Ram Jharan Singh L. 2 arrested the assassin from behind. A fierce struggle followed and before the assassin could use the deadly weapon the mounted policemen and the durwan came to the spot and succeeded in snatching the revolver away from his hands.

The revolver was a brand new six-chambered one, and of a bull-dog type. Two exploded cartridges and four unused ones were found in the chambers.

After he was secured, the assassin's person was searched and he was almost immediately sent to Waterloo Street Thana.

Information was immediately conveyed to His Lordship the Chief Justice and

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Judges, Hargreaves and Stephens, who had not yet left the Court, and their Lordships immediately hastened to the spot and viewed the body. The Hon. Mr. Halliday, Commissioner of Police, Mr. Bailey, Deputy Inspector-General of Police and several other police officers immediately appeared at the High Court, Major Hargreaves, I.M.S. Police Surgeon was sent for and on his arrival the body was examined. The Surgeon declared that life was long extinct, death being instantaneous.

Several questions have been put to him which he has either refused to answer or in the alternative fenced with them. When asked his name, he smilingly said he did not know. When asked if he belonged to Calcutta or the Mofussil, he replied he could not remember. When asked to state from where he got the revolver, he said he did not know. The accused defiantly told the police that all they could do to him was to hang him. The police tried other means of getting information, viz., by getting some of their officers to approach him in a way as if they had met before. "Hullo" one of them said "I know you very well. I think I have met you before." The accused would fix a steady gaze on his enquirer and then reply saying that he did not know the man at all.

NEWS.

DACCRA STUDENT'S CASE.

In connection with the Sreepur Train Dacoity case, fourteen persons including the two already mentioned were taken to the jail to identify Sitanath, the alleged ringleader. Only one of them said the present accused resembled the one who had gone to purchase a boat after the occurrence, but he was not sure if he was that man. Bail was accordingly moved for by Babu Suresh Chandra Chatterji, pleader and the application was opposed by the Railway Police Superintendent. After hearing both sides Mr. Stinton rejected the application on the ground that Sitanath was absent from the college on the day after the day of occurrence.

BANK OF BURMA CASE.

At the Egmore Police Court, the hearing was resumed of the case against F. L. V. Joyce, late Manager and Parmava Pillay late cashier, Bank of Burma. The defence reserved cross-examination and an application was made on behalf of Joyce asking the court to allow them to remain on the same bail as before should he be accused by the prosecution in the Sessions. His worship was of opinion that a "prima facie" case had been made out by the prosecution and the accused would not be liberated on the same bail. The Court adjourned making the order of commitment till the 24th instant so that arrangements might be made to move the High Court immediately the order was passed.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOLARSHIPS. The South Indian Industrial Association, Burma, which was founded two years ago, has now sufficient funds to enable it to take in hand one of its principal objects, the foundation of a scholarship to enable deserving young men of South India to study industrial subjects. The first scholar has been selected in Mr. Sadanivan of the Cocanada College. It is at present proposed that he should study industrial chemistry in Bombay and then in England.

TO HARASS THE POLICE.

Jogendra Nath Mazumdar, the man, on whose information several fruitless house-searches took place at Lucknow last week, made a statement before the City Magistrate on the 18th instant. He said he was a member of a body of men whose business it was to harass the Police. He has been committed to the Sessions.

POST-GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS, 1910.

Two post-graduate Research Scholarships of the monthly value of Rs. 100 each, and tenable for a maximum period of three years, but in the first instance for one year only, will be awarded early in the year 1910.

No candidate will be considered who has not passed the M. A., the M. D., the D. L. or the Master in Engineering Examination of the Calcutta University in 1907, 1908 or 1909. No candidate will be considered who is not possessed of high qualifications and who cannot show that he has a capacity for original research.

One of the scholarships will be awarded to a candidate who proposes to carry on original research in some scientific subjects, such as Natural and Physical Science, Chemistry, Mathematical Science, etc. The other may be awarded to a candidate who undertakes research in some literary subject, such as Language, Comparative philology, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Philology, History, Archeology, Anthropology, etc.; but no

application for a scholarship for research in a literary subject will be considered unless a candidate presents himself who not only shows that he has the capacity for undertaking the research proposed, but also makes it clear by the programme which he submits that he has thought out a definite course of inquiry. In the event of no suitable candidate for a literary research scholarship being forthcoming, both the scholarships may be awarded for scientific research.

All applications must be submitted through the head of the institution in which the candidate read last, so as to reach the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, on or before the 28th February 1910.

Application forms may be had from the Personal Assistant, Officer of the Director of Public Instruction, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

MEETING OF NAMASUDRA COMMUNITY.

On the 19th January a largely attended meeting of the Namasudra community was held in the premises of the National School, Jhalakathi under the presidency of Babu Lalit Chandra Banerji, Naib, Gurudham Bhukailas Raj Estate. Many local gentlemen, belonging to higher classes, attended it. Representatives of the Namasudra community, about 50 in number, from the neighbouring villages attended. The object was to devise means for spreading education among the Namasudras. Babu Hemanta Kumar Sen, Head Master of the local National School, delivered a long speech, dwelling on the necessity of education as the only means of improving the social position of the depressed classes. He was followed by Babu Chandi Charan Mistry, a Namasudra representative exhorting his fellow brethren to exert themselves for education. A committee was formed consisting of some eminent gentlemen of the locality representatives of the Namasudras in the neighbouring villages. This meeting was organised chiefly, through the exertion of Babu Ananthbandhu Sen, Editor of the local paper the *Namasudra*.

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NEWS.

SUKKUR SEDITION CASE.

In the "Sindhi" sedition case judgment, Verumal Chatumal has been transported for three years under section 134A and fined a thousand rupees under section 153A. Gordhanlal has got five years' transportation under section 124A, and has been fined Rs. 500 under section 153A. The Court was packed with crowds who repeated shouts of "Bande Mataram." There was great sensation. The majority of the crowd wept bitterly. All were taken to jail in a *garri* along a road lined with crowds. Application has since been made to-day, at Karachi, in the Court of the Assistant Judicial Commissioner of Sind, for release on bail of Virumal, the printer, pending appeal. The application was refused in the judgment which is not yet available here.

THE "KHULNABASI" SEDITION CASE.

The printer of the *Khulnabasi* has been arrested under sections 124A and 153A for publishing a poem—*aye ma, Come mother*—in its issue of the 30th Aswin last. The poem appeared with the name of the writer, Panchanan Ghose, who has not yet been arrested. Their houses were searched. The press and the office room have been looked up and placed under police guard.

HOUSE SEARCH AND ARREST AT MYMENSINGH.

On the 21st January, at about 5 P.M. Jnanachandra Roy and Satishchandra Sen, Sub-Inspector of Police and one constable visited Babu Gaganachandra Roy Mukteer's house at Mymensingh and arrested his son-in-law Jnanachandra Das a student of the second class of the Local Zilla School. The Sub-Inspector showed a telegram from the C.I.D. Inspector now at Rajitpur directing the arrest of the boy. He was kept in the Kotwali *hajat* till noon when the police sent him to the Magistrate. Babus Adharnath Sen, and Monmohan Neogi, pleaders, saw the Magistrate and prayed for bail. The Magistrate released him on 2000 in two sureties.

It is rumoured the arrest is in connection with the Dacca Ry. train dacoity. The details are not known. Information has been received that Jnan's house in the village Garaitola, 6 miles off from Rajitpur, was searched by the police. Nothing incriminating was found.

ANOTHER SEDITION CASE.

The fresh charges were framed against Lalchand Palak, for two books "Amanat Men Khilyanat" and "Ungli Pakar-Ne Pancha Wakra," the latter being a translation of two chapters from Seely's "Expansion of England." The accused pleaded not guilty to both charges.

THE NETRA DACOITY.

On Friday before last Babus Nani Gopal Gupta, Bhuvan Mohan Mukherji, his brother, and Kristo Dhona Mukherji, sons of the accused Bhuvan Mohan, Jogesh Chunder Mitter and Bishnupada Chatterji, who were arrested at Sihpur in connection with the Netra dacoity, were conveyed in ticoa gharries to the Alipore Jail, escorted by ten armed police. They will be placed on trial before the District Magistrate of Alipore.

The following persons are under arrest in connection with the dacoity:—

Lalit Kumar Chuckerburty of Netra, who is alleged to have turned approver; Bhuvan Chunder Mitter, Tincowri Dasa, Narendra Nath Bose, Rajani Kanto Bhattacharji, Hem Chandra Sen, Suruth Chunder Mitter, Birendro Nath Mukerjee, Nani Gopal Gupta, Bhuvan Mohan Mukerjee, Kristo Dhona Mukerjee, Jogesh Chunder Mitter, and Bishnupada Chatterjee.

A warrant of arrest is believed to have been issued against Haridas Chuckerburty. Some of the accused in the Haludhari dacoity case are also alleged to have taken part in the Netra dacoity.

In connection with above dacoity, Babu Satish Chandra Mitra was arrested on Friday last at his residence in Rajpur, in 24-Perganahs. It will be remembered that his brother, Dr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, had also been arrested. Lalit Kumar Chakrabarty, the alleged approver was for sometime in the employ of Dr. Sarat Chandra Mitra. On the day on which Dr. Mitra was arrested, his house was thoroughly searched and some phials of acid and a copy of *Sahityasur* were taken away.

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MISCONCEPTIONS CLARIFIED.

The statement made on oath by Lala Lajpat Rai in the Special Magistrate's Court on Monday last should have gone to clear all misconceptions about them even in minds the most prejudiced. It will have been seen that the formidable books which he wanted to be sent to him from England, and which have been represented by some critics as intended to set young Panjab on fire, are not only very innocent reading matter, but that some of them are among the classics of English literature. No library with any pretensions to be called as such, far less a library meant for political studies, can do without such books as Locky's *Histories*, Justin McCarthy's historical works the "Story of Nations," or the "History of the French Revolution." Then, if Hunter's "British India" and Thorburn's "Panjab in Peace and War" could corrupt the minds of Indian youths old enough to understand them, it would be the greatest condemnation of the Indian Civil Service, some of whose distinguished members have written books by no means so complimentary to British administration in India. The literature of biography would be incomplete without the Life of Luther, the great reformer, and of Charles Stewart Parnell, the prince of constitutional agitators.

For the rest, we think there can be no misconception left in the unprejudiced mind as to what Lala Lajpat Rai meant by expressing the fear that the discontent among the agriculturists might "burst out prematurely," which was tantamount to expressing the hope that it should not, because he was not favourable to the spread of agitation amongst the ignorant classes. Incidentally, the publication of the letters has thrown a good deal of timely light on the vexed question of "Arya Samaj and politics." It has shown how even a popular leader of the Samaj ran the risk of being boycotted by his colleagues, which gradually led to his withdrawal from active partnership in its work of its governing lodgia. Be it noted that this took place long before the present hue and cry against the Samaj as a political body began. We think Sir Louis Dane's attention may be drawn to this fact in view of his apparent belief that the Samaj as a body, or local branches of it, may be diverted from its professed social and religious aims into political channels by the influence of individual members.

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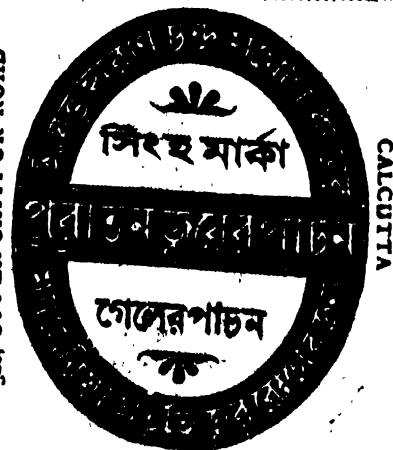
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NETRA DACOITY SEQUEL.**HOUSE-SEARCHES AND ARRESTS.**

Seven arrests were made in Calcutta and Sibpur on Thursday the 19th January in connection with the dacoity at Netra Diamond Harbour, in April last year.

IN HOWRAH.

At very early-hour, on Thursday morning, Mr. Craig, D. S. P. of Howrah, with 100 constables and officers, raided seven houses in Sibpur. Searches were made at the houses of Babu Bhuban Mohan Mookerjee, Chaudhripara Lane, Babu Nani Gopal Gupta, Ashutosh Banerjee and Satya Charan Chatterjee, Sibpur Road; Babu Surendra Nath Bose and Gopal Chandra Ghosal of Kasi Nath Chatterjee's Lane. The premises of Babu Jogindra Nath Mookerjee, timber-dealer, were also searched.

The searches lasted for several hours and as a result, some occupants of the houses were arrested and sent to Alipore Jail to await their trial. The names of the accused are Bhuban Mohan Mookerjee and his son Chutan, Nani Gopal Gupta, Bhishnu Pado Chatterjee and Jogesh Mitter.

A number of documents and letters the nature of which has not yet been disclosed were seized and sent for examination.

IN CALCUTTA.

In Calcutta, premises No. 36, Machua Bazar Street, was searched resulting in the arrest of Babu Hem Chandra Sen, the well-known singer of national and Swadeshi songs. The police seized some correspondence believed to be of an incriminating character. About 6.45 A.M., on the conclusion of this search, the Police next raided premises No. 31, Sitaram Ghose's Street, occupied by Babu Mohini Mohan Chakravarty, vakil of the High Court, with a view, it is said, to arrest his son Hurry Dasa Chakravarty who is studying at the Pusa Agricultural College. As this young man was absent at College, the premises were searched in the presence of a witness, Babu Panch Cowry Mukherjee, a Government employee who is residing in the adjoining premises. The search which lasted till 10 A.M. resulted in the seizure of some correspondence of a private tutor of the children of the above-named Vakil who appeared before the Commissioner of Police and submitted a petition on behalf of his son, but what was mentioned in the petition, is not yet disclosed. The police also raided a house at Jhamapukur

in the Sukia Street section of the town, said to be occupied by one Kanye Lal Chuckerbutty. Some correspondence was seized but no arrest was made.

AT KIDDERPORE.

Among other searches made in the city was that at 86-1, Diamond Harbour Road Kidderpore, in the occupation of Dr. Sarat Mitter. This house was the object of a futile raid some time ago. Further information, gained by the C. I. D. however, led to a fresh raid this morning, with the result that some papers were taken away and the doctor arrested.

The dacoity, the cause of the present raids and arrests, was committed at midnight at the house of a well-known zemindar of Netra. Over 50 masked Bengalis, it was said, raided the house, and after forcing the owner to submission, the men stripped the women of the house of all their ornaments. The safe was next broken into and emptied and after the men had ransacked the house they decamped in boats.

Various arrests have been made from time to time since, but most of them proved unsatisfactory.

Fresh information, however, has been lately gleaned by the C. I. D. and Thursday morning's arrests are, it is said, likely to lead to sensational developments.

TANNING MATERIAL INDUSTRY FOR INDIA.

There would be seem to be ample room in India just now for tanning extract industry on a large scale. The raw materials are abundant and the process of Manufacture is relatively simple. As matters stand, however, this trade in tanning extracts and materials appears to be on a very unsatisfactory basis so far as India is concerned. To show its extent we append below a statement giving the exports by sea from British India during the past two years of tanning and dyeing materials:—

Articles.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	Rs.	Rs.
Cutch	14,47,581	9,25,212
Gambier	2,346	800
Indigo	63,72,734	49,04,701
Myrabolams	58,93,246	57,20,302
Safflowers	63,222	37,681
Turmeric	9,91,081	9,59,066
Other sorts	1,56,497	1,54,311
Total	1,49,28,797	1,27,03,093

It will be noticed that the figures prove that the trade is a very substantial

one. The next table gives particulars of imports of tanning and dyeing materials into British India during the past two years, and here again the sum involved is larger:—

Articles.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	Rs.	Rs.
Alizarine dyes	33,18,809	30,29,126
Aniline	51,46,412	50,18,749
Cochineal	2,21,827	2,41,918
Cutch	3,135	2,441
Gambier	6,60,042	5,02,117
Indigo	97,539	1,53,484
Madder or maujit	8,503	4,551
Myrabolams	1,324	1,563
Saffron	6,64,345	6,07,115
Other sorts	2,00,862	3,08,455
Total	1,04,23,357	1,00,19,526

This has the appearance of being a very satisfactory and wholly wasteful state of affairs, which could be righted by the judicious investment of not a very large amount of capital in a well equipped factory (or several of them in the different presidencies) for the up to date manufacture of tanning materials for which there is always an active demand in most countries. In this matter India should and could not only be in a position to manufacture of all the tanning materials she may require for her own use but be a very large exporter of such into the bargain almost from any point of view the manufacture tanning extracts in India from of course Indian materials merits study, for, amongst other advantages such a course would preclude the necessity of paying heavy freight charges on bulky raw material only a small percentage of which is convertible into tanning. In some cases as much three-fourths of a shipment of raw tanning materials may be waste so that a large saving in freights would be made by converting the raw materials into extract in this country. There would be still further saving by using the refuse as fuel in the preparation of the extract.

As we have said, the process of manufacture is a simple one. The machinery required is far from costly, and text book

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such as Proctor's Principles of Leather Manufacture (S.P.O., London) and modern American Tanning (Jackson Publishing Co., Chicago), are to be had that furnish all the information requisite to not only start a factory but conduct it on scientific lines. The first step is to grind the raw materials so that the tanning they contain may be easily extracted. For this purpose a grinding mill is required several varieties of which are on the market at prices far from exorbitant. In the case of divi-divi and algarobita the tanning is so very loosely continued that no grinding is required. On the other hand myratilana and mimosa bark owing to their combined hardness and toughness, require special treatment as they tend to clog an ordinary grinding mill. For these a "Disintegrator" has been invented and does it work thoroughly. Again several kinds of disintegrators are on the market and may be readily obtained at a price that is strictly within the means of the average capitalist.

Those named are the principal grinding machines used, but an oil or other engine would be required to drive them at a high speed (perhaps as fast as 3,000 revolutions per minute) to obtain the best results with refractory raw materials. But the engine horse power for this class of work would not be excessively high and engines of the type required are now cheaply obtainable.

The raw materials having been reduced to a certain state of fineness the next step is to remove the tanning by soaking the material in water. This process is called "Leaching" and there are many inexpensive devices obtainable for hastening it. Extraction completed the next move is to concentrate, by evaporation liquor obtained from the leaching vats to the syrupy consistency of liquid extracts or to solid extracts, if such be desired. This process is carried out in an apparatus known in the trade as an 'Evaporator' and demands a certain amount of skill to ensure a uniform extract.

It is not improbable that the tanning industry in India would in itself furnish the back bone of the business to be done by a manufacturer of extracts in this country, and that the offer of such extracts at low rates would give a new stimulus to leather making and so create a still further demand for the extracts. It is well known that the exhaustion of the supply

of crude tanning materials over wide tracts about the principal tanneries is becoming a very grave matter. The creation of a fresh supply in such tracts involves complicated questions of forest practice and of land tenure, and even if these were overcome the problem would remain unsolved seeing that the babul, for instance, must have from eight to ten years' growth before it becomes fit to cut for bark. It is impossible to move a large tannery in pursuit of retiring bark supply and it is impossible to carry bark profitably over more than a certain distance. But the plant required for the manufacture of extracts is not so elaborate but that it is practicable to remove it from a region that has been denuded of material and re-install it in the centre of a fresh supply. This procedure is followed in other countries. The extract represents only a small proportion of the material. As a saving in sea freights would be made in respect of exports so a saving in railway freight would be made both on exports and the substance required by Indian tanneries. Viewed from this point the proposition would appear to be one that might well commend itself to one of the large tanneries that have been filling the pinch in respect of bark and which might find it to their advantage to combine export trade with the production of such extracts as they required for their own use. In such a business it is often well to have two strings to the bow.—"Indian Trade Journal."

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ASOKA AND THE BARABAR HILLS.

A recent visit to Gaya gave me an opportunity of examining the extraordinary series of caves, which are to be found in the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills at a distance of sixteen miles from the head-quarters of the Gaya District. These caves hewn out of the hardest and most close grained granite rock, polished and finished in the most marvellous manner, would be interesting in themselves, but their interest is greatly enhanced by the fact that six of the seven caves contain inscriptions which can, without doubt be referred to the period between the years 200 and 210 B. C. Three of these inscriptions belong to the Emperor Asoka and the remaining three to his grand-son Dasaratha.

The group of rocky hills containing these caves is a very conspicuous object to the east as one approaches Gaya by the railway from Bankipur. They are most easily accessible from Bela railway station. Bela is only thirteen miles by rail from Gaya and the distance from Bela to Kanwa Dal, the nearest and most conspicuous hill, is little more than four miles. Two miles further on, lie the Barabar hills which contain the three Asoka caves, while the Nagarjuni hill, containing the three Dasaratha caves, is nearly two miles more to the east.

A long scramble over slippery rocks has to be accomplished before the first of the caves is reached. All of the caves with the exception of the Gopika cave, are so situated that much time would be taken up in finding them without the help of a guide. The Karma Chopar cave which is first reached, is one of the least interesting of the series as it consists of only one rectangular room with a vaulted roof, and the inscription outside the cave has been greatly damaged that it is not possible to read more than a few words. It begins with the name Piyadasi, which Asoka used to designate himself in all his rock and pillar inscriptions and refers to the twentieth year of his reign. The second cave, known as the Sudama or Nigoha cave, is much more interesting as it is the only one consisting of two rooms, which have been completely polished. Entering through the doorway access is first gained to a rectangular room large and loftier than the single room, of the Karma Chopar cave. Its exact dimensions as recorded by Cunningham, are 23½ feet by 11½ feet, with a height of 6½ feet supplemented by a further rise of ½ foot on account of the



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vaulted roof. To the left of this room, as one enters the cave, is the entrance to an inner room which is almost a perfect circular shape, having a diameter of 19 feet with a hemispherical domed roof. The whole of this elaborate cave has been polished like glass. This cave contains a short inscription, recording the fact that Asoka gave the cave, in the thirteenth year of his reign, to the Ajivika ascetics. It would appear that all the caves with the possible exception of the Lomas Rishi cave, were given to the Ajivikas, who are mentioned in the seventh pillar edict of Asoka along with the Brahmans and Jainas as constituting a sect distinct from the Buddhists, and that afterwards attempts were made by some other religious fraternity to obliterate the inscriptions with a chisel in such a manner as to cease the name of the Ajivikas.

The Lomas Rishi cave, which is next approached, contains no Asoka inscription, but it apparently belongs to the same period. It differs from all the other caves in having a considerable amount of elaborate stone carving over the entrance. This carving is of a period much later than that of Asoka and it seems probable that an inscription existed outside the cave and that it was cut away when the carving was added round and above the original doorway. The fourth and last cave in the Barabar hills is much smaller than the caves just described. The first room is only fourteen feet long, eight feet broad, and the inner room which is circular, has a diameter of eleven feet and is not finished and polished like the inner room of the Nigoha cave. This cave, which is known as the Viswa Mitra cave, has a very clear and legible inscription which transliterated runs as follows: 'Tajina piyadasina duvadasavasa bhisi-tena iyam kubha khalatikapavataai dina Ajivikehi,' has been rendered, King Piyadasi in the thirteenth year of his reign [literally, anointed twelve years] bestowed this cave in the Khalatika hill on the Ajivikas. Attempts have been made to obliterate the first three letters

of the word "ajivikehi" with a chisel, but the inscription was cut so deeply in the rock that the letters are still faintly traceable.

The remaining three caves are all in the Nagarjuni hill. The Gopika cave now has a stone staircase leading up to it, which seems to be of comparatively recent origin and more likely to have been made for the benefit of persons visiting the small mosque which has been built in front of the cave than for the use of the ascetics who dwelt in the cave. The inscription has been translated, "This gopika cave was bestowed by his Majesty Dasa-ratha immediately after his accession, on the venerable Ajivikas, to be a dwelling place for them, as long as sun and moon endure." It is interesting to note that the last phrase "as long as sun and moon endure" occurs in the seventh pillar inscription of Asoka. The inscriptions in the other two caves are a reproduction of this with one slight variation in spelling excepting only the first word which is the name of the cave. These caves bear the names of 'Vahiya and Vadathika. The name of the first of these was originally read as being Vapiyaka and this name supposed to be derived from the well (vapi) which lies a few yards from the door of the cave. The characters for "H" and "P" only differ slightly, but a scrutiny of the inscription leave no doubt that the additional stroke which differentiates the "H" from the "P" is really part of the original chisel-work.

These three caves of Asoka's grandson consist of one room only and it struck me that the general finish of the workmanship was of inferior quality. The Gopika cave is the longest of all the seven caves, being over 46 feet in length, while in breadth it is only a few inches less than the Nigoha cave. The other two caves are, however, very small, being both less than seventeen feet in length. They are both close together but the Vadathika cave is in such a secluded situation that it actually escaped the notice of a pre-Mutiny archaeologist, who took copies of the

inscriptions for the use of the Bengal Civilian, Prinsep, who took such a large part in decyphering the character in which these inscriptions are written. The top has been broken off and the pillar has been split vertically apparently by lightning. The inscription had been completely covered up and was only discovered in 1896 when excavations were carried on by the Nepalese authorities at the suggestion of Dr. Fuhrer. The process of silting up has been going on rapidly since then and the lowest line of the inscription is now barely a foot above the present level of the ground. In a few years it will, in all probability, again be concealed from view. It is a matter of regret that proper measures are not taken to preserve from possibilities of injury this unique memorial of the past.

The ancient name of the village as given in the inscription—the actual word is Luminigame—is preserved almost unaltered in the name of the tappa or tract containing Paderiya and about twenty other villages. The tank in which the mother of Buddha, according to tradition, bathed after the child's birth is to found on the south side of the mound.

My only regret after seeing this pillar was that the time at my disposal did not permit of a further excursion into Nepal to visit the other Asoka pillar at Nigliva in the Nepalese Terai, which records a visit of Asoka to the stupa of Konakamena Buddha. The distance of this pillar from the Paderiya pillar is about thirteen miles, but it appears that the Nigliva pillar has been moved from its original position—*Pioneer*.

THE UMBALLA BOMB.

Among the house searches at Umballa in connection with the bomb explosion, it was reported that the house of Jamanadar, a merchant, was also searched. Jamanadar writes to the papers to say that the house of a clerk of his firm was searched.

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MR. LAJPAT RAY.

The case against Bhai Parmanand came on for hearing before Mr. Harrison, Special Magistrate. The accused was charged under Section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Two out of five sureties came forward as substitutes and were accepted by the Court.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Evidence.

Lala Lajpat Rai was produced as a prosecution witness in this case and identified the two letters filed the other day in the case of Ajit Singh as his, written by Bhai Parmanand in England. Thirteen other letters were filed by the prosecution, two of which Lala Lajpat Rai admitted to be in his own handwriting and addressed to Parmanand. As the remaining eleven were not, he identified some of them Lala Lajpat Rai identified to be in the handwriting of Parmanand. In answer to questions put by the Government Advocate, Lala Lajpat Rai said:—I am acquainted with one Mr. K. Chowdhuri. I cannot identify his handwriting. I have never received any letter from him to the best of my knowledge. I got only one book to the best of my memory from England sent by Bhai Parmanand. The name of the book was the "Nemesis of Nations." It was forwarded to my knowledge that Bhai Parmanand is connected with Ajit Singh or other work."

Mr. Lajpat Rai's Statement.

Lala Lajpat Rai then made the following statement on oath:—I never conspired with Ajit Singh or Parmanand or with anybody else for the dissemination or publication of any seditious book, litera-

ture or any other thing. I have never put any book or paper in the name of a single person to any propaganda. The books I asked Parmanand to purchase for me were in connection with a political association and a political library which I intended to start at Lahore in the early part of 1907. This association was never established. It was a project only. In my letter dated 11th April 1907, there is an expression which I beg to explain. By the expression "Bursting out prematurely" I meant nothing more than that the agriculturists not being accustomed to political agitation might not be able to carry on their agitation peacefully. I was not at that stage in favour of a political agitation amongst the agricultural population.

Shyamiji Krishna Varma

Questioned about Krishna Varma Lala Lajpat Rai further stated:—Shyamaji Krishna Varma is his full name. He was Dewan in several Native States in India. Then he went to England and settled there where he founded the "India House," for the use of Indian students and other Indians. I have no personal knowledge that he is wanted by the police in England."

Proposed Political Association.

Further questioned by the defence counsel Lala Lajpat Rai stated:—In those days I was projecting an association and a library. I had read in the papers of Shyamji's donation of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of a political propaganda in India, and I thought I would be able to get a donation from him out of that sum for the purpose of my library. The books that I wanted from England were of the nature as contained in the list filed in this case and proved. They were of a historical and political nature."

The list of books which I wanted amongst others Herbert Paul's "History of England," "Punjab in Peace and War," "Life of Farnell," "History of the French Revolution," "Life of Luther," "Modern Europe," revolutionary and political novels, "Life of Garibaldi," "Wells' Industrial Democracy."

Continuing Lala Lajpat Rai said:—At the time I sent these letters to England I had not completed the scheme, but it was matured a few days after the letters had reached England and the scheme was published in the papers. It was meant only for advanced students, degree holders and lawyers. Rs. 50 as admission fee and Rs. 100 as annual subscription were the conditions of membership."

Lala Lajpat Rai further stated:—Till after my return from the deportation, I did not know that Shyamji Krishna Varma entertained any political views of violence. After that I had nothing to do with Shyamji."

In Bhai Parmanand's case, Mr. Beatty, the City Superintendent of Police, also deposed regarding the search of Parmanand's premises. The case was adjourned to 26th January.

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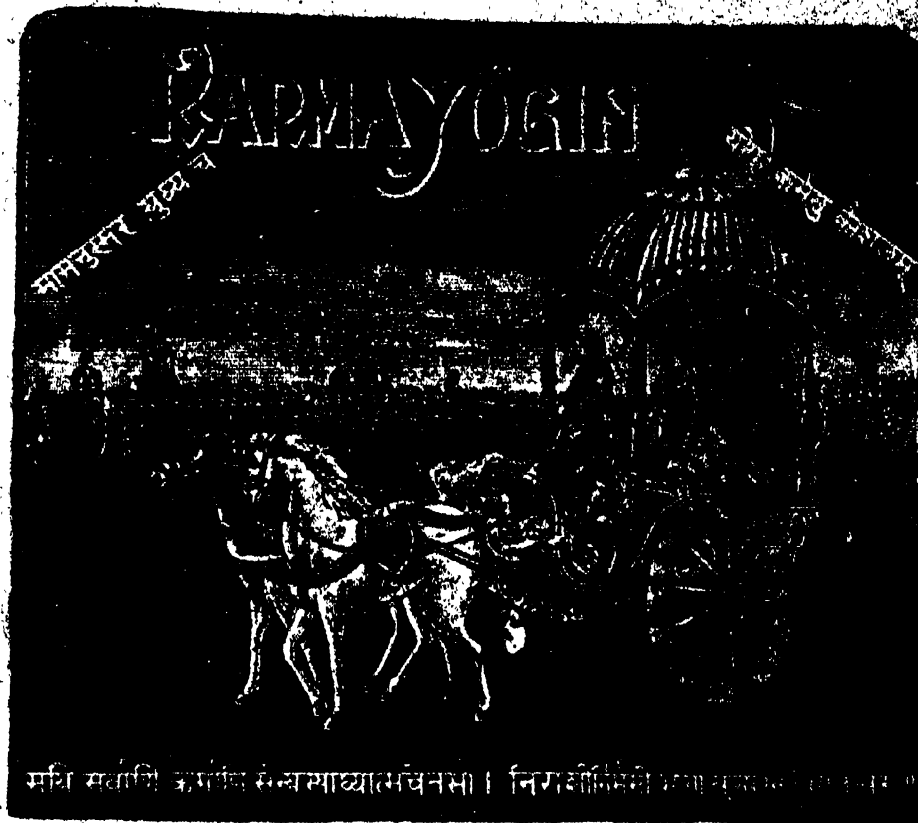
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FACTS AND OPINIONS.

The Party of Revolution.

Be the fault whose you will, ours or the Government's, the existence of an organised party of armed Revolution in Indian politics is now a recognised factor of the situation. The enormous strides with which events have advanced and a sky full of trouble but also of hope been overcast and grown full of gloom and menace, can be measured by the rapidity with which this party has developed. It is only five years since the national movement sprang into being. The cry was then for self-help and passive resistance. Boycott, Swadeshi; Arbitration, National Education, were the hope of the future, the means of self-regeneration. In five years everything has been struck to the earth. Boycott has almost disappeared, Swadeshi languishes under sentence of arrest, Arbitration died still-born, National Education is committing suicide. A tremendous disintegration has taken place and we look amazed on the ruins of the work our labour and our sacrifice erected. It is a huge defeat, an astonishing catastrophe. And on those ruins grim, wild eyed, pitiless to itself and to others, mocking at death and defeat with its raucous and careless laughter Revolution rises repeating the language of the old-world insurgents, cherish-

ing a desperate hope which modern conditions deny, grasping at the weapons which the Slav and the Celt have brought into political warfare. The seed which the Yugantar sowed in its brief, violent and meteoric career have borne fruit in unexpected quarters and new born journals repeat in foreign lands and in the English tongue the incitations to revolt and slaughter which have been put down by the strong in India hand of the law. Money is forthcoming to support a journalism which must obviously be all cost and no profit, young men exile themselves from their native land by openly joining the party of violence and in India itself repeated blows have been struck paralysing the hope and the effort to revive the activity of that broader and calmer Nationalism which, recognising modern conditions, still commands the allegiance of the bulk of the nation. Its Growth.

What is the precise nature, propaganda and strength of this party, which by so small an expenditure of energy has produced such surprising results? When the Yugantar, abandoning its habit of philosophic Revolutionism, first began to enter the field of practical politics, to sneer at passive resistance and gird at its chief exponents, no one thought that its change of attitude portended anything serious. Men read the paper for the amazing

brilliance, grace and sustained force of its style, a new thing in Bengali journalism, and from the natural attraction men feel for strong writing and bold thought even when they do not agree with it. Afterwards the reckless fight of the Yugantar for existence attracted a more dangerous admiration and from that time the journal changed from a thing of literary interest into a political force. Even then it was taken as a practical guide only among a section of young men small in numbers and without means or influence. But things have changed since then. A void has been created by the conviction, deportation, self-imposed exile or silence of the great Nationalist speakers, writers, organisers, and the dangerous opinions and activities then created have rushed in to occupy the vacuum. The Nationalism we advocate is a thing difficult to grasp and follow, needing continual intellectual exposition to keep its hold on the mind, continual inspiration and encouragement to combat the impatience natural to humanity; its methods are comparatively new in politics and can only justify themselves to human conservatism by distinguished and sustained success. The preaching of the new revolutionary party is familiar to human imagination, supported by the records of some of the most inspiring actions

in history, in consonance with the impatience, violence and passion for concrete results which revolutionary epochs generate. The growing strength of this party is not difficult to explain; it is extremely difficult to combat.

Its Extent.

This party has two sides, the propaganda carried on in foreign countries, and the Terrorist activity always recrudescing in our midst. The latter is the most formidable in the present, the former the most dangerous in the future. The foreign propaganda was first located in London and confined to the single paper, the *Indian Sociologist*, first an organ of Shyamji Krishnavarma's Home Rule Society and opposed to all methods of violence. The conversion of Krishnavarma to the Terrorism he once fiercely condemned, has been a very important factor in the growth of the new party. The propaganda has been driven from London only to spring at once into an ubiquitous activity abroad. From Paris Krishnavarma publishes the *Indian Sociologist*; from Berlin a new organ, significantly self-styled the *Talwar*, issues; in Geneva a paper naming itself the "*Bande Mataram*" busies itself with decrying the policy of the defunct "*Bande Mataram*" and denouncing its originator and former Editor; a paper called the *Free Hindustan* maintains itself in America. Wealthy men and women stand behind these organs, the Kathiawar Krishnavarma, the Parsi lady Mrs. Kama and possibly others who do not advertise their names. Young men of all nationalities in India seem to have joined these organisations and occasional pamphlets find their way into India in spite of the vigilance of the Post Office by means familiar to European revolutionism. In India any violent propaganda is possible; violent action takes its place and the swift succession of attempted or successful outrages in Guzerat, Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal show that if the movement is not organised, as in these foreign countries, it is equally widespread. The very existence of such a conspiracy must paralyse all other forms and methods of national aspiration by driving the Government and the Anglo-Indian community into the repression of everything that goes

beyond contented acceptance of that which exists. The revolutionists know this well and they have played their game with great skill and success.

Ourselves.

Every established Government is bound to eradicate a movement of this kind and it will naturally use any means it thinks effective. We recognise this necessity, but we have no faith in the means the Government and the Anglo-Indians seem to favour. We are dead against covering over an evil by pretensions, sounding and hollow speech and measures; we do not believe in a remedial system which suppresses symptoms and leaves the roots untouched. All we can do is to stand aside and let the physician try his system—and this we propose to do from henceforward. We have written this week in order to explain our action and our attitude, but we shall abstain in future from comment on current Indian politics or criticism of Government and its measures until more favourable and normal conditions return. We only reserve to ourselves the liberty of writing once to point out the immense difference between Indian condition in modern times and the historical precedents on which the revolutionists rely,—for which we had not sufficient space in this issue. With this exception the rest is silence. The *Karmayogin* was originally started as a weekly review intended to encourage the habit of deep and close thinking on all subjects and widen the intellectual range of the people, giving an especial importance to religion and the growth of spirituality. The disproportionate space allowed to current politics was necessitated by the absence of any political organ devoted to that propaganda of peaceful Nationalism in which we saw the only way to healthy political development in India. Now that that way is barred by the legislator and the Terrorist, we return to our original intention.

THE NECESSITY OF THE SITUATION.

A very serious crisis has been induced in Indian politics by the revival of Terrorist outrages and the increasing evidences of the existence of an armed and militant revolutionary party deter-

mined to fight force by force. The effect on the Government seems to have been of a character very little complimentary to British statesmanship. Faced by this menace to peace and security the only device they can think of is to make peaceful agitation impossible. Their first step has been to proclaim all India as seditious. Their second is to announce the introduction of fresh legislation making yet more stringent the already all-embracing law of sedition. By these two measures free speech on press or platform will practically be interdicted, since the perils of truthfulness will be so great that men will prefer to take refuge either in a lying hypocrisy, or in silence. Frankness, honesty, self-respecting and truthful opposition in Indian politics are at an end. The spirit which dictates the resort to these measures, will inevitably manifest itself also in the proclamation as illegal of all societies or organisations openly formed for the purpose of training the strength of the nation by solid and self-respecting political and educational work towards a free and noble future. By the law which gives the Government that power of arbitrary suppression associated work is rendered impossible, though not as yet penalised. If free speech, if free writing, if free association is made impossible under the law, it is tantamount to declaring a peaceful Nationalism illegal and criminal.

The effect of the recent assassinations on the Moderate party has been to throw them into a panic and demoralisation painful for any lover of Indian manhood to witness. It is quite possible for an Indian politician at this crisis to consider in a spirit of worthy gravity and serious recognition of the issues involved the best way of combating the evil, even if it involves cooperation with a Government which persists in the repression of the national hopes and aspirations and seeks to compel cooperation by pressure instead of by winning the hearts of the people. But that is not the spirit shown by Moderate organs and by Moderate leaders. All that we can see is a desperate and cowardly *saave qui-peut*, an attempt by every man to save himself and to burrow under a heap of meaningless words. Wild denunciations of the revolutionary instruments as fiends, dastards, cow-

ards, with loads of other epithets which defeat their purpose by their grotesque violence; strange panegyrics of the deceased police officer as a patriot, saint, martyr by those who formerly never discovered his transcendent merits or had a good word to say for the police; meetings to arrange steps for the suppression of Anarchism loudly advertised by leaders who know that they are powerless to take any effective steps in the present state of the country; Vigilance Committees which can at best pay for the hired vigils of watchmen easily avoidable by a skilful nocturnal assassin;—are these the speech and action of responsible and serious political leaders or the ravings and spasmodic gesticulations of a terrified instinct of self-preservation?

The Nationalist party can take no share in these degrading performances. On the other hand its own remedies, its own activities are doubly inhibited, inhibited from below by the paralysing effect of successful or attempted assassinations, inhibited from above by panic-stricken suspicion, panic-stricken repression. We have not disguised our policy, we have openly advertised our plans of party reconstruction and reorganisation, we have sought to speak and act candidly before the Government and the country, not extenuating the errors of the Government, not inflaming the minds of the people. The first answer to our propaganda was given by the revolutionary party in the blow struck at Nasik, the second by the Government in the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to all India. We still felt it our duty to persevere, leaving the results of our activity to a higher Power. The assassination in the High Court and the announcement of a stringent Press legislation convinces us that any farther prosecution of the public activities we contemplated, will be vain and unseasonable. Until, therefore, a more settled state of things supervenes and normal conditions can be restored, we propose to refrain from farther political action. The Government and the Anglo-Indian community seem to be agreed that by some process of political chemistry unknown to us the propagation of peaceful Nationalism generates armed and militant

revolutionism and that the best way to get rid of the latter is to suppress the former. We will give them the chance by suppressing ourselves so far as current Indian politics are concerned. We have no wish to embarrass the action of the Government or to accentuate the difficulties of the situation. The Government have no doubt a policy of their own and a theory of the best means of suppressing violent revolutionary activities. We have no faith in their policy and no confidence in their theory, but since it is theirs and the responsibility for preserving peace rests on them, let them put their policy freely and thoroughly into action. We advise our fellow Nationalists also to stand back and give an unhampered course for a while to Anglo-Indian statesmanship in its endeavours to grapple with this hydra-headed evil.

But before we resort to silence, we will speak out once freely and loudly to the Government, the Anglo-Indian community and the people. We will deliver our souls once so that no responsibility for anything that may happen in the future may be laid at our doors by posterity. To the Government we have only one word to say. We are well aware that they desire not the co-operation of the Nationalist party, but its annihilation. They trace the genesis of the present difficulties to the propaganda of the Nationalist leaders and an unstatesmanlike resentment is allowed to overpower their judgment and their insight. Choosing to be misled by a police whose incapacity and liability to corruption has been loudly proclaimed by their own Commissions presided over by their own officials, they have formed the rooted opinion that the leaders of Nationalism are secretly conspiring to subvert British rule, and neither the openness of our proceedings nor the utter failure of the police to substantiate these allegations have been able to destroy the illusion. The open espionage, menace and detective machinations to which we are subjected, are sufficient proof of its persistence. Nevertheless, it is due to the Government that we should speak the truth and it is open to them to consider or reject it at their pleasure. The one, the only remedy for the difficulties which beset them

in India, is to cease from shutting their eyes on unpleasant facts, to recognize the depth, force and extent of the movement in India; the radical change that has come over the thoughts and hearts of the people and the impossibility of digging out that which wells up from the depths by the spades of repression. They are face to face with aspirations and agitations which are not only Indian but Asiatic, not only Asiatic but world-wide. They cannot do away by force with these opinions, these motions, these developments unless they first trample down the resurgence in Japan, China, Turkey and Persia and reverse the march of progress in Europe and America. Neither can they circumvent the action of natural forces which are not moved by but move the Indian political leaders. Reforms which would have satisfied and quieted ten years ago are now a mere straw upon a torrent. Some day they must make up their minds to the inevitable and follow the example of rulers all over the world by conceding a popular constitution with whatever safeguards they choose for British interests and British sovereignty, and the earlier they can persuade themselves to concede it, the better terms they can make with the future. This has been the traditional policy of England all over the world, and it has always been an evil day for the Empire when statesmen have turned their backs on English traditions and adopted the blind impolicy of the Continental peoples. They have seen at Lahore and Hughly that Moderatism is a dead force impotent to help or to injure, that whatever the lips may profess, the hearts of the people are with Nationalism. Impolitic severity may transfer that allegiance to the militant revolutionism which is raising its head and thriving on the cessation of all legitimate political activity. The Nationalist leaders will stand unwaveringly by their ideals and policy, but they may prove as helpless hereafter as the Moderates are in the face of the present situation.

The Anglo-Indian community, through its recognised organs, is now busy inflaming hostility, bounding on the Government to farther ill-advised measures of repression and adding darkness to darkness.

confusion to confusion. Statesmanship they never had, but even common sense has departed from them. The Indian people made a fair offer of peace and alliance to them at the beginning of the movement by including goods produced in India through European enterprise and with European capital as genuine Swadeshi goods; but instead of securing their future interests and position by standing in the forefront of the political and industrial development of India, they have preferred to study their momentary caste interest and oppose the welfare of the country to which they owe their prosperity. As a punishment God has deprived them of reason. They are hacking at the roots of British investment and industry in India by driving blindly towards the creation of more unrest and anarchy in the country. They are imperilling a future which can still be saved by, fanatical attachment to a past which is doomed. If they could look at politics with the eye either of the statesman or of the man of business, they would see, that neither their political nor their commercial interests can be served by a vain attempt to hold this vast country by pressing a mailed heel on the throats of the people. The pride of race, the arrogance of colour, a bastard mercantile Imperialism are poor substitutes for wisdom, statesmanship and common sense. Undoubtedly, they may induce the Government to silence and suppress, to imprison and deport till all tongues are hushed and all organisations are abolished—except the voice of the bomb and the revolver, except the subterranean organisation that, like a suppressed disease, breaks out the more you drive in its symptoms. Have they ever contemplated the possibility of that result of their endeavours—the possibility that their confusion of Nationalism with Terrorism may be ignorant and prejudiced, and that the measures they advocate, may only destroy the one force that can now stand between India and chaos?

To the people also we have a last word to say. We have always advocated open agitation, a manly aspiration towards freedom, a steady policy of independent, self-sustained action and peaceful resistance to the repression of legitimate activities. That policy was only possible on condition of a certain amount of

self-restraint in repressive legislation by the Government, and a great amount of courage, self-restraint, resolution and self-sacrifice on the part of the people. It appears we cannot count on any of these conditions. The rise of a revolutionist party fanatically opposed alike to the continuance of the British connection and to peaceful development makes our policy yet more impossible. A triangular contest between violent revolution, peaceful Nationalist endeavour and bureaucratic reaction is an impossible position and would make chaos more chaotic. Any action at the present moment would be ill-advised and possibly disastrous. The Government demand cooperation from the Moderates, silence from the Nationalists. Let us satisfy them and let there be no action on our part which can be stigmatised as embarrassing the authorities in their struggle with Terrorism. The self-restraint of our party after the conviction of Mr. Tilak was rewarded by the break-down of Moderatism after it had undisputed control of the press and platform for almost a year. A similar self-restraint will be equally fruitful now. Revolution paralyses our efforts to deal peacefully but effectively with Repression; Repression refuses to allow us to cut the ground from under the feet of Revolution. Both demand a clear field for their conflict. Let us therefore stand aside, sure that Time will work for us in the future as it has done in the past, and that, if we bear faithfully the burden of the ideal God has laid upon us, our hour may be delayed, but not denied to us for ever.

THE ELECTIONS.

The great election is over, the first in England which has been fought on constitutional issues since the passing of the Reform Bill in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. The forces of reaction have put forth their utmost strength and, in the result, have only succeeded in just equalising their own numbers with those of the official Liberal party. This partial success will be more fatal to the cause of reaction than a defeat. For, in the coming Parliament, the Liberal Ministry will be dependent for their very existence on the forty Labour votes that represent

the frankly socialistic element in English progressive opinion. Such a state of things has never before existed in English politics and a few years ago it would have been thought impossible. Practically, Socialist opinion will rule England so long as the Asquith ministry lasts and, if the Socialists are wisely guided and refrain from abusing their opportunity, they will be able to take such steps in the modification of British politics as will ensure the triumph of Socialism in England at no distant date. Not only will the Government depend for its very existence on the Labour vote, but it will depend for its safety on Irish support. If, therefore, the Irish also are wisely guided and do not press the favourable situation too far, the long delayed concession of Home Rule is a certainty within the next two years. Necessarily, the success of the Irish and the Socialists can bear no fruit unless the veto of the House of Lords is annulled or a new elective Upper Chamber takes the place of the present absurd and antiquated institution. We have not therefore erred in forecasting a democratic revolution in England as the inevitable result of the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Budget, or, as they euphemistically put it, referring it to the country. Mr. Balfour has recognized that the verdict of the United Kingdom has been given in favour of the Budget and against Tariff Reform. The real issue is now, what it should have been throughout, the reform, abolition or replacement of the House of Lords.

When the elections were in progress, Mr. Asquith committed himself on the question of Home Rule, and, even if he wished to draw back from it, in face of his dependence on Labour and Irish votes he can no longer retreat. All that he has done is to qualify his promise of a final solution of the Irish question by stipulating that it shall contain provision for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament as well as local autonomy of a liberal character for the Irish nation. This means not only the restriction of all Imperial questions to the province of the Parliament meeting in London, but the decision of questions between Ireland and England by the same body and possibly a power of veto in

certain matters for the British Cabinet. It is impossible for an English statesman to go farther in the direction of Irish autonomy, and the Irish party will be well advised to accept even this qualified autonomy and make it an instrument for so developing the strength of the Irish nation as to make further concession in the future inevitable. The lifework of Parnell has not gone in vain; the two great questions he brought to a head by his masterly policy, the liberation of the Irish peasant from rackrenting landlords and the liberation of the Irish race from an unsympathetic domination, are both in process of solution within quarter of a century of his untimely end. Liberty is a goddess who is exacting in her demands on her votaries, but, if they are faithful, she never disappoints them of their reward.

For India, the elections are as favourable as an English election can be. We do not regard the defeat of pro-Indian Liberal candidates as a calamity. There is always a limit to the efforts of members of Parliament, however sincere, who are bound by ties of party loyalty and discipline not to embarrass their official chiefs beyond a certain point. The Labour members and the Nationalists are bound by no such scruples and both of these parties have sympathy with India. The one problem before us is how to turn that sentiment of sympathy into an effective impetus towards action; for in European politics sentiment is not a sufficiently strong motive unless it is supported by some practical community of interests. The Irish Parliamentary party were able to bring Home Rule into the category of realisable ideals because they made it to the interest of the British parties to get rid of the Irish difficulty; if that ideal is realised now, it will be because the interests of the English Liberals and the Irish Nationalists have become one and, therefore, they must accommodate each other. It is forces that effect great political changes, not moral sentiments or vague generalities. Even a great

idea can only become operative when it is manifested as a working force with a definite aim and a distinct pressure on its environments.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.)

Nationalism and Nationalists.

Mazzini was the first apostle and prophet of Nationalism in modern Europe. His message of Nationalism was, therefore, necessarily more a matter of faith and intuition, than the fruit of any systematised philosophy. There is, no doubt, an unconscious philosophy behind every prophetic intuition, and it was also behind Mazzini's message. But Mazzini did not fully work it out. Indeed, the materials for working out a complete philosophy of Nationalism were hardly present before him. Both Psychology and Sociology are comparatively new sciences; they are even now almost in their infancy. They were practically unknown in Mazzini's time. And it is to these that we mainly owe, what may be called, the scientific basis of Nationalism. The study of social phenomena in the light of evolution, to which we are indebted for the highest generalisations of Sociology, is a very recent attempt. It was hardly known in Mazzini's time. Besides, the East which is but very crudely understood even to-day, was but barely known in those days. And the fundamental basis of Nationalism, as a universal generalisation in Sociology, is that Absolute Idealism which is the especial heritage of the Hindu. Our highest philosophy furnishes a basis for Nationalism which is as yet unknown and unappreciated, to a large extent, in other known cultures and civilisations. Hindu Monism is the philosophical implication of that organic conception of the social life, which is the special contribution of modern Psychology and Sociology. Mazzini was hardly acquainted with this philosophy. The comparative, the historical, and the evolutionary methods, the special methods discovered by the culture of the nineteenth century,

were also practically unknown to him. And it is these that have developed the new philosophy of Nationalism, as we know it today. Lastly, the world also was practically much smaller in Mazzini's day than it is now. The East had no doubt been rediscovered long before his time, but the truth that the Eastern peoples also form an organic part of Universal Humanity, representing especial types of human civilisation and possessing capitalised wealth of human culture, scarcely realised even today, was almost absolutely unknown in Europe in Mazzini's time. His profound spiritual insight and his breadth of sympathies notwithstanding, Mazzini's vision of Humanity, therefore, hardly went beyond what may very aptly be called, White-Manity.

And it is a true conception of Humanity which must always find the real basis and significance of Nationalism. Nationality is a part, Humanity is the whole. Nationality is the limb, Humanity is the body. Nationality is the organ, Humanity is the organism. The whole is the only interpretation of the parts; the body of the limbs; the organism of the organs. A true philosophy of Nationalism can only be built up on a true philosophy of Humanity. Mazzini's ideal of Humanity was perfect; and his conception of Nationality was also equally sound. No more perfect or sound conception of either exists in our mind even to-day. But the ideal is a mere form; it waits always to be filled up with the actual contents of our experience. The form and the contents are organically related to one another. And the narrowness of the contents must narrow down the actual application of an ideal, even if it does not destroy its intrinsic breadth and universality. This is what actually happened in Mazzini's case. His ideal of Humanity was a universal ideal. It was, as he distinctly put it, the necessary corollary of his faith in God,—One God, One Law. His conception of God is essentially monistic. God is "the absolute, living Thought, of whom our world is a ray, the universe an

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incarnation." His conception of Law is essentially organic and evolutionary. It works for an *Aim*, definite in the end, but progressively revealed in its advance towards that final end. Such a Law must needs have some thing by which it can be progressively interpreted and verified. This something is, to Mazzini, Humanity. This conception of Humanity is perfect. It is not a mere abstraction, on the one hand, nor is it a mere mechanical and numerical whole, on the other. It is an organic whole: "the collective and continuous Being that sums up and comprehends the ascending series of organic creations." It is the nearest approach to our own conception of Humanity. In our language and literature the concept Humanity is conveyed by Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is the soul of all organic creations:—*Sarvadehinām atma; the Witness of all the countless worlds:—Akhilalokasākshi; the Eternal Being who pervades the whole of the human race, and constitutes their essential unity, and stands behind human history as the necessary logic of human evolution and progress. It is the same as the Christ-Idea conceived by philosophical Christianity.*

Mazzini's conception of Humanity is perfect, and approaches both the highest Hindu and Christian idea of it. But owing to the limitations of his time and environments, he was not able to fully work out this perfect idea in the scheme of his nationalism. Practically his vision did not go beyond Europe. Italy was to be the initiator people; Europe was to be the field

of their divine mission. This somewhat limited view was only natural to him. He stood face to face with Europe. His Europe, again, was the Europe as it stood leavened by the French Illumination. The immediate problem before him was the liberation of Italy. The Vision that inspired him was that of a rejuvenated Italy, rising to claim once more her old place as the teacher and leader of Europe. He did not realise that Italy had already played out her part, in the reconstruction of European life and thought, through the Renaissance. But whatever might be the place of Italy in this new reconstruction of Europe, Mazzini's general ideal and philosophy of Humanity was, in their practical application, confined to that continent alone. Asia had not yet vitally entered the arena of European thought. Mazzini had hardly any moral and spiritual consciousness of that portion of humanity. His general ideal and philosophy of humanity, though quite capable of as much application to the larger life and more complex problems of Asia as to those of Europe, was, however, practically applied to the latter only. And, therefore, the larger illumination that always follows the application of even universal principles to fresh and wider fields, could not come to the noble, and essentially correct, conception of humanity that Mazzini had. His message failed, consequently, to be a world-message. The application even failed in Europe. Europe has not yet been trained and disciplined for this lofty gospel. It had, as yet, very little vital reference to the actual-

ities of the European situation. The French Revolution, for one thing, had not yet completely worked itself out. People still fondly clung to the old message of rank individualism, as a saving principle in political, economic, and social life. The old shibboleths—liberty, equality, and fraternity, still held almost absolute sway over the minds of the "advanced" thinkers and workers in every European country. The conservative elements of Society, everywhere represented mainly by the ruling classes,—were deeply distrustful of the new ideas and movements among the people. And they were all over Europe secretly and silently combined in a crusade against the new forces, let loose upon society by the French Revolution. Mazzini saw, with the prevision that God gives to his prophets, both the limitations of the French gospel as well as a general outline of the new ideal of the world. Not so really his contemporaries. The time was not ripe yet for it. And visions like these, that come to those who are in advance of their age, always remain mere intuitions which, however inspiring and elevating they may be, are yet vague and undefined, like the herald of dawn in the first suspicion of a glow on the eastern horizon.

Such, indeed, was Mazzini's vision of the future dawn. He was like John the Baptist, in the Christian Dispensation, proclaiming the death of the old era, and preparing his world for a new, the full significance of which even he himself did not completely realise; while the multitudes about him, vaguely apprehensive of a change, yet hardly dared to transfer their affections from the old and decadent order to the new ideal held up before them.

Mazzini's conception of nationality, like his idea of humanity was also essentially correct. The terms he uses to express the concept Nationality are perfect, none better has yet been discovered. Nationality, he says, is the *Conscience of the peoples, their Individuality*. It is this which assigns to different groups of human units, constituting a nation, their special function in Humanity, their special mission among mankind. This is Mazzini's conception of Nationality and the most modern conception of it has made no advance upon the

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Mazzinian idea. Yet it seems very doubtful if even Mazzini had fully realised the significance of his own definition of nationality.

Nationality, he says, is the *individuality* of the people. The comparatively recent researches both in psychology and sociology have, imparted a complexity and completeness to the conception of individuality which it never had in Mazzini's days. The individuality of a man or woman is that undeniable but inexplicable *something* which differentiates him or her from other men and women. This *something* is original and organic in the individual. It is not explained by anything that is or can be known concerning the individual. Neither heredity nor environment, which seem to explain a lot, can fully explain these individual differentiations. Children of the same parent, brought up in the same way, influenced by the same environments, whether physical, intellectual, or moral, develop different individualities of their own. All that we can say is that there is *something original and organic* in the very make and constitution of different human beings which differentiate them from other human beings, and constitute the essential elements of their individuality. Psychometry is engaged in discovering, if possible, the physical basis of human character or individuality. Psychology is investigating the same elements in the mental constitution of the individual. And though the origin and cause of the human individuality lies still, as perhaps it will always do, in the realm of the unknown, its constituent elements are being discovered more

and more fully almost every day. This individuality, we now fully recognise, expresses itself, in the first place, in the physical make and movement of different human beings. The general physiological structure is practically the same among all men belonging to any particular race or nation. But there are almost endless variations within this general unity, of physiological types, almost every individual differing from others on some points, either in the angle of the nose, the formation of the cranium, or the pigment of the skin. Thus, among even the white races, some are blonde, some brunette, some have sharp and some flat features. In some the forehead is broad, the lips thin, eyes large, the nose straight; in others the cranium has a suggestion of conicality, the lips thick, the nose broad, eyes small, and the whole appearance has the impress of the criminal and the vicious on it. These physiological differences are oftentimes indicative of moral and mental differences as well. But even without any marked physiological distinctions, there are fundamental intellectual differences between one man and another, belonging not only to the same race or nation, or the same social set, but even born of the same parents. These differences are as original and organic as the differences in their physiological structures. Similarly, there are moral differences between different individuals. All these are what may be called structural differences, undeniable but inexplicable. And these structural differences really constitute the fundamental basis of what we call the human personality or character.

In defining nationality as the individuality of peoples, Mazzini struck an essentially right note. But what was a happy intuition with him is to-day almost a scientific truth. And this larger and fuller conception of nationality which we claim is only the result of the advance of our age over that of the great Italian apostle of Nationalism.

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2. The God-knowledge by Brahma declared to Atharvan, Atharvan of old declared to Angir; he to Satyavaha of the Bharadwajas told it, the Bharadwaja to Angirus, both the higher knowledge and the lower.

3. Shaunaca, the great house-lord, came to Angirus in the way of a disciple and asked him, "Lord, by knowing what is all this universe known?"

4. He answered him, "Twofold the knowledge thou must have, say the knowers of the Brahman, the higher and the lower.

5. Of which the lower, the Rig-veda, the Yajur, the Sama, the Atharva, Chanting, Ritual, Grammar, Interpretation, Prosody, Astronomy. Then the higher by which the Immutible is known.

6. This that is invisible and not to be grasped, without hue and without relation, and has not eyes nor ears, nor hands, nor feet, but is for ever,—the All-pervading who is everywhere; impalpable, inexhaus-

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tible, omnipresent. It is this which as the Womb of creatures ages to all sides of them behold.

7. As the spider createth and gathereth in again, as herbs spring up upon the earth, as the hairs of the body grow from a living man, so in this universe all proceedeth out of the Immutable.

8. By energy at work the Brahman extendeth itself, and from the Brahman is born Matter, and out of Matter cometh the lifebreath and mind and truth and the worlds and the law of immortality in work.

9. He that is omniscient and all-comprehending, of whom knowledge is the force and the energy, He is that out of which Brahman cometh, and from him Name and Form are born, and from Him Matter beginneth.

NEWS.

HIGH COURT OUTRAGE

Birendra Nauth Dutta Gupta, aged 19 years, who is charged with the murder of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul Alum, was placed on his trial at the High Court Sessions on the 1st before the Chief Justice and a special jury composed of five Europeans and four Indians.

The prisoner who looked pale but calm and unconcerned entered the dock

sentencing. He was barefooted and was dressed in a bhoori which originally was white and had a warm wrapper thrown over the upper part of his body. The court was strongly guarded by police under the supervision of Superintendent Haultain.

AFTER HEARING THE EVIDENCE.

The jury without retiring unanimously found the accused guilty of murder.

His Lordship in passing sentence said:—

Birendra Nath Dutta Gupta, you have been found guilty by the unanimous verdict of the jury of the murder of Moulvi Shams-ul Alum, and the sentence of the court is that you will be taken from this place to the place whence you come and next to the place of execution and there to be hanged by the neck until you are dead.

RAJENDRAPUR TRAIN DACOITY CASE.

Surendra Chandra Chakrabarty, an inhabitant of Madhyapara in Bikrampur, has been arrested at Habiganj and brought to Dacca, under police escort. This arrest, too, is understood to be in connection with Rajendrapur train dacoity.

The Public Prosecutor, applying for two day's time to produce more identifying witnesses, the hearing of arguments for bail on behalf of Sitanath Das, a Dacca College student, arrested in connection with Rajendrapur train dacoity case, has been postponed to the 28th instant.

TENALI BOMB CASE.

At the High Court, Justices Benson and Abdul Rahim delivered two separate and distinct judgments in the appeal preferred by Chukkerpulle Ramia, one of the accused in the Tenali Bomb case. The accused was convicted by the Sessions Judge of murder and sentenced to death. Mr. Justice Benson in a lengthy judgment confirmed the conviction under Section 302 and the sentence of death. Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim also delivered a lengthy judgment altering the conviction and sentencing the appellant to three year's rigorous imprisonment. Owing to

this difference of opinion the case will be referred to a third judge.

THE TENTH JATA.

Since the arrest of ten men of the 10th Jata about a fortnight ago, with rumours of various descriptions have been prevalent in Calcutta about the affairs of the regiment. We cannot yet give the nature of the charges against the arrested men but we can say that none of very alarmist rumours were true. So far as we can learn the regiment was at no time deprived of its arms and certainly the Volunteers were not served ball ammunition yesterday.

The Tenth Jata generally are a fine body of soldiers who hail from the Upper Provinces and while the rumours have been spreading they have been quietly getting their belongings together to be ready for unexpected departure. On Saturday last one Havildar and thirty men of the 24th Punjab took charge of the Lines and early this morning the 10th Jata leave by boat for Sind.

Out of the ten men who had been arrested originally three were shortly after released and five more since, making a total of eight. Of the two remaining a Havildar named Choonoo and a sepoy named Surjan have been sentenced by Court Martial to one year's imprisonment.

In the regiment itself enquiries go to show that there is much defection at the stigma cast on the good name of the regiment by the presence of sedition to even so small an extent among their ranks. The men declare that they are not at all sorry to leave Calcutta but feel the disgrace of the circumstances that have led to their being sent away. They also point out that since only ten men were arrested and two actually sentenced they might not be condemned in public estimation as a body for the deeds or actions of so small a proportion of their number.

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NEWS.

MADRAS GLASS FACTORY.

On the 23rd January a demonstration was given of the capability of the Madras glass factory recently installed in its works to turn out glassware and the ladies and gentlemen who attended were conducted round the works by Messrs. School and James Short. The manufacture of soda water bottles was performed by European workmen from Germany and the manufacture of tiles of Mangalore pattern was performed by Indian workmen. A very interesting time was spent by all present.

KICK FOR KICK.

An incident took place at the Lucknow Railway Station on the 23rd January. A Bengali Vakil, in Bengali dress, was buying a ticket when one of the three tourists, six feet high, went up, and finding the ticket window occupied, hauled out and kicked the Vakil. This gentleman got his head out of the window, looked at the offender squarely in the face, repeated the operation on the tourist and then asked what he meant. The tourist growled at him fiercely. The Vakil returned it more fiercely and that silenced the offender.

A NASIK SUSPECT.

One Bhasker Ganesh was placed before the third Magistrate by Inspector Sullivan of the Criminal Investigation Department who informed His Worship that the accused was arrested in Bombay on Friday last in connection with the Nasik tragedy. It appears that Bhasker was a student at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute and that he completed his course at the Institute in December last, passing as a Mechanical Engineer. He then went to Nasik and was arrested on suspicion on his return to Bombay on Friday. His Worship remanded the accused into Police custody till Monday for enquiry.

LAHORE SEDITION.

The hearing of the Lahore sedition cases was resumed after the Mohurram holidays by Mr. Harrison, Special Magistrate.

Zial Hug, Editor of "Peshwa," who was tried under Section 124A, tendered an apology which was forwarded to Government.

Ishri Pershad, Editor of the "Bedari," against whom there was a case of defamation instituted by the police also tendered an apology which was forwarded to the Inspector-General of Police. A charge was already framed against the accused.

In connection with the Lahore sedition case, Mr. Kelkar, Editor of the "Marhatta" was examined before the City Magistrate. The examination was regarding the reproduction in the "Marhatta" or other Indian papers of an article by William Jennings Bryan entitled "British rule in India" published in the New York "Sun" dated July 29th 1906. Witness in reply stated that he reproduced the article for which he was neither warned nor prosecuted as far as he remembered. The "Hindu," the "Madras Standard" the "Bengalee," and the "Patrika" of Calcutta also reproduced the article. The "Sun" of New York and "India" of London were received by witness in exchange for the past twelve years, the former very irregularly except if sent by any interested party. Witness had no personal knowledge of the article being distributed at the Calcutta Congress in pamphlet form. This closed the examination and the evidence will be submitted through the District Magistrate to the Lahore Court.

PATIALA SEDITION CASE.

When the Special Tribunal, hearing the Patiala Sedition case, assembled this morning in the Maharaja's courtroom, the President intimated to the defence pleaders that the Maharaja's orders on the petition, filed by accused, praying for the Maharaja's clemency, had not been received yet and that they intended telegraphing to His Highness for instruction. In the meantime the case was postponed indefinitely.

Lala Munshiram, a defence pleader, made a complaint that the police were refusing to sign the list of things which were being returned to the accused. Court promised to look into the matter.

Three applications for bail were made, but no orders passed.

THE HIGH COURT TRAGEDY.

Developments of an important character have taken place since the perpetration of the recent High Court outrage. Tuesday at midnight the Police raided three houses in the northern section of the town. About 1-30 a. m. on Thursday Superintendent Creagan assisted by Inspector Mulcahy of the Jorabagan Police Station, Inspector Pandit of the Kumartuli Police Station and a posse of Policemen raided premises No. 275 Upper Chitpur Road occupied by one Hemanto Kumar Chatterjee and his family. The Police, who were armed with the necessary warrant in the course of a thorough search of the premises arrested the doctor's nephew, Babu Jotindra Nath Mukerjee who lived in the house with his wife and two children and who has been employed in the Bengal Secretariat as a shorthand writer under the Hon. Mr. Wheeler, Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The Police seized a lot of letters, post cards, books and two photographs, one was that of Babu Deben-dro Nath Dey, late a teacher in the Calcutta Central College, the other being a group of about 28 students of the College including the teacher who is now employed as the headmaster of the Jheria High School. The search which was concluded about 7 a. m. was supervised by Mr. Tegart Deputy Commissioner of Police. Before the Police withdrew, the room of Jotindra Nath was locked up by the Police as Superintendent Creagan intimated that he intended continuing the search, meanwhile a constable was placed on special guard duty outside the room which is situated on the upper storey of the house while another constable was placed on guard at the gate of the house.

Simultaneously with the above search, the Police, headed by Inspector Lyons raided premises No. 59 Benatolla Lane occupied by Jotindra Nath's uncle Babu Anath Bundo Chatterjee. This gentleman, it is said, had under the direction of the Translator to the Government of Bengal translated into English the Bengali documents which had been made exhibits in the well-known Ahpur

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Bombay case. Apart from this he is said to be the Calcutta agent to the Maharaja of Nuda and looks after the Maharaja's houses in Calcutta besides doing work on commission. The Police on arriving at his house knocked at the gate which was bolted from within with wooden bar. As no response was made by the inmates, who were fast asleep, the Police, it is alleged, broke open the gate and entered the premises where a thorough search was made. These premises were also visited by Mr. Tegart during the search which resulted in the seizure of the Maharaja's account books and correspondence. The Police on withdrawing from the house marched off with Anath Babu, who, it is said, has been detained in custody.

The Police also searched premises No. 121 Cornwallist St. which, it is said, are in the occupation of Babu Kishori Lal Sarkar, who is said to be a Vakil of the High Court. Our representative visited the house but could get no details of the search, the inmates being warned by the Police not to speak to any one about the search. It is reported that an arrest was made but even in this respect no reliable information could be obtained. It is said that these searches are in a measure connected with the recent High Court outrage.

Two arrests were made in connection with the Alum murder at Krishnagar, namely, Lalit Kumar Chatterjee, pleader and Law Lecturer in the local College and his clerk. They were arrested by Inspector Hughes of the Armed Police and Rai Bahadur Benode Kumar Gupta of the C. I. D., on a charge of abetment of murder. The Warrant was signed by the District Magistrate and the two persons were taken by the police to him. Several pleaders appeared before the Magistrate and prayed for bail. They were told that the arrests were made under the orders of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to whom application should be made. Lalit and his clerk were sent to-day under police escort to Calcutta. Lalit's house was searched in the morning in the presence of his neighbours. A printed memorandum of association of the Arya Chemical Works and some songs were found. A month ago Lalit's house had been searched in connection with the Netra dacoity. The bail application has been sent by the Magistrate to the Commissioner of Police.

Honour the Lieutenant-Governor

has awarded through the Commissioner of Police a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the persons who were instrumental in the arrest of the murderer, the amount will be distributed by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the persons concerned.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

His Excellency, the Viceroy delivered the following address of welcome at the first meeting of the reformed Imperial legislative Council:—

"GENTLEMEN,—

I welcome the members of this newly-constituted Imperial Council on their first assembly at the capital of the Indian Empire.

The occasion is replete with political meaning. It marks the close of a system of administration which, under the guidance of many illustrious statesmen, has contributed much to the prosperity of India and to the glories of her history—it opens a new era with the inauguration of broader principles of government,—and though this Council Room is ill-adapted for the accommodation of our increased numbers and for the convenience of the public, it has seemed best to me that we should first assemble within the walls of the palace which Wellesley founded and in the Council Chamber hallowed by the legislative traditions of the last 100 years.

Those years have witnessed the consolidation of the Indian Empire as it exists to-day, they tell a story of troubles and anxieties, of hard-won successes and many glorious episodes—but they have throughout been years of recurring administrative changes in harmony with social progress and an advance in political thought largely due to the results of an education system introduced into India by British rulers.

It has been a period of evolution. We have moved in successive stages from Wellesley's small Supreme Council appointed by the Board of Control—to the days of Lord William Bentinck and the Charter Act of 1833—to the conquering rule of Lord Dalhousie and the Charter Act of 1853—to the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892—great landmarks in Indian history. And each successive stage has

witnessed either the grant of larger legislative powers to the Government of India or an increasing recognition of the necessity for broadening the basis of administration upon lines more representative of the general interests of the country. That necessity was first met by the nomination, and subsequently the quasi-election, of additional members of the Governor-General's Council. The first additional member was appointed nearly 80 years ago under the Act of 1833. That member was Lord Macaulay. Since then the machinery affecting their appointment has been gradually adapted to meet varying conditions, whilst their numbers were increased to a possible sixteen by the Act of 1892. That Act like its predecessors has been superseded by the adoption of more advanced legislation and in accordance with the Act of 1909 this newly-constituted Imperial Council is now for the first time assembled.

I have merely ventured to sketch the progress of British legislation, because I cannot but feel that much of the criticism of the recent policy of the Government of India has been oblivious of past history and has been based upon the assumption that the India of 20 years ago can continue to be the India of to-day. That is an impossibility—many influences have combined to make it so—and we have had to follow in the footsteps of the statesmen who have preceded us, and to recognise that British rule must again be re-adapted to novel conditions,—conditions far more novel than any with which our predecessors had to deal in that political forces unknown to them have come into existence in India which is no longer possible for British administrators to ignore, whilst the trend of events in the Far East has accentuated the ambitions of Eastern populations. When I took up the reins of government as Viceroy in the late autumn of 1905 all Asia was marvelling at the victories of Japan over a European power, their effects were far-reaching

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(Indo Calcutta Gazette, August 26th, 1908).
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new possibilities seemed to spring into existence—there were indications of popular demands in China, in Persia, in Egypt, and in Turkey, there was an awakening of the Eastern World, and though, to outward appearances, India was quiet,—in the sense that there was at that moment no visible acute political agitation,—she had not escaped the general infection, and before I had been in the country a year I shared the view of my Colleagues that beneath a seemingly calm surface there existed a mass of smothered political discontent, much of which was thoroughly justifiable, and due to causes which we were called upon to examine. We heartily recognised the loyalty of the masses of the people of India and we were not prepared to suppress new, but not unnatural, aspirations without examination. You cannot sit forever on a safety valve, no matter how sound the boiler may be. Something had to be done and we decided to increase the powers and expand the scope of the Act of 1892.

It is important that my Hon'ble Colleagues and the Indian public should know the history, the early history at any rate, of the reforms which have now been sanctioned by Parliament. They had their genesis in a note of my own addressed to my Colleagues in August 1906 nearly 3½ years ago. It was based entirely on the views I had myself formed of the position of affairs in India. It was due to no suggestions from home—whether it was good or bad, I am entirely responsible for it. It dealt with the conditions it appeared to me the Government of India had then to consider, and as it is answerable for much that has followed in its wake, my Hon'ble Colleagues will perhaps allow me to read it to them. This is what I then wrote.

"I feel sure my Colleagues will agree with me that Indian affairs and the methods of Indian administration have never attracted more public attention in India and at home than at the present moment. The reasons for their doing so are not far to seek. The growth of education which British rule has done so much to encourage is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities and to compare their claims for an equality of citizenship

with those of a ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India.

"To what extent the people of India as a whole are as yet capable of serving in all branches of administration to what extent they are individually entitled to a share in the political representation of their country, to what extent it may be possible to weld together the traditional sympathies and antipathies of many different races and different creeds, and to what extent the great hereditary rulers of Native States should assist to direct Imperial policy, are problems which the experience of future years can alone gradually solve.

"But we, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change, questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore and which we must attempt to answer, and to me it would appear all-important that the initiative should emanate from us, that the Government of India, should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from home that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions and to place before His Majesty's Government the opinions which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold.

"This view I feel sure my colleagues share with me. Mr. Morley cordially approves it and in pursuance of it announced, on my authority in his recent Budget speech my intention of appointing a Committee from the Viceroy's Council to consider the question of possible reforms.

Such enquiries have, as you are aware,

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taken place before—there was the Commission, over which Sir Charles Aitchison presided, to enquire into the employment of Indians in the public services, and we have also the notable report of the Committee appointed by Lord Dufferin to consider proposals for the reconstruction of Legislative Councils on a representative basis (1888), over which Sir George Chesney presided, and of which the present Lord Macdonnell was Secretary. It is curious to see from that report how similar conditions and arguments were then, to what they are now; with the one great exception that we have now to deal with a further growth of nearly twenty years of increasing political aspirations.

"But though increased representation is still the popular cry as it was in 1888, other demands or rather suggestions are shaping themselves out of a foreshadowed metamorphosis. We are told of a Council of Princes, of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, of an Indian Member on the Secretary of State's Council, and in addition to the older claims put forward on behalf of increased representation on the Legislative Councils, we are asked to consider new procedure as to presentation of the Budget to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, a prolongation of the Budget Debate and further opportunity for financial discussion. As to possibilities such as these, I would be grateful for the opinion of the Committee I hope to appoint, limiting myself for the present to only one opinion that in any proposal for the increase of representation it is absolutely necessary to guard the important interests existing in the country, as expressed in paragraph 7, page 3, of the Report of Sir Charles Aitchison's Committee.

- (a) the interests of the hereditary nobility and landed classes who have a great permanent stake in the country;
- (b) the interests of the trading, professional and agricultural classes;
- (c) the interests of the planting and commercial European community; and
- (d) the interests of stable and effective administration.

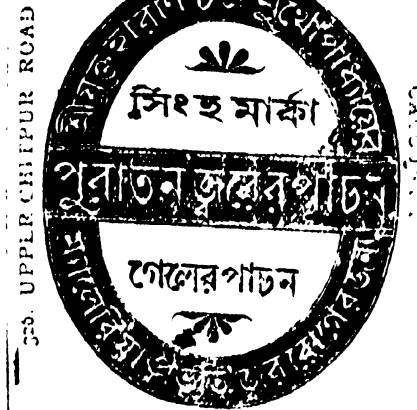
"The objects I should propose to refer to the Committee are—(a) A Council of Princes, and if this is not possible, might they be represented on the Viceroy's Legislative Council?

(b) An Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council.

(c) Increased representation on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and on Local Government.



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(4) Prolongation of the Budget Debate. Procedure as to presentation of the Budget and powers of moving amendments.

"This Minute is circulated for the information of Members of Council, from whom I shall be glad to receive any suggestions or expressions of opinion which they may desire to make, and which will be communicated to the Committee."

"When the Committee has reported, their Report will be laid before Council for full consideration."

That note elicited valuable opinions and was fully discussed in Council; and though, as you are aware, its suggestions were not accepted in their entirety by the Government of India, it laid the foundation of the first scheme of reform they submitted to the Secretary of State.

Since it was written, Lord Morley has fought India's battles in both Houses of the Parliament in many great and memorable speeches, and there has been a constant interchange of correspondence between him and the Government of India. Much of it has not as yet been made public, but as regards the reform of the Legislative Councils I commit no shadow of confidence in indicating the policy which the Government of India has endeavoured to follow. We have distinctly maintained that representative Government in its Western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire and would be ungenial to the traditions of Eastern populations; that Indian conditions do not admit of popular representation; that the safety and welfare of this country must depend on the supremacy of British administration—and that supremacy can, in no circumstances, be delegated to any kind of representative assembly.

But we have been deeply impressed by the changing political conditions alluded to in my note, and we have endeavoured to meet them by broadening the representation authorised by the Council Act of 1892, by expanding its rules of procedure and facilitating opportunities for debate, by inviting the leaders of Indian public opinion to become fellow-workers with us in British administration, and by securing the representation of those important interests and communities which go to form the real strength of India, whilst at the same time recognising the claims of educational advance. We have borne in mind the hopes held out to the people of India in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858.

We have felt that the political atmosphere of a bureaucracy may become close and confined, and that the admittance of outside air is beneficial to its health and strength. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils but not at the creation of Parliaments. I emphasise what I have just said in view of the opinions to which advanced India politicians appear not unfrequently to commit themselves.

The machinery of our scheme was explained in our Resolution of November 15th. There is no necessity for me to analyse it, it has already been fully discussed by the public. We by no means claim perfection for it, we know that there will be much to learn from experience of its working and that it may require alteration in the future, but if I have judged Indian public opinion correctly, the verdict has been in our favour in admitting the necessity for administrative changes and the general soundness of the lines we have followed. Of course we have met with many criticisms. It would have been unfortunate indeed, if a scheme of vast political moment had not elicited discussion and diversity of opinion. But there is one criticism which I refuse to accept—the suggestion that the Councils Act of 1909 is the result of concessions to seditious agitation. There is no foundation for any such assumption—unless the recognition of the political condition of India in 1906, as I have endeavoured to describe it, is to be reckoned as a concession—though it was a recognition of the necessity for which no responsible administrators could disregard. The murders at Muzafferpore were the first of the political crimes which have horrified all India, and they were perpetrated 1½ years after my Councils Committee had commenced to formulate their reform proposals. Then came the Manicktollah Garden discoveries, followed at intervals by a repit of outrages numerous in their origin. Was the Government of India in the face of those out-

rages, and on account of them, to renounce the conclusions they had deliberately come to and to throw overboard their scheme for reform? Were they to be frightened by an anarchical plot out of a policy they had deliberately adopted? I absolutely refuse to admit that the just aspirations of the loyal subjects of the King-Emperor should be jeopardised by traitorous conspirators. That is a concession I will not agree to.

But it is unfortunately too true that the progress of the work upon which we have been engaged, and in the completion of which we hoped to confer a welcome boon upon the people of India, has been shaded by a succession of abominable crimes which have forced my Government into one repressive measure after another. And yesterday, on the eve of the assembly of this Council, a faithful and gallant public servant was brutally murdered within the precincts of the High Court and in the broad light of day. A spirit hitherto unknown to India has come into existence, spirit opposed to all the teaching of Indian religion and traditions, a spirit of anarchy and lawlessness which seeks to subvert not only British rule but the governments of Indian Chiefs, to whom I am so deeply indebted for their loyal assistance. We are called upon to deal with subterranean machinations, and methods of assassinations, and robbery, dangerous to the public safety and discreditable to the fair fame of associations which are doing their best to inveigle into their meshes the youth of the country poisoned by the dissemination of revolutionary literature, which, out of a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere with any form of freedom of speech, British administrations have tolerated for too long. Present dangers we are prepared to meet, and the moral training of the rising generation our duty will no longer allow us to neglect. We can no longer tolerate the preachings of a revolutionary press. We are determined to bridle literary license. I am glad to believe that the support of an enlarged Council will go far to assure the Indian public of the soundness of any measures we may deem it right to introduce.

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I had hoped to open this new Chapter under an unclouded political sky. No one has longed more earnestly than I have to allow bygones to be bygones and to commence a new administrative era with a clean slate. The course of recent events has cancelled the realisation of those hopes, and I can but assert that the first duty of every government is to maintain the observance of the law,—to provide for the present, and as far it can for the future welfare of the populations committed to its charge, to rule, and, if need be, to rule with a strong hand.

But, gentlemen, though I have no wish to disguise from you the anxieties of the moment, I do not for an instant admit that the necessity of ruthlessly eradicating a great evil from our midst should throw more than a passing shadow over the general political situation in India. I believe that situation to be better than it was five years ago. We must not allow immediate dangers to blind us to the evidence of future promise.

I believed that the broadening of political representation has saved India from far greater troubles than those we have now to face. I am convinced that the enlargement of our administrative machinery has enormously strengthened the hands of the Viceroy and of the Government of India, and has brought factors to our aid which would otherwise have had no sympathy with us. I believe above all that the fellowship of British and Indian administrators under a supreme British Government is the key to the future political happiness of this country. It is in that belief that I have worked hard for India, and when I see around me to-day the representatives of the powerful

communities and interests, for whom I pleaded in my note, I feel convinced that the dignity and good sense of this Council will be worthily maintained, and that the navigation of Indian ship of state will be loyally and ably assisted.

And now that my tenure of my high office is drawing to a close; I hope I may feel that my years of work have borne some fruit, and I am grateful to Providence in that He has spared me to be present on this great historical occasion.

HON'BLE MR. SINHA'S SPEECH.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha said:—I beg to give notice that at the next meeting of the Council I shall propose certain amendments in the rules for the Legislative business of the Council of the Governor-General. A copy of the existing Rules together with the proposed amendments and statements of objects and reasons for those amendments has been placed on the table before each Hon'ble member and to-day I desire to make two remarks with regard to those proposed amendments. First, that Rules for the conduct of legislative business are, hon. members will notice, entirely distinct from the rules which have been made by the Governor-General in Council—that is the Executive Council—namely, the Rules for the discussion of the Financial Statement and Rules for the asking of questions. The Rules are made by the Governor-General in Council and has nothing to do with them. The Rules we now seek to make are Rules for the conduct of legislative business properly so called. The second remark which I desire to place before the Council is this:—The amendments which we propose are of a purely formal nature and are intended to adopt the existing Rules to the altered conditions of the

present Council. For example, in the old Council members used to make their speeches sitting. With a council of sixty Additional members it will be almost impossible for members to hear a speaker if he were to speak while retaining his seat so that we propose to alter that and make it a rule subject of course to the Legislative Council passing it—that members henceforth should stand when making their speeches. The other alterations are more or less of the same character. We considered that it was not desirable to make any substantial change on the Rules before one had a longer and long experience of the existing Rules which, if I may venture to say so, have worked very well so far as the old Council is concerned. I hope hon. Members will agree with me that it is inadvisable and inexpedient to make any change in the existing Rules before we have some practical experience of the working of the Rules. I merely mention these observations in order that hon'ble members may feel that we are not proposing any drastic changes in the existing Rules of Business.

Council then adjourned to Friday, the 28th instant.

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Aa 12.

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KARMAYOGIN

A WEEKLY REVIEW

OF

National Religion, Literature, Science,
Philosophy, &c.,

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30th Magh 1316.

No. 32.

PASSING THOUGHTS.

—20—

Vedantic Art.

The progress a new tendency or a new movement is making can be measured by the amount of opposition it meets, and it is encouraging to note that the revival of Indian Art is exciting intellectual opponents to adverse criticism. Mr. Vincent Smith, a solid and well-equipped scholar and historian but not hitherto noted as an art-critic, recently lectured on Indian Art, ancient and modern. It is not surprising that he should find little to praise in the characteristic Vedantic Art of our country and seek to limit its excellence to a few masterpieces. Neither is it surprising that he should object to the revival of the national traditions as restoring Brahminic separateness from the traditions of the rest of the world. These are arguments that are as obvious as they are superficial. But it is strange to find him basing his opinion of the inferiority of the Vedantic style on its appeal not being universal. This merely means that the Vedantic motive and conventions are new to the European mind, and the average eye, enslaved to old associations, cannot immediately welcome what is new and ill-understood. Every new step forward in artistic tradition within Europe itself has been met by the same limited comprehension and

has had to get the assent first of the trained and sensitive taste and then of the average mind before it could be said to be universally recognised. The real question is whether the Vedantic style has anything in it that is true, deep and universal, whether it has a motive, a power of interpretation, a success in making Truth reveal itself in form, such as will ensure its conquest of prejudices based purely on inability to receive or welcome new impressions. The answer to that crucial question cannot be doubtful. Vedantic Art reveals spirit, essential truth, the soul in the body, the lasting type or idea in the mutable form with a power and masterly revelation of which European art is incapable. It is therefore sure to conquer Europe as steadily as Indian thought and knowledge are conquering the hard and narrow materialism of the nineteenth century.

Asceticism and Enjoyment.

Small things are often indicative of great and far-reaching tendencies. While glancing at the *Modern Review*—always the best worth perusal of our Indian monthlies—our attention was arrested by a slight illustrated article on Railways in India and America. The writer contrasts the squalor, indigence and discomfort of railway travelling in this Paradise of the efficient Anglo-Indian with the lavish comfort and opulence of railway furnishings and

appointments in the United States. The contrast is indicative of the immense gulf between the teeming wealth of America and the miserable indigence of India, once the richest country in the world. America is the land above all lands where enjoyment, bhoga, is frankly recognised and accepted. India, many would say, is the land above all lands where bhoga is sternly refused. That is the common view; we are not inclined to think it the correct view. The asceticism of India is a phase, a characteristic of a civilisation dominated by an unfavourable environment and driven in upon itself. The classical period when India was full of life, activity, development, abounding vigour, defending herself successfully against the impact of the outer barbarian, was a period of frank and lavish enjoyment far more intellectual, artistic, perfect than any thing Europe has ever been capable of, even at its best. In yet older literature we find the true spirit of India, a splendid capacity for bhoga and tyaga in their highest terms, the utter enjoyment of the householder, the utter renunciation of the sannyasin. To take the utmost joy of life, to be capable of the utmost renunciation of life, at one and the same time, in the same mind and body, to be master of both capacities and bound by neither,—this was the secret of India, the mighty discipline of

which Janaka was the traditional exemplar. "Renounce all that thou mayest enjoy all,"—this is India's characteristic message,—not Buddha's absolute renunciation, not the European's enslavement to his bodily, vital and intellectual desires and appetites. Tyaga within, bhoga without,—ananda, the divine delight of the purified soul, embracing both.

Aliens in Ancient India.

We extract elsewhere a brief article on the above subject from the December *Indian Review* for which we had no space in our former issues. The ancient Indian treatment of foreign residents forms a curious contrast to the spirit of exclusion which is growing upon modern nations. We have our own doubts about that little privilege of exemption from suits for debt which Mr. Hayavadana Rau mentions with appreciation; it would obviously place the alien merchant at a disadvantage when compared with the scrupulous honesty of the Indian traders, and we are not sure that it may not have been a subtle stroke of Chanakyalike diplomacy to coddle the resident foreign middleman out of existence while favouring the non-resident importer. The chief importance of the article is, however, the incidental light it throws on the organisation of life in ancient India. We are too apt to forget how noble, great and well-appointed a life it was. There were no railways, telegraphs or steamships, it is true, and democracy was beginning to go out of fashion in favour of a centralised bureaucratic monarchy. But in spite of these drawbacks, the ancient life of India was as splendid, as careful, as convenient, as humane, as enlightened in its organisation as that of any modern society or administration.

The Scholarship of Mr. Risley.

We are not concerned with the political issues of Mr. Risley's great oratorical effort in connection with the Press Bill, for we have no need politics; but Mr. Risley as a scholar falls within our province, and we can only hope our remarks on that subject will not expose us to the provision against bringing officials into contempt. Even at that risk we must take leave to say that we can only hope Mr. Risley's ethnological science is

less remarkably muddled than his knowledge of Indian civilisation and literature. In his exhortation to Indian womanhood to stand fast to its ancient moorings he jumbles together Swayamvaras, the rape of the Sabines and Shacuntala in a miraculous fashion! At no Swayamvara that we are aware of, did the women come forward as peacemakers between the abducting hero and the disappointed suitors. Mr. Risley has been misled by pitchforking his early memories of Roman history into Indian epic and narrative. And need we say that there was neither Swayamvara, nor fighting nor peacemaking in the story of Shacuntala? This is the first time, moreover, that a startled Indian public has been pointed to Shacuntala as the ideal Hindu woman. Sita, Draupadi, Savitri, Damayanti,—these are familiar to us as ideals, but Shacuntala is Mr. Risley's own addition. To us she is a beautiful poetic creation, not an exemplar of feminine conduct. We observe that the *Bengalee* is full of admiration for Mr. Risley's poetic rapture over Shacuntala. We do not know whom we should congratulate more, the poet of the Press Bill or his admirer.

Anarchism.

Are we not entitled, by the way, in the interests of the English language, to protest against the misapplication of the word Anarchists to the Indian Terrorists and Anarchism to their policy? Their methods are wild and lawless, their effort is to create anarchy; but Anarchism and Anarchist are terms which imply something very different, a thing as yet unknown either in practice or in theory to India. The Irish Fenians did the same things as the Indian Terrorists are now practising, but nobody ever called them Anarchists; to misapply this term is to bring anarchy into the modern use of language. It is doubtful whether any Indian who has not been to Europe, really knows what Anarchism is. Philosophically, it is the negation of the necessity of government; in practice, it is often the use of assassination to destroy all government irrespective of its nationality or nature. Democracy is as abhorrent to the Anarchist as Czarism, a national government as intolerable as the government of the foreigner. All government

is to him an interference with the liberty of the individual, and he sets out to assassinate Czar or democratic President, constitutional king or imperial Caesar with a terrible impartiality, an insane logic. For if we ask him how liberty of any kind except the liberty of the strong to prey on the weak can exist in the absence of government, he will probably answer that by right education, right ideas and right feelings will be established and the spirit of brotherhood will prevent the abuse of liberty, and if anyone infringes this unwritten law, he must be destroyed as if he were a noxious wild beast. And by a parallel logic he seeks to destroy all the living symbols of a state of society which stands in the way of the coming of his millennium.

The Gita and Terrorism.

Mr. Risley repeats a charge we have grown familiar with, that the Gita has been misused as a gospel of Terrorism. We cannot find any basis for this accusation except the bare fact that the teaching of the Gita was part of the education given by Upendranath Banerji in the Maniktola garden. There is no evidence to show that its tenets were used to justify a gospel of Terrorism. The only doctrine of the Gita the Terrorist can pervert to his use, is the dictum that the Kshatriya must slay as a part of his duty and he can do it without sin if he puts egoism away and acts selflessly without attachment, in and for God, as a sacrifice, as an offering of action to the Lord of action. If this teaching is in itself false, there is no moral basis for the hero, the soldier, the judge, the king, the legislature which recognises capital punishment. They must all be condemned as criminals and offenders against humanity. It is undoubtedly true that since the revival of religious thought in India the Gita has ceased to be what Mr. Risley calls it, a transcendental philosophy, and has been made a rule of life. It is undoubtedly true that selflessness, courage, a live and noble activity have been preached as the kernel of the ethics of the Gita. That teaching has in no country been condemned as ignoble, criminal or subversive of morality, nor is a philosophy of any value to any

USE CHATTAJI RAZOR AND SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS THE BEST & RELIABLE IN THE MARKET.

sensible being if it is only transcendental and cannot be lived. We strongly protest against the brand of suspicion that has been sought to be placed in many quarters on the teaching and possession of the Gita,—our chief national heritage, our hope for the future, our great force for the purification of the moral weaknesses that stain and hamper our people.

THE THREE PURUSHAS.

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The greatest of all the philosophical problems which human thought has struggled to solve, is the exact nature and relation to us of the conscious Intelligence in the phenomenal existence around. The idealist denies the phenomenal existence, the materialist denies the conscious Intelligence. To the former, phenomenon is a passing shadow on the luminous calm of the single universal Spirit; to the latter, intelligence is a temporary result of the motions of Matter. The idealist can give no satisfactory explanation of the existence of the shadow; he admits that it is inexplicable, a thing that is and yet is not: the materialist can give no satisfactory explanation of the existence of intelligence; he simply tries to trace the stages of its development and the methods of its workings, and covers over the want of an explanation by the abundant minuteness of his observations. But the soul of Man, looking out and in, is satisfied neither with Shankara nor with Haeckel. It sees the universal existence of phenomena, it sees the universal existence of Intelligence. It seeks a term which will admit both, cover both, identify both; it demands, not an elimination of either, but a reconciliation.

The Upanishads do not deny the reality of the world, but they identify it with Brahman who transcends it. He is the One without a second; He is the All. If all is Brahman, then there can be nothing but Brahman, and therefore the existence of the All, *sarvam idam*, does not contradict the unity of Brahman, does not establish the reality of *bheda*, difference. It is one Intelligence looking at itself from a hundred view-points, each point conscious of and enjoying the existence of the others. The shoreless stream of idea and thought,

imagination and experience, name and form, sensation and vibration sweeps onward for ever, without beginning, without end, rising into view, sinking out of sight; through it the one Intelligence with its million self-expressions pours itself abroad, an ocean with innumerable waves. One particular self-expression may disappear into its source and continent, but that does not and cannot abolish the phenomenal universe. The One is for ever, and the Many are for ever because the One is for ever. So long as there is a sea, there will be waves.

In the oceanic stir and change of universal Nature, the soul or Purusha is the standing point, stable, unmoving, unchanging, eternal,—*nityah sarvagatah sthanur achaloyam sanatanah*. In the whole, the Purusha or soul is one,—there is One Spirit which supports the stir of the Universe, not many. In the individual the One Purusha has three stages of personality; He is One, but triple, *trivrit*. The Upanishads speak of two birds on one tree, of which one eats the fruit of the tree, the other, seated on a higher branch, does not eat but watches its fellow: one is *isha* or lord of itself, the other is *anisha*, not lord of itself, and it is when the eater looks up and perceives the greatness of the watcher and fills himself with it that grief, death, subjection,—in one word *maya*, ignorance, and illusion, ceases to touch him. There are two unborn who are male and one unborn who is female; she is the tree with its sweet and bitter fruit, the two are the birds. One of the unborn enjoys her sweetness, the other has put it away from him. These are the two Purushas, the *akshara*, or immutable spirit, and the *kshara*, or apparently mutable, and the tree or woman is *Prakriti*, universal Energy which the Europeans call Nature. The *kshara* purusha is the soul in nature and enjoying Nature, the *akshara* purusha is the soul above Nature and watching her. But there is One who is not seated on the tree, but occupies and possesses it, who is not only lord of Himself, but lord of all that is: He is higher than the *kshara*, higher than the *akshara*. He is *Purushottama*, the Soul one with God, with the All.

These three Purushas are described in the fifteenth chapters of the

Gita. "There are two Purushas in the world, the *akshara* and the *kshara*,—the *kshara* is all creatures, the *akshara* is called *Kutustha*, the one on the summit. There is another Purusha, the highest (*uttama*), called also the *Paramatma* or Supreme Spirit, who enters into the three worlds, (the worlds of *sushupti*, *swapna*, *jagrat*, otherwise the causal, mental and physical planes of existence), and sustains them as the imperishable lord." And in the thirteenth chapter, while drawing the distinction between the lower Purusha and the higher, Sri Krishna defines more minutely the relations of God and the individual soul to Nature. "*Prakriti* is the basic source of cause, effect and agency; the Purusha, of the sense of enjoyment of happiness and grief; for it is the soul in Nature (Purusha in *Prakriti*) that enjoys the threefold workings of things caused by Nature, (the play of conservation, creation, and destruction; reception, rejection and resistance; illumination, misconception and obscuration; calm, work and inertia; all being different manifestations of three fundamental forces called the *gunas* or essential properties of *Prakriti*); and it is the attachment of the soul to the *gunas* that is the cause of births in bodies good and evil. The highest Purusha in this body is the one who watches, who sanctions, who enjoys, who upholds, who is the mighty Lord and the Supreme Soul."

The personality of the Supreme Soul is universal, not individual. Whatever is in all creatures, character, idea, imagination, experience, sensation, motion, is contained by Him as an object of spiritual enjoyment without limiting or determining Him. He is all things at once. Such an universality is necessary to support and supply individual existence, but it cannot be the determining limit of individual existence. Something has to be reserved, something put forward, and this partial manifestation is the individual. "It is verily an eternal part of Me that in the world of individual existence becomes the *Jiva* or individual." The *Jiva* or individual is the *kshara* purusha, and between him and the Supreme stands the *akshara* purusha, the bird on the summit of the tree, joyous in his own bliss, undisturbed by the play of Nature, impartially watching it, receiving its images on his golden

immutable existence without being for a moment bound or affected, eternally self-gathered, eternally free. This akshara purusha is our real self, our divine unity with God, our malleable freedom from that which is transient and changing. If it did not exist, there would be no escape from the bondage of life and death, joy and grief, sin and virtue; we should be prisoners in a cage without a door, beating our wings against the bars in vain for an exit; life and death, joy and grief, sin and virtue would be eternal, ineffugable realities, not temporary rules determining the great game of life, and we should be unwilling actors, not free playmates of God able to suspend and renew the game when we will. It is by realising our oneness with the akshara purusha that we get freedom from ignorance, freedom from the cords of desire, freedom from the imperative law of works. On the other hand, if the akshara purusha were all, as the Sankhya philosophy contends, there would be no basis for different experience, no varying personality, every individual existence would be precisely like every other individual experience, the development and experience of one soul in Nature an exact replica of the development and experience of another soul. It is the kshara purusha who is all creatures, and the variety of experience, character and development is effected by a particular part of the universal swabhava or nature of conscious existence in phenomena being attached to a particular individual or jiva. This is what is meant by saying that it is a part of God which becomes the jiva. This swabhava, once determined, does not change; but it manifests various parts of itself, at various times, under various circumstances, in various forms of action and various bodies suited to the action or development it has to enjoy. It is for this reason that the purusha in Nature is called kshara, fluid, shifting, although it is not in reality fluid or shifting, but constant, eternal and immutable, sanatana. It is the variety of its enjoyment in Time, Space and Causality that makes it kshara. The enjoyment of the akshara purusha is self-existent, beyond Time, Space and Causality, aware of but undisturbed by the continual mul-

titudinous flux and reflux of Prakriti. The enjoyment of Purushotami is both in Prakriti and beyond it, it embraces and is the reality of all experience and enjoyment.

Development is determined by the kshara purusha, but not conducted by him. It is Prakriti, the Universal Energy, that conducts development under the law of cause and effect, and is the true agent. The soul is not the agent, but the lord who enjoys the results of the action of his agent, Prakriti or Nature; only by his attachment to Prakriti he forgets himself and identifies himself with her so as to have the illusion of agency and, by thus forgetting himself, ceases to be lord of himself, becomes subject to Causality, imprisoned in Time and Space, bound by the work which he sanctions. He himself, being a part of God, is made in His image, of one nature with Him. Therefore what God is, he also is, only with limitation, subject to Time, Space and Causality, because he has, of his own will, accepted that bondage. He is the witness, and if he ceased to watch, the drama would stop. He is the source of sanction, and what he declares null and void, drops away from the development. He is the enjoyer, and if he became indifferent, that individual development would be arrested. He is the upholder, and if he ceased to sustain the *adhara*, the vehicle, it would fall and cease. He is the lord, and it is for his pleasure that Nature acts. He is the spirit, and matter is only his vehicle, his robe, his means of self-expression. But all his sanctions, refusals, behests act not at once not there and then, not by imperative absolute compulsion, but subject to lapse of time, change of place, working of cause to effect. The lapse may be brief or long, a moment or centuries; the change small or great, here or in another world; the working direct or indirect, with the rapid concentration of processes which men call a miracle or with the careful and laboured evolution in which every step is visibly ordered and deliberate; but so long as the jiva is bound, his lordship is limited and constitutional, not despotic and absolute. His sanction and signature are necessary, but it is the Lord, spiritual and temporal of his mind and body, the Commons in his external environment who do the work of the State, execute, administer, legislate.

The first step in self-liberation is to get rid of the illusion of agency, to realise that Nature acts, not the soul. The second is to remove the siege of phenomenal associations by surrendering lordship to God, leaving Him alone to uphold and sanction by the abdication of the independent use of these powers, offering up the privilege of the enjoyer to Him. All that is then left is the attitude of the akshara purusha, the free, blissful self-existence, watching the action of Prakriti, but outside it. The kshara withdraws into the akshara. When the sakshi or witness withdraws into God Himself, that is the utter liberation.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE BASIS OF EDUCATION.

The true basis of education is the study of the human mind infant, adolescent and adult. Any system of education founded on theories of academical perfection, which ignores the instrument of study, is more likely to hamper and impair intellectual growth than to produce a perfect and perfectly equipped mind. For the educationist has to do, not with dead material like the artist or sculptor, but with an infinitely subtle and sensitive organism. He cannot shape an educational masterpiece out of human wood or stone; he has to work in the elusive substance of mind and respect the limits imposed by the fragile human body.

There can be no doubt that the educational system of Europe is a great advance on many of the methods of antiquity, but its defects are also palpable. It is based on an insufficient knowledge of human psychology, and it is only safe guarded in Europe from disastrous results by the refusal of the ordinary student to subject himself to the processes it involves, his habit of studying only so much as he must to avoid punishment or to pass an immediate test, his resort to active habits and vigorous physical exercise. In India the disastrous effects of the system on body, mind and character are only too apparent. The first problem in a national system of education is to give an education as comprehensive as the European and more thorough, without the evils of strain and cramming. This can only be done by

studying the instruments of knowledge and finding a system of teaching which shall be natural, easy and effective. It is only by strengthening and sharpening these instruments to their utmost capacity that they can be made effective for the increased work which modern conditions require. The muscles of the mind must be thoroughly trained by simple and easy means; then, and not till then, great feats of intellectual strength can be required of them.

The first principle of true teaching is that nothing can be taught. The teacher is not an instructor or taskmaster, he is a helper and guide. His business is to suggest and not to impose. He does not actually train the pupil's mind, he only shows him how to perfect his instruments of knowledge and helps and encourages him in the process. He does not impart knowledge to him, he shows him how to acquire knowledge for himself. He does not call forth the knowledge that is within; he only shows him where it lies and how it can be habituated to rise to the surface. The distinction that reserves this principle for the teaching of adolescent and adult minds and denies its application to the child, is a conservative and unintelligent doctrine. Child or man, boy or girl, there is only one sound principle of good teaching. Difference of age only serves to diminish or increase the amount of help and guidance necessary, it does not change its nature.

The second principle is that the mind has to be consulted in its own growth. The idea of hammering the child into the shape desired by the parent or teacher is a barbarous and ignorant superstition. It is he himself who must be induced to expand in accordance with his own nature. There can be no greater error than for the parent to arrange beforehand that his son shall develop particular qualities, capacities, ideas, virtues, or be prepared for a prearranged career. To force the nature to abandon its own dharma is to do it permanent harm, mutilate its growth and deface its perfection. It is a selfish tyranny over a human soul

and a wound to the nation, which loses the benefit of the best that a man could have given it and is forced to accept instead something imperfect, and artificial, second-rate, perfunctory and common. Every man has in him something divine, something his own, a chance of strength and perfection in however small a sphere, which God offers him to take or refuse. The task is to find it, develop it, use it. The chief aim of education should be to help the growing soul to draw out that in itself which is best and make it perfect for a noble use.

The third principle of education is to work from the near to the far, from that which is to that which shall be. The basis of a man's nature is almost always, in addition to his soul's past, his heredity, his surroundings, his nationality, his country, the soil from which he draws sustenance, the air which he breathes, the sights, sounds, habits to which he is accustomed. They mould him not the less powerfully because insensibly. From that then we must begin. We must not take up the nature by the roots from the Earth in which it must grow or surround the mind with images and ideas of a life which is alien to that in which it must physically move. If anything has to be brought in from outside, it must be offered, not forced on the mind. A free and natural growth is the condition of genuine development. There are souls which naturally revolt from their surroundings and seem to belong to another age and clime. Let them be free to follow their bent; but the majority languish, become empty, become artificial, if artificially moulded into an alien form. It is God's arrangement for mankind that they should belong to a particular nation, age, society, that they should be children of the past, possessors of the present, creators of the future. The past is our foundation, the present our material, the future our aim and summit. Each must have its due and natural place in a national system of education.

CONVERSATIONS OF THE DEAD.

DINSHAH, PERIZADE.

DINSHAH:

Perizade, the shades of Iran were not so cool and sweet as these in our city of Mazinderan. The gardens that bloom on the banks of the river of peace are carpeted with lovelier and sweeter-scented flowers; and the birds that sing upon every tree and make the day melodious with the unearthly delight of their clamorous harmonies, are of so various a plumage and hue that one is content to satiate the eye with the softness and splendour without caring to know name and kind. Here for two thousand years we have tasted the bliss of the angels; but, I know not why, it seems to me that memories of Iran come back to my heart. The waters of the Jihun and the tents of the Tartars where the tribes of Afrasiab wander, Damascus the opulent, and our own cities, where the houses of our parents adjoined and we leaned from the balcony and talked in soft whispers, seem to me again desirable.

PERIZADE

I too would not mind returning to our old haunts. It is not that I am weary of Mazinderan, but something calls to me to have joy again that is mortal and fleeting, but not without its poignant sense of a swiftly-snatched and, perfect bliss. Yet Dinshah, two thousand years have passed and shall we not consider, before we go, what has come to the places we loved? Other men, other tongues, other manners may now possess them, and we should come as strangers into a world for which we are no longer fit.

DINSHAH.

I will go and see. Wait for me, Perizade.

II.

DINSHAH.

Perizade, Perizade, let us not return to earth, but remain for ever in Mazinderan. I have seen the earth and it is changed. How wise wert thou, my angel!

PERIZADE.

What didst thou see or hear, beloved?

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DINSHAH.

I saw a world stripped of beauty. Mean and clumsy were the buildings, or pretentious and aimed at a false elegance. Miles of brick, with hardly a bit of green here and there, these are the cities. Ever a raucous roar goes up from them, the glint of furnaces and the clang of metal; a dull, vicious smoke clouds the sky, the gardens are blasted and there is no beauty in them. Men wear a hideous dress uglier than their joyless faces and awkward limbs. It is a world of barbarians; the gnomes have come up from under the earth to work in the sunlight.

PERIZADE.

Dinshah, this is sorrowful news, for go we must. Do you not know that these urgings are the signal?

DINSHAH.

Yes, my Perizade, but not to this hideousness did our hearts move us to resort, but to the towers and gardens of Iran.

PERIZADE.

It may be, Dinshah, that we go down to make the world once more what it was, a place of beauty, song and delight. Surely, if we enter into the world you describe, we shall not be content to leave it till it is utterly changed into the likeness of our desire.

DINSHAH.

I think you are right, Perizade, as you always are. Let us then arise and go.

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ANANDANATH.

—000—

CHAPTER XIII.

Meanwhile there was a great commotion in the high road in the capital. The noise went abroad that Sannyasins had plundered the revenue that was being despatched from the royal treasury to Calcutta. Then by order of the Government sepoy and spearmen sped on all sides to seize Sannyasins. Now at that time in that famine-stricken country there was no great number of real Sannyasins; for these ascetics live upon alms, and when people themselves get nothing to eat, there is not likely to be anyone to give alms to the mendicant. Therefore all the genuine ascetics had fled from the pinch of hunger to the country about Benares and Prayag. Only the Children wore the robe of the Sannyasin when they willed, abandoned it when abandonment was needed. Now too, many, seeing trouble abroad, left the dress of the ascetic. For this reason the hungry retainers of power, unable to find a Sannyasin anywhere, could only break the waterjars and cooking-pots of the householders and return with their empty bellies only half-filled. Satyananda alone would at no time leave his saffron robe.

At the moment when on the bank of that dark and murmurous rivulet, on the borders of the high road, at the foot of the tree on the water's verge, Kalyani lay still and Mohendra and Satyananda in each other's embrace were calling on God with streaming eyes, Jamadar Nazir-ud-din and his sepoy

arrived at the spot. Forthwith he put his hand on Satyananda's throat and said, "Here is a rascal of a Sannyasin." Immediately another seized Mohendra; for a man who consorts with Sannyasins, must necessarily be a Sannyasin. A third hero was about to arrest the dead body of Kalyani where it lay at length on the grass. Then he saw that it was the corpse of a woman and very possibly might not be a Sannyasin, and did not proceed with the arrest. On the same reasoning they left the little girl alone. Then without colloquy of any kind they bound the two prisoners and marched them off. The corpse of Kalyani and her little daughter remained lying unprotected at the foot of the tree.

Mohendra was at first almost senseless with the oppression of grief and the frenzy of divine love; he could not understand what was toward or what had happened and made no objection to being bound; but when they had gone a few paces, he awoke to the fact that they were being led away in bonds. Immediately it occurred to him that Kalyani's corpse was left lying without funeral rites, that his little daughter was left lying and that even now wild beasts might devour them, he wrenched his hands apart by sheer force and with the one wrench tore his bonds apart. With one kick he sent the jamadar sprawling to the ground and fell upon one of the sepoy; but the other three seized him from three sides and once more overpowered and rendered him helpless. Then Mohendra in the wretchedness of his grief said to the Brahmacharin Satyananda; "If only you had helped me a little, I would have slain these five miscreants." "What strength is there?" answered Satyananda, "in this aged body of mine. —except Him on whom I was calling, I have no other strength. Do not struggle against the inevitable. We shall not be able to overpower these five men. Come let us see where they will take us. The Lord will be our protection in all things." Then both of them without further attempt at escape followed the soldiers. When they had gone a little distance, Satyananda asked the sepoy, "My good fellows, I am in the habit of calling on the name of Hari; is there any objection to my calling on His

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name?" The Janadar thought Satyananda to be a simple and inoffensive man, and he said, "Call away, I won't stop you. You are an old Brahmacharin and I think there will be an order for your discharge; this ruffian will be hanged." Then the Brahmacharin began softly to sing.

With the lingering wind
in her tresses,
Where the stream its
banks caresses,
There is one in the woodland,
a woman and fair.
Arise, O thou hero, let speed
Be swift in thy feet to
her need;
For the child who is there
Is full of sorrow and
weeping and care.

On arriving in the city they were taken to the Chief of Police, who sent word to the Government and put the Brahmacharin and Mohendra for the time into confinement. That was a dreadful prison, for it was seldom that he who entered came out, because there was no one to judge. It was not the British jail with which we are familiar—at that time there was not the British system of justice. Those were the days of no procedure, these are the days of procedure. Compare the two!

MOONDAC UPANISHAD OF THE ATHARVAVEDA.

THE FIRST MOONDACA.

—000— SECOND CHAPTER.

1. This is that which is the Truth of existence.

Works which the seers beheld in the Vedic wisdom, were extended in the Treta Age in many forms of

righteousness. Works do ye perform religiously with one passion for the Truth; for this is the road to the heaven of your righteousness.

2. When the fire of sacrifice is kindled, when the flame sways and quivers, thou between the double pourings of butter cast therein with faith thy offerings.

3. For he whose altar-fires are empty of the dark-moon offering, and the full-moon offering, and the offering of the rains, and the offering of the firstfruits, or unfed, or fed without the ritual, or without guests, or without the dues to the Gods universal, him they exclude from the seven heavens.

4. Kali black, Korali-terrible, Manojava thought-swift, Sulohita bloodred, Sudhumravarna smoke-hued, Sphulingini scattering sparks, Viswaruchi all-beautiful, these are the seven swaying tongues of the fire.

5. He who when these are flaming bright, performs seasonably the ritual and they accept his offerings, him the rays of the sun bear upward where the one Lord over all the gods inhabiteth.

6. "Come with us, come with us," they cry to him, those bright fires of sacrifice, they bear him up on the sunbeams, saying to him sweet words of pleasantness, doing him much homage, "this is the holy world of Brahma and the heaven of your righteousness."

7. But the ships of sacrifice are frail and the works of sacrifice are feeble, all the eighteen of sacrifice: these are the works that are called the lesser; fools are they who hail them as the supreme good, they shall return again to the jurisdiction of age and death.

8. They who dwell in ignorance,

they who deem themselves learned, who say, "We, even we are the wise and the sages,"—fools are they, they wander about beaten and stumbling like blind men led by the blind.

9. They who dwell in the many bonds of the Ignorance, children, thinking "We have conquered our Paradise"; for when men in their acts are slaves of their affections and know not God, then are they doomed to anguish, then their Paradise wastes by enjoying, then they fall back to earth from heaven.

10. Minds bewildered who hold the oblation offered and the well dug for greatest righteousness and know not any other good; they on the back of heaven enjoy their righteousness, then they reenter this or even a lower world.

11. But they who in the forest follow after faith and self-discipline, calm, full of knowledge, living upon alms, cast from them the obstructions of passion; through the gates of the sun they pass to that country where is the Purusha who is beyond mortality, spirit that never waneth.

12. The Brahmin, having tested the heavens heaped up by works, becometh weary of their joys, for not through work done He abideth who is detached from all action; fuel in hand let him approach for the knowledge one that is learned in the Vedas and hath devotion to the Brahman.

13. To him will be that knoweth utter unreservedly, proceeding from the science of things, the God knowledge by which one cometh to know the Immutable Purusha who is the Truth of existence,—because he comes to him with a mind tranquillised, with a pure and quiet soul.

THE SECOND MOONDACA. FIRST CHAPTER.

1. This is that which is the Truth of existence.

As from one burning fire a million different sparks are born, and all have the form of fire, so from the Immutable Being manifold existences proceed; they return also into the Immutable.

2. But the divine Soul who containeth the inward and the outward, and yet is not form nor quality nor vital force, He is luminous pure. He is more than the Immanent and higher than the Highest.

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3. And of Him is born the life and the mind and all the organs, and of Him is Ether, And Air, and Light, and Water, and Earth that holdeth all.

4. Fire is the head of Him, His eyes are the sun and the moon, the quarters are His organs of hearing, the seven scriptures are His speech, Air is His breath, the Universe is his mind, Earth is His footing; He is the Self within all creatures.

5. From Him is Fire of which the sun is the fuel, rain that ariseth from the wing of the Gods, and herbs that grow upon the earth, and man that pourth his seed into a woman; multitudes are the creatures that are born out of the Purusha.

6. From Him are the hymns of the Rigveda, and the Sama, and the Yajur, and initiation, and all offerings and gifts, and every potent sacrifice, and the year, and the lord of the offering, and the worlds, and where the Moon purifieth, and where the Sun.

7. And from Him are many kinds of Gods produced, and the demigods, and the beasts and the birds, and the breath and the nether breath, and grain of rice and grain of barley, and faith and truth and rule and holiness.

8. And the seven breaths are born of Him, and the seven tongues of the flame, and the fuels and the seven offerings, and the seven worlds in which the breaths whose chamber is the heart, move and have their being; they are placed in each seven by seven.

9. And of Him are the seas and all the mountains; from Him flow all sorts of rivers, and all herbs are from Him, and sensible delight which maketh the soul to inhabit this house builded of the elements.

10. For the Purusha is all this that is, He is work and self-discipline and Brahman and the Supreme that is beyond mortality. O fair son, who seeth this that is hidden in his own heart, rendeth even in this body the knot of the Ignorance.

THE FUNCTION OF SCHOOLS OF ART IN INDIA

In the Journal of the Society of Arts for June, 1908, there is a printed lecture delivered before the Society in London on May, 27th, by Mr. Cecil Burns, Principal of the Sir Jamsatjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Bombay.

The whole matter is of great importance in relation to the economic future of India, and the moral and intellectual significance and value of Indian Nationalism, for India and for the world.

I know nothing whatever directly of Mr. Burns himself. It seems to me that he speaks as one who is sincere, enthusiastic, and well-intentioned; but I think that he, and his pupils, are equally victims of a system and a point of view which are likely to continue in the future as in the past, to destroy the possibility of sincerity, imagination and individuality in art, whether in Europe or in India.

I have twice visited the Bombay School of Art, and on each occasion was impressed with the entire lack of inspiration, the dreary futility of nearly all that was going on. The whole regime, from ideals to methods, like the education provided in Missionary schools and contemplated in official Universities, was so entirely un-Indian, as to explain at once the dullness of the results. It is the irony of fate that the one School of Art built and endowed by an Indian, should be the least Indian in aims and methods.

Mr. Burns' own acquaintance with Indian art seems to be entirely academic. I do not remember that there was a single good Indian painting on the walls of the school. However, I may illustrate the point by a reference to jewellery. No one possessing any serious knowledge of Indian Jewellery could speak "of the massive proportions and primitive character of Indian jewellery." Mr. Burns is probably acquainted only with such jewellery as he has seen in museums, where anthropologists collect together whatever is primitive and barbarous, to the exclusion of what is refined and delicate. It is nonsense to talk of the "lighter and more delicate styles of workmanship of Europe." There are hundreds of goldsmiths in India who can execute fine work in gold, such as few, perhaps no European craftsman could imitate. Sir George Birdwood, indeed, long ago contrasted the delicate workmanship of Indian jewellery, where the cost of workmanship is in very high proportion to that of the value of the materials, with the much heavier and clumsier

English jewellery, valued mainly for its intrinsic worth. Amongst the Indian peoples, there are races in many different stages of culture, and it is observable that Anglo-Indians usually study and generalise from those of the lower types. Mr. Burns appears to have gathered his ideas of Indian jewellery from the hill tribes. The goldsmith of Southern India, or the enameller of Jaipur, has much more to teach than to learn in a School of Art—and I have heard art teachers in England express their desire to get such teachers if they could.

Mr. Burns, again, complains of the mixture of baser metals with Indian silver, and contrasts this state of affairs with the "hall-marking" at "Goldsmith's Hall" in London, which guarantees the quality of English Plate. Now, although Mr. Burns admits that "the European visitor has been the means of encouraging the faults most noticeable in the Indian silversmiths," he does not quite realise the significance of the degradation of standard he refers to. Perhaps the following story will explain that significance better:—"Formerly," says Sir George Birdwood, "a great industry in gold-embroidered shoes flourished at Lucknow. They were in demand all over India, for the native Kings of Oudh would not allow the shoemakers to use any but pure gold wire on them. But when we annexed the kingdom, all such restrictions were removed, and the bazaars of Oudh were at once flooded with the pinchbeck embroidered shoes of Delhi, and the Lucknow shoemakers were swept away for ever by the besom of free trade." Again Sir W. Lawrence writes of Srinagar trades. "The state exercised a vigorous supervision over the quality of the raw material and the manufactured article. In the good days of the shawl trade no spurious wool was brought in from Amritsar to be mixed with the real shawl-wool of Central Asia and woe betide the weaver who did bad work or the silver-smith who was too liberal with his alloy. There is such supervision nowadays." Again, it is only in the Native state of Kashmir at the present day that the importation of aniline dyes is prohibited; everywhere else they have been allowed to do their destructive work unchecked.

Now what is this 'hall-marking' of which Mr. Burns speak? It is nothing more than the last forlorn relic of the once universally exercised power of the English guilds to protect the standard of production; and this relic is upheld by law. There is no reason why the present rulers of India should not have continued to the trade guilds the support which they received under Indian Kings; there is no reason why some guarantee of standard should not, through the still existing guilds, be enforced for Indian silverwork. There is a reason perhaps—that Englishmen do not so deeply care for the future of Indian art and industry as to think much about the matter, but it is cruel at the same time to tempt the Indian craftsman with the degradation of his standard,

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as if that degradation had been of his deliberate choosing. No other causes than the withdrawal of state protection and the change in educated Indian taste (which does deserve contempt) are at the root of the evil in this case.

This change of taste is essentially snobishness—for Indians are not content to be politically and economically dependent, but must fawn upon their rulers to the extent of anglicising their homes and their lives. It appears to be the ambition of some to be English in all but colour. I am not surprised at Mr. Burn's statement, that out of over two hundred presents at a fashionable Indian wedding, only sixteen were of Indian origin. I should say that this eight per cent fairly represents the "Indianness" in the mind of a thoroughly anglicised and "educated" Indian of to-day. One other instance of Mr. Burn's apparent ignorance of Indian Art. He says that in India "painting and sculpture had never been considered except as parts of the decorative scheme of a building or some other composite work." It would take too long to show here, that this statement, which would be equally true of Mediaeval Europe, is merely another way of saying that all the arts were harmonised in one great unity, based as all art must be on architecture. The modern method of painting pictures and sticking them indiscriminately on nails about the walls of houses comes as near perhaps to the absolute divorce of art from architecture as is possible; but it is not a sign of taste on which to congratulate the moderns. The old Indians knew better, that walls were to be painted on, and that the heart and centre of the temple was its image; and neither painting nor image were executed apart from any consideration of the place they were to occupy. But I have spoken of Mr. Burn's apparent ignorance, and in so doing I referred to the fact that he here ignores the portfolio pictures of the Mogul period in Northern India; and as he has placed none of these exquisite things on the wall of his school of art, I am forced to suppose that he is not aware of their existence. The old Mogul nobles had the good taste not to do the wall of their house with miscellaneous pictures hanging at all angles (as they may be seen in the houses of "educated" Indians to day), but to employ the most skilled miniature

painters to paint for them pictures for the subject traditional in North Indian Culture, the portraits of Kings and saints, the love of Laila and Majnun, picture of the chase or of war; and there are not wanting also Hindu subjects, Uma serving Mahadeva and many a picture of the Lord of the Eternal Snows Himself. All these things, which more sympathetic and more understanding men like Mr. Havell and Mr. Percy Browne have collected in their schools of Calcutta and Lahore and made the basis of their teaching Mr. Burns ignores. It is only such portfolio pictures which like a book, form in themselves a unity that are rightly to be considered apart from architecture; but Mr. Burns informs us that painting in India was never so considered.

Two causes of decline of Indian crafts Mr. Burns has omitted to mention; one is the passing away of many native courts, as in Tanjore where the court was the great patron of these sumptuary arts; the other the fact that India is not a sovereign State with ambassadors and consuls scattered through the world to send home information of the true requirements of those countries with which India might still conduct as once she did, an export trade in the products of sumptuary arts.

Mr. Burns is probably right in thinking that Indian students must for a time be brought back into closer touch with nature. But are Englishmen the right men for this work? And must it not rather be by harmonising life with nature, than by merely imitating nature in a School of Art? The Indian must see with his own eyes. Two things are needful, one that he should be saturated with the traditional art of his race in order that he may know *how to see*, the other that he be saturated with the traditional culture of the East, that he may know *what to see*; for it would be meaningless to base the decorative art of a people upon rare plant forms, (however beautiful) which have not appealed already to the race-imagination and have no part in the race-life or in the literature. All this merely goes to show that the work of truly restoring the arts and crafts of India can only be done by Indians. Englishmen can at best but help as some have done but some have hindered too.

Mr. Burns is afraid that government,

"as is usual in India," will have to show the way. Why not? As Mr. Burns points out, there are thirty schools of art in an area of about hundred square miles in London, having some four hundred professors and instructors. The schools are supported by public grants. I do not know why it should be otherwise in India. I only wonder whether Englishmen as a whole really wish to revive the arts and industries of India in such an effective manner as shall enable them to compete successfully with those of England.

The ancient craft work of India is not "as dead as the art of the Greeks or of the Renaissance Europe." Only one whose experience was confined to an Anglicised, commercial and unromantic town like Bombay, could think that. The crafts of India are indeed, in a bad way but they could be saved by a true national impulse by a true swadeshi spirit. But a swadeshi that seeks only to boycott or imitate European manufacture, for a temporary political end will not save them; nor will four schools of art in India, administered by men who are prepared to acquiesce with remonstrance on the official decision to adopt European styles (i.e. second-hand Gothic or third hand classic) in government and other public buildings save them any the more. Is it not, by the way, perhaps an omen that the Victoria Memorial building in Calcutta, designed after much controversy, in the European manner, is slowly sinking in the Ganges mud?

Mr. Burns has a contempt for the way in which modern craftsmen "are content to let their ancestors do their thinking for them." This is one way of looking at tradition; and perhaps there is some wisdom in giving a due place to the demand for a 'return to nature'. But while it is true that art never stands still, and it is not sufficient to teach and to copy old designs, nevertheless India is not yet, and surely never will be so changed, that the whole spirit of her decorative art must be changed too. It is much more the case that a return to nature, must be a *return to sincerity* and

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a return to nature in life-itself. The arts of India must retain their Indian spirit or become altogether worthless. The springs of art are in life itself, and when the life of the people is revitalised and re-inspired, this new life will be reflected in Indian decorative art. The applied arts cannot be isolated and located as a thing apart from the national life, and the future of Indian art depends on the future of nationalism amongst us. You cannot gather grapes of thorns; and a denationalised people, an India subdued by Europe, not merely outwardly, but in her inmost self, will not produce a national art. That India is not really so subdued, that the national movement that stirred her deepest life has a deeper significance than one that is merely political and economic has already been proved by the development of the National School of Painting in Bengal. But if Abanindranath Tagore and his followers stand in this art-revival of ours, in the place occupied by Burne-Jones in the history of English art, where is our William Morris? Probably the time of his coming is not ripe. When he comes, he will do more for Indian applied art than all the schools together; but it is the function of the schools to make the path no harder than it need be.

The real difficulty at the root of all questions in Indian education is this, that modern education in India, the education which Englishmen are proud of having 'given' to India is really based in the general assumption (quite universal in England) that India is a *savage* country, which it is England's divine mission to *civilise*. This is the more or less unconscious underlying principle throughout. The facts were more truly realised by Sir Thomas Munro, when he wrote that, 'if civilisation were to be made an article of commerce between the two countries, England would soon be heavily in debt.' Next to Persia or perhaps together with Persia India is the world's great treasury of design. Having decided upon the establishment of Schools of Art, it might then have been expected that educationists would have enquired upon

that lines of artistic education was given by these artistic master draftsmen to their pupils and apprentices. This, however, would have been running counter to the principle above enunciated: and so, in times gone by, the old fashioned South Kensington routine was introduced into India; for more advanced students, drawing from casts of Greek statuary and Gothic architecture water colour and sketching and all the rest of it. Result, that quite a large number of men attained a second or third rate English standard. Probably no Indian artist so trained has done work good enough to be accepted by the royal academy, much less good enough to be refused by that august body!

The true function of Schools of Art in India, is not to introduce European methods and ideals but *gather up and revitalise the broken thread of Indian tradition* to build up the idea of Indian Art as an integral part of the national culture, and to relate the work of Indian craftsmen to the life and thought of the Indian people. So far from this, the School of Art craftsmen has hitherto worked essentially for a foreign public, making things which neither he nor his own people desire to use but only to sell. No wonder the hinges do not work and the legs are wobbly. When Indian craftsmen worked for the Indian people, they knew what was wanted, and why, and their work was altogether serviceable. Now that they work for tourist or occupy themselves in carving furniture for a Anglo-Indian bungalows, or in making teapots overloaded with cheap ornament for Anglo-Indian tea-tables, it is naturally otherwise.

I have said that true work of School of Art in India today, is to gather up and revitalise the broken threads of Indian tradition. But who can do this work? Not many Englishmen possess the necessary patience, or the necessary will. Like all true education in India, this work must be done by Indians. It is a question of national education. This question, touching as it does the vital base of the whole of Indian life, is of more importance than any political or economic matter. Rather than the achievement of any measure of progress in those directions, I would see Indians united in a demand for the *complete and entire control of Indian education in all its branches*, and determined that that education shall produce *Indian men and women*—not mere clerks, or makers of pretty curiosities of passing tourists.

To this end one thing is needful—that the present generation of educated Indians should cease to be *anols*. As I wrote lately in another place. 'If we loved and understood Indian art we should know that even now the Indian craftsmen could if we would let him build for us and clothe us in ways of beauty that could not be attained to in modern Europe for any expenditure of money at all. We would if we might, even to-day, live like the very gods; but we lost after the flashpots of 1884, and deservedly our economy suffers.'

Mr. Burns perceive the true difficulty when he says that only a compelling movement from within the country could have accomplished the revival of Indian art on traditional lines that compelling movement lacked; and the result followed, that "India" from an artistic point of view became and since remained a suburb of Paris and London as she is the industrial suburb of Manchester and Birmingham.

The one great question to-day is this: "Is the compelling movement with the country which we call Nationalism strong enough for the Herculean task before it, the conversion of a generation of *parasytes* into a nation of Orientals?" Every word of the answer to this question will be faithfully recorded in the progress or decline of Indian art.

It rests with the Indian people themselves to say what the answer shall be.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.
The Modern Review.

BABAR IN LEGEND.

THE CAESAR OF THE EAST.

Babar has been called the Caesar of the East. In consideration of the number of legends that have gathered round him, he might also be styled the Charlamagne of the East. One story about him is that he disguised himself and a number of his courtiers as Calandar, or wandering Mohamedan devotees, and went to India to spy out the land. He was discovered and arrested, but Sikandar Lodi, the reigning king of Agra, allowed him to depart on condition that he would not invade India during Sikandar's lifetime. Babar kept his promise but took the country from Sikandar's son Ibrahim, whom he defeated and slew at Panipat. The story of the visit in disguise cannot be true, but the tradition is an old one and is told by De Laet, a Dutch historiographer of the seventeenth century who got his information from Van den Breecke, the governor of Surat. According to this version the occurrence was depicted on the walls of the palace at Lahore. It is also, I think mentioned by Finch. Manucci, too, tells the story, but his account is that

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Babar disguised himself as a Hindu "jogee" and that he was accompanied by his mysterious Prime Minister, Rangulidas.

It was natural that legends should spring up about Babar for he was, as Elphinstone says, "the most admirable prince that ever reigned in Asia," and his career was a most romantic one and full of hair-breadth escapes. His misfortunes began early. His father, who was king of Ferghana now Russian province was killed by the collapse of his pigeon-house when only thirty-nine years of age, and Babar, who was his eldest son, was left as boy of twelve to defend his kingdom against his uncles. These two, one being his paternal and the other his maternal uncle invaded Ferghana from the north and south and came within a few miles of Babar's residence at Andijan. But they found the task harder than they expected. The people of the country gathered round their youthful sovereign, sickness broke out among the invading troops, and uncle retired and died on the way home, and the other went back to the wilds of Meghuistan.

UP AND DOWN.

After this Babar had many ups and downs. Three times did he get possession of Samarkand, the second occasion being a brilliant feat of arms and performed when he was only nineteen years of age but he was never able to maintain himself in the city for more than a few months. With all his prowess he was not a match for his Uzbek opponent Shaihani Khan who was an older and more experienced warrior. Babar represented Tamerlane of whom he was sixth descendant, though he was also connected through his mother with Benghis Khan, her father being descended from Benghis's second son but Shaihani perhaps of an even more illustrious descent, for he was the lineal representative of Juji Khan, who was Benghis's eldest son.

The legend about Babar which I have now to relate refers to a period included in the longest gap in his Memoirs, one, namely, which extends over eleven years,

from 1508 to 1519. It is said that when he was flying from Samarkand, after his third unsuccessful attempt to hold it he came in 1512, to the Khojent river, the ancient Jaxartes which flows through Ferghana, and eventually enters the Sea of Aral. One of his wives, said in one of the accounts to be named Afsq Begam had given birth to a child and it was found impossible to convey the infant further. Perhaps the mother had died. So the child was wrapped up, and laid in a splendid cradle and placed on the river bank, while Babar and his companions pursued their wild ride to the eastward. A servant, however, was left, and told to hide in the neighbourhood, and to report if the cradle was taken up by the country people. There were Uzbek villagers about then, as they had to come to look after the irrigation of their crops. The servant waited till he saw that the villagers took up the cradle, and then rushed forward to join his master. The finders of the cradle belonged to three villages, and so they divided the treasure trove into three portions. One villager took the cradle, another took the gold ornaments and the third took the baby. The last received the name of Altrm Beshunk, or the Golden Cradle, in allusion to the gold ornaments found with him. He was made over to a nurse, and carefully reared. It is said that afterwards when Babar became prosperous, he sent to make inquiries about his child, and wished to have it sent to him. But when the people found that the boy was a genuine descendant of Tamerlane, they refused to give him up. They made him their ruler, and furnished him with a wife, and he became the progenitor of the family which governed Ferghana of centuries.

FORGETFULNESS FOR SELF.

The last legend about Babar, and one which is probably true, is that he took upon himself the illness of his beloved son, Humayun. The latter was brought down from his government in Sambhal to Agra dangerously ill with malarial fever. His father and mother watched over him, but the physicians were powerless, and there seemed no hope of his recovery. At last a learned divine suggested that the only chance for Humayun was to have him taken to his father's home.

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yun's life was for his father to sacrifice for him the dearest of his possessions, and that this might be done by selling the great royal diamond—supposed to be the Koh-i-Nur—and giving the proceeds to the poor. "What is the worth of a stone?" cried Babar, "Humayun is the dearest of my possessions, as I am the dearest of his; I will give my life for him. So he mentally took Humayun's illness on himself, paced three times round his bed, and cried out 'We have borne it away, we have borne it away!' Tradition says that immediately thereafter, Humayun rose refreshed, and bathed, etc., while Babar sank down in illness, and never left his bed again. His dying prayer to his son was that he would always forgive his younger brothers whatever wrong they might commit against him. Weak man though he was, Humayun struggled long and earnestly to respect the wish of a father who had died to succour him, and it was only under pressure from his nobles, and after repeated rebellions that he consented to punish his brother Kamran. —By H. Beveridge in the "Indian Magazine and Review."

RELEASE OF DEPORTEES.

VICEROY'S SPEECH.

In Tuesday's meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council His Excellency the Viceroy in passing the new Press Law said:—

Gentlemen,—

This is the first great measure which has been dealt with by the new Imperial Council, and I congratulate Hon'ble Members on the thoughtful tone of the speeches to which we have listened, and though some exception has been taken to the nature of the powers conferred upon Local Governments, I would ask Hon'ble Members to bear in mind that in framing the Bill the Government of India has had to consider, and to meet as far as possible, very considerable diversities of public opinion. We believe

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that the Act as now passed avoids unnecessary and irritating interference, and at the same time affords ample machinery for dealing with the evil it is intended to meet. The causes which have rendered legislation necessary were so fully and ably explained to you by Sir Herbert Ridley on Friday last and were so eloquently laid before you by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha to day that I need not attempt to repeat them to you. I would rather draw your attention to the political importance and significance of to-day's discussion. The members of this greatly enlarged Council thoroughly representative of Indian interests, have passed what may be justly called a repressive measure, because they believe with the Government of India that that measure is essential to the welfare of this country, in so doing they have furnished the proof which I have always hoped and believed that they would furnish—that increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken, but would vastly strengthen British administration. That being so, I hope I am right in assuming that we are at the commencement of that new political era of which I have so often spoken, and that the presence on this Council of the leading public men of India may be afforded the Viceroy's Government the loyal advice of which it has so often stood in need.

In accordance with this view the Government of India has decided to obliterate, as far as they have it in their power to obliterate, the sore feeling caused by the action which has been forced upon them by past emergencies. We have determined to release the State prisoners who were deported under Regulation III of 1818. Our justification for their release is based upon the belief that the political position has entirely changed, that the political movement of which

they were the leaders—seditions as it was—has degenerated into an anarchical plot which can no longer be legitimately included as part of the political agitation in which they were so culpably implicated. We believe that we are no longer confronted by a political movement, such as they inaugurated, but are face to face with an anarchical conspiracy waging war against British and Indian communities alike, and that it will be long before we can exterminate the evil unless those communities agree to work together hand in hand. We believe that their mutual efforts will be greatly encouraged by the release of the deportees as showing that Government is willing to trust the influential classes of the people and to rely upon their co-operation and loyalty.

But though we have come to this decision, we cannot for an instant disregard the probability of further attempts at outrages, and that probability we are determined to combat with all the weapons at our disposal.

In the meantime we trust that the Act which this Council has passed today will efficiently control the source from which so much evil has emanated.

MAX ON THE WAY OF TRANSGRESSORS —

"Birendra Nath Dutta Gupta, the anarchist, who murdered Inspector Alum, was arraigned before the Criminal Sessions Court yesterday, the result was the sentence of death, exactly eight days after the foul deed had been committed. In connection with the treatment which this young scoundrel is getting inside the prison, it is sickening to read that the authorities are coddling the culprit with sweetmeats and other delicacies at his own request. There is no necessity for cruelty in the case of any prisoner, but the treatment of a murderer awaiting the scaffold ought to be of a different nature to would-be murderers outside. The bare necessities of life, bread and water, are good enough for any condemned scoundrel, and being of no religion whatever, his dead body, without any ceremony, ought to be buried in a pit after being covered with quicklime, as speedily as possible. Anyone who object to this treatment can easily escape it by becoming good, peaceful, law-abiding citizens. As for others it ought to get burnt in upon their consciences (those who still have such) that 'The way of transgressors is HARD.'"

ALIENS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The treatment accorded to British Indian subjects in South Africa at the present moment raises the interesting and in some respects important question of the treatment that aliens received over two thousand years ago, in India. Trade attracted foreigners to India from the earliest times. During the Mauryan times, foreigners—mainly Greeks—were found apparently in large numbers at Patna, the capital city of the Empire. At the time Chandragupta was king, a special Board of the Municipality of Patna—the system of Municipal Government is not new in India, but at least is as old as the fourth century A.D.—was entrusted with the duty of helping them in every way. The Municipal Corporation of that town consisted of six Committees and the second of these was entrusted with the important duty of taking care and helping foreign residents in it. "The second," we read in Strabo's Fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes, "entertain strangers, assign them lodgings and observe their modes of life by means of attendants whom they attach to them and escort them out of the country or send home their property, take care of them in sickness, and when they die, bury them." There were no restrictions against their landing or even settling for purposes of trade or otherwise (we infer they had their own trade associations, and even partnerships for trade purposes in India at the time) in the king's dominions; on the other hand, they were assisted by special men appointed by the Board; they were given suitable lodgings and escorts, and in times of need Medical assistance. If they died, they were accorded decent burials, and the Board administered their estates until they sent their assets to those entitled to them in their mother countries. The foreign traders of his time were shown special concessions in their several trades. The Superintendent of Commerce of the State was specially directed—so we read in Chanakya's *Science of Politics* now in course of translation by Mr. Shama Sa-

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নং ভাষাবাজার ট্রাঙ্ক, কলিকতা একেলিতে পাওয়া।

tri, a Sanskrit scholar of Mysore—to show favor to those who import foreign merchandise. Mariners and other importers of foreign articles, who were apparently resident foreigners, were favoured with remission of trade-taxes. They were for instance, exempted from being sued for debts unless they were local associations and partners.

The same treatment may be presumed to have been accorded to other foreigners resident in India. Such, for instance, the Roman Colony resident at Madura both before and after the Second Century after Christ, and that at Cranganore about the same time.

The fair and even liberal treatment that has long been accorded to the Syrian Christians and the Jews now found on the West Coast, may also be taken to indicate the real position of purely Hindu Sovereigns towards the foreigners that came to settle permanently amidst them. True it is, they are not Europeans, like the old Roman and Greek Colonists of Patna, Madura and Cranganore. But the question to old Hindu Sovereigns was certainly not whether they were of Eastern or Western origin, but whether they were different in nationality or not—in short, whether they were not foreign to India. Syrian or Jew, Greek or Roman, all meant the same to them—different in nationality, religion, language, dress, diet, &c. The copper plates of the White Jews of Cochin and the Tirunelli plates, both granted by King Bhaskara Ravi Varman and which have been assigned by scholars to dates varying from the 2nd to the 8th century A. D., chronicle a whole history on them. They record the rights and privileges bestowed on the Anjuvannam, apparently a Trading Corporation. These rights and pri-

vileges are still to some extent enjoyed by the Jews. They show that they were accorded, privileges that ordinarily go to royal chiefs and other dignitaries in this part of India; for example, the use of light by day, the spreading of cloth, the use of palanquin, the umbrella, the drum and the trumpet. They were, besides, exempted from the payment of dues to the Royal palate.

Then, again, there were, in ancient or mediæval India no restrictions against the landing of foreigners. The so-called education test (the knowledge necessary to write and read English) that some of the British Colonies insist now on Indiana, did not find its counterpart in Ancient India. The very idea of such a test would have looked monstrous to the old Hindu and Mahomedan Sovereigns of India. A law of Krishna Raya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar Emperors (1509—1530, A. D.) which required every foreigner who entered his dominions to write and read Telugu, the State language of the day, would have effectually shut out every Portuguese trader from the Vijayanagar dominions which included the whole of Southern India at the time. But the very idea of such a prohibitory test was not thought of, and that shows the amity and good feeling with which Indians treated all foreigners, whether traders or not, who came to their dominion. Indeed, there is hardly any evidence to show that the Mahomedan and Moghul Sovereigns departed from the Hindu rule of perfect friendliness and liberality towards foreigners. At their hands, all classes of foreigners received a fair and liberal treatment, that is in glaring contrast with that now meted out to British Indians in British Colonies.

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KARMAYOGIN

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PASSING THOUGHTS.

The Bhagalpur Literary Conference.

The prevalence of annual conferences in the semi-Europeanised life of Bengal is a curious phenomenon eloquent of the unreality of our present culture and the inefficiency of our modernised existence. Our old life was well, even minutely organised on an intelligent and consistent Oriental model. The modern life of Europe is well and largely organised on an intelligent and consistent Occidental model. It materialises certain main ideas of life and wellbeing, provides certain centres of life, equips them efficiently, serves the objects with which they are instituted. Our old life did the same. But this is precisely what our modern life does not do. Its institutions are apes of a foreign plan, unintelligent expressions of an idea which is not ours; they serve no civic, no national purpose. They are the spasmodic movements of an organism whose own life is arrested, but which feels itself compelled to move, however awkwardly and uselessly, if only to persuade itself that it is not dead. We have for instance a Literary Conference which meets once a year, if nothing occurs to prevent it. But such an annual celebration has no intelligent purpose except as the centre of an organised literary life. The pulse of our literary life is feeble and

artificial. Its centres are conspicuous by their absence. In Europe the club, the literary paper, the coterie, the school of writing, the Academy are distinct entities in which the members of the organism have living relations, a common atmosphere, a common intellectual food. They have no Literary Conference because the literary life of Europe is a reality. We in India have neither these institutions nor any other centres of our own. The Conference is a convulsive attempt to relate ourselves to each other, which evinces a vague desire for united living, but no capacity to effect it. There was a time when a vigorous literary life seemed about to form itself in Bengal, and its relics are seen in the literary magazine and the Sahitya Parishat; but at present these serve only to record the extremely languid pulsation of our intellectual existence. The great intellectual stir, hopefulness and activity of the last century has disappeared. The individual lives to himself, vigorously or feebly, according to the varying robustness of his personality or intensity of his temperament. Coordination is still far from us.

Life And Institutions.

Life creates institutions; institutions do not create, but express and preserve life. This is a truth we are too apt to forget. The Europeans and especially our gurus, the

English, attach an exaggerated importance to machinery, because their own machinery has been so successful, their organisation so strong and triumphant. In the conceit of this success they imagine that their machinery is the only machinery and that the adoption of their organisation by foreign peoples is all that is needed for perfect social and political felicity. In Europe this blind attachment to machinery does not do fatal harm, because the life of a free nation has developed the existing institutions and modifies them by its own irresistible law of life and development. But to take over those institutions and think that they will magically develop European virtues, force and robustness, or the vivid and vigorous life of Europe, is as if a man were to steal another's coat and think to take over with it his character. Have not indeed many of us thought by masquerading in the amazing garb which nineteenth century Europe developed, to become so many brown Englishmen? This curious conjuring trick did not work; hatted, coated and pantalooned, we still kept the chaddar and the dhooty in our characters. The fond attempt to become great, enlightened and civilised by borrowing European institutions will be an equally disastrous failure.

Indian Conservatism

In India we were, if possible, even

more attached to our machinery—all the more because we had ceased to understand the science of social mechanics which they embodied. We attached a superstitious importance to maintaining our society exactly in the mould of our Shastras while in reality that mould had been altered out of recognition centuries ago. We quoted Parasara and Manu while we followed Raghunandan and custom. This religious fiction was very much like the English superstition about the British constitution which is supposed to be the same thing it was in the days of Lord Somers, but is really a thing Lord Somers would have stared at aghast as an unrecognisable democratic horror. The cause is the same in both cases—a robust and tenacious society freely developing its machinery in response to its inner needs while cherishing and preserving them. Englishman and Hindu have been alike in their tenacious conservatism and their refusal to accept revolution, alike in their respect for law and the thing established, alike in their readiness to change rapidly and steadily if the innovator would only disguise from them the fact that they were changing. The Hindu advanced more slowly because he was an Asiatic in a period of contraction, the Englishman more quickly because he was an European in a period of expansion. If our social reformers had understood this Indian characteristic, they might have revolutionized our society with comparatively small friction, but the parade of revolution which they made hampered their cause. Even as it is, Indian Society, in Bengal at least, is changing utterly while all the time loudly protesting that it has not changed and will not change. The mould in which Raghunandan cast society, is disintegrating as utterly as the mould of Parasara or Manu has disintegrated. What will replace it, is another matter.

Samaj and Shashtra.

Every Samaj must have its Shashtra, written or unwritten. Where there is no Social Scripture, there is none the less a minute and rigid code of social laws binding men in their minutest actions. The etiquette of the European is no less binding than the minute scrupulosities of Manu or Raghunandan, and it is

even more minute and scrupulous. It is a mistake to think that in Europe men can eat as they will, talk as they will, act as they will with impunity. They cannot—or at least they could not, though one hears of strange revolutions, and in the days of the suffragette everything is possible. Society everywhere is exacting, scrupulous, minute, pitiless in punishment of slight departures from its code, however absurd and unreasonable that code may be. But while in India, the sanction is religious, in Europe it is social. In India a man dreaded spiritual impurity, in Europe he shrinks from the sneers and dislike of his class or his fellows. Social excommunication is always the ultimate penalty.

Revolution.

But in Europe and India alike we seem to stand on the threshold of a vast revolution, political, social and religious. Whatever nation now is the first to solve the problems which are threatening to hammer Governments, creeds, societies into pieces all the world over, will lead the world in the age that is coming. It is our ambition that India should be that nation. But in order that she should be what we wish, it is necessary that she should be capable of unsparing revolution. She must have the courage of her past knowledge and the immensity of soul that will measure itself with her future. This is impossible to England, it is not impossible to India. She has in her something daemonic, volcanic, elemental—she can rise above conventions, she can break through formalities and prejudices. But she will not do so unless she is sure that she has God's command to do it,—unless the Avatar descends and leads. She will follow a Buddha or a Mohammad wherever he will lead her, because he is to her either God himself, or his servant,—because as Sri Ramakrishna would have put it, she saw the *chupras*. It was a little of that daemonic, volcanic, elemental thing in the heart of the Indian which Lord Curzon lashed into life in 1905. But the awakening was too narrow in its scope, too feebly supported with strength, too ill-informed in knowledge. Above all the Avatar had not descended. So the movement has drawn back to await a farther and truer impulse. Meanwhile let it inform its intellect and put more iron into its heart, awaiting a diviner manifestation.

THE STRENGTH OF STILLNESS.

There are two great forces in the universe, silence and speech. Silence prepares, speech creates. Silence acts, speech gives the impulse to action. Silence compels, speech persuades. The immense and inscrutable processes of the world all perfect themselves within, in a deep and august silence, covered by a noisy and misleading surface of sound—the stir of innumerable waves above, the fathomless restless mass of the ocean's waters below. Men see the waves, they hear the rumour and the thousand voices and by these they judge the course of the future and the heart of God's intention; but in nine cases out of ten they misjudge. Therefore it is said that in History it is always the unexpected that happens. But it would not be the unexpected if men could turn their eyes from superficies and look into substance, if they accustomed themselves to put aside appearances and penetrate beyond them to the secret and disguised reality, if they ceased listening to the noise of life and listened rather to its silence.

The greatest exertions are made with the breath held in; the faster the breathing, the more the dissipation of energy. He who in action, can cease from breathing,—naturally, spontaneously,—is the master of Prana, the energy that acts and creates throughout the universe. It is a common experience of the Yogin that when thought ceases, breathing ceases,—the entire *kumbhak* effected by the Hathayogin with infinite trouble and gigantic effort, establishes itself easily and happily,—but when thought begins again, the breath resumes its activity. But when the thought flows without the resumption of the inbreathing and outbreathing, then the Prana is truly conquered. This is a law of Nature. When we strive to act, the forces of Nature do their will with us; when we grow still, we become their master. But there are two kinds of stillness—the helpless stillness of inertia, which heralds dissolution, and the stillness of assured sovereignty which commands the harmony of life. It is the sovereign stillness which is the calm of the Yogin. The more complete the calm, the mightier the yogic power, the greater the force in action.

In this calm right knowledge comes. The thoughts of men are a tangle of truth and falsehood, satyam and anritam. True perception is marred and clouded by false perception, true judgment lamed by false judgment, true imagination distorted by false imagination, true memory deceived by false memory. The activity of the mind must cease, the chitta be purified, a silence fall upon the restlessness of Prakriti, then in that calm, in that voiceless stillness illumination comes upon the mind, error begins to fall away and, so long as desire does not stir again, clarity establishes itself in the higher stratum of the consciousness compelling peace and joy in the lower. Right knowledge becomes the infallible source of right action. Yogah karmasu kau-shalam.

The knowledge of the Yogin is not the knowledge of the average desire-driven mind. Neither is it the knowledge of the scientific or of the worldly-wise reason which anchors itself on surface facts and leans upon experience and probability. The Yogin knows God's way of working and is aware that the improbable often happens, that facts mislead. He rises above reason to that direct and illuminated knowledge which we call *vijnanam*. The desire-driven mind is emmeshed in the intricate tangle of good and evil, of the pleasant and the unpleasant, of happiness and misfortune. It strives to have the good always, the pleasant always, the happiness always. It is elated by fortunate happenings, disturbed and unnerved by their opposite. But the illuminated eye of the seer perceives that all leads to good; for God is all and God is *sarvamangalam*. He knows that the apparent evil is often the shortest way to the good, the unpleasant indispensable to prepare the pleasant, misfortune the condition of obtaining a more perfect happiness. His intellect is delivered from enslavement to the dualities.

Therefore the action of the Yogin will not be as the action of the ordinary man. He will often seem to acquiesce in evil, to avoid the chance of relieving misfortune, to refuse his assent to the efforts of the noble-hearted who withstand violence and wickedness; he will seem to be acting *pisachavat*. Or

men will think him *jada*, inert, a stone, a block, because he is passive, where activity appears to be called for; silent, where men expect voicefulness; unmoved, where there is reason for deep and passionate feeling. When he acts, men will call him *unmatta*, a madman, eccentric or idiot; for his actions will often seem to have no definite result or purpose, to be wild, unregulated, regardless of sense and probability or inspired by a purpose and a vision which is not for this world. And it is true that he follows a light which other men do not possess or would even call darkness; that what is a dream to them, is to him a reality; that their night is his day. And this is the root of the difference that, while they reason, he knows.

To be capable of silence, stillness, illuminated passivity is to be fit for immortality—*amritatvaya kalpate*. It is to be *dharma*, the ideal of our ancient civilisation, which does not mean to be tamasic, inert and a block. The inaction of the tamasic man is a stumblingblock to the energies around him, the inaction of the Yogin creates, preserves and destroys; his action is dynamic with the direct, stupendous driving-power of great natural forces. It is a stillness within often covered by a ripple of talk and activity without,—the ocean with its lively surface of waves. But even as men do not see the reality of God's workings from the superficial noise of the world and its passing events, for they are hidden beneath that cover, so also shall they fail to understand the action of the Yogin, for he is different within from what he is outside. The strength of noise and activity is, doubtless, great,—did not the walls of Jericho fall by the force of noise? But infinite is the strength of the stillness and the silence, in which great forces prepare for action.

A NOTE ON CIVIC FORMS EAST AND WEST.

There is nothing so essential to the success of a great undertaking as a disinterested motive, binding together the members of the central group. This is why the family tends to supplant the nucleus of shareholders in economic enter-

prises and industrial attempts. A family is capable of realising that it has a common future wellbeing which far transcends the present individual interest of any or all of its members. To that future this present may be sacrificed indefinitely. Hence sustained effort, long accumulation of results, instead of their immediate consumption, and success, year by year, put out, as it were, to compound interest. The labour of its members, moreover, during their youth, while training is incomplete, is placed freely at the disposal of the whole. In a large family, this is an increasing asset, for the number of its cadets is continually receiving additions, and the youth, on their side, are well repaid for their patience under training by the consciousness that no secret will in the end be withheld from them; that no responsibility will be refused, that their personal interests and those of the firm are undissolubly united.

In Europe, where the individual stands directly related to the *civitas*, without the intervention of the family, it is only in modern times that the value of kinship as the basis of business association is beginning to be understood. This is a reaction which has been rendered inevitable by the breakdown of all the older forms of cooperation. For we constantly fail to see that an era of vast combinations is really an era of the decadence of combination *per se*. A commercial trust, for instance is rendered possible by the gradual consolidation of thousands of smaller enterprises. But once formed the trust destroys all its smaller competitors, and when the time comes for its own disintegration and exhaustion, it is a question whether the art it represents may not be lost to humanity, so long and so successfully has it guarded its trade secrets, so thoroughly has it inured its customers to doing nothing for themselves and having everything served out to them in bottles and tins; so contemptible has it made the small machine in place of the large, and the home-made in place of the patented. Thus an era of trusts is an era of the decadence of all that made trusts possible. Like the aloe, this flower destroys the

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tree that mothered it, and death, from unsuspected impoverishment is the immediate result of a moment of brilliant life.

The virtues of family organisation have always been understood in the East, where we see them perpetuated on a large scale in the caste with its hereditary occupations. True to her own genius, however, Europe instinctively made the effort to unite in a single enterprise members of widely different families, while at the same time giving to the art or trade concerned all the advantages of protracted discipline and long-deferred individualistic gains. Thus we have the trade-guilds of the Middle Ages, with their system of apprenticeships; and the "schools" of fine art of the Italian cities.

With the advent of the machine, individual skill suddenly appeared unimportant as an element in industrial success, and the system of guilds and apprenticeships broke down. The world of enterprise resolved itself into capital and labour, exploiter and exploited, a single machine-owner and a multitude of machine-tenders. Under this classification men no longer stood contrasted in the relationship of father and children, patriarch and dependents or master-craftsman and apprentices. Their lines of unity and division now became those of self-interest alone. The firm took the place of the old-time 'school.' The making of a fortune tends to become the object of ambition, instead of the acquisition of personal skill and common fame and for the vast majority, reduced to the position of units in a department, no ambition even of this meanest kind was any longer possible. The bettering of their own condition in any degree becomes as impossible for these, as the elevation of every private soldier in a regiment to the rank of a commissioned officer. Thus the war of interests superseded the co-operation of gifts, and at the same time the aggregative instinct began to be undermined by individual hopelessness.

The family is the basis of simpler forms and degrees of organisation, but it is vastly more permanent than the commune as a motif. For its impulse recurs spontaneously in every generation and every direction. And the exhaustion of the communes

sees no exhaustion of the family, as an organising unit.

Wherever self-interest was to be the moralised ultimate binding-power, Indian society graduated that self-interest by combining with it the idea of the family. Europe, on the contrary—never vividly conscious of the family at all,—leapt at once to the attempt at a more complex type of cooperation, for which she drew the elements from all parts of the civic communes at will. The family may have been the starting-point of the crew, but the seed was soon forgotten in the fruit, and the crew became the model for new organisations. The more complex unit thus arrived at could attempt tasks far transcending the energy and initiative of the more conservative family group, but it had less vitality and persistence in face of adverse conditions. The accumulating emphasis thus laid on the family in all its aspects, has had a great share in giving to the East its air of statuesque stability.

Even in India, however, there have been other forms of organisation, the Rajput clans, the military confederacy of the Mahrattas, the samaj or church, and the all dominating unit of the master and his disciples, giving birth to the religious order. East or West, this last is the supreme form of cooperation. Here alone can egotism be sunk entirely, in the realisation of an idea. Here alone is self-interest eliminated altogether, for the future as for the past. Here the whole purpose is in the work itself. Whatever accrues from a given effort, whether added experience or increased means or heightened skill, is at once poured back into the common fund, and used as basis for the next undertaking. The West has grasped the fact of the adaptability of non-kindred to each other, and has sought to use it for the realisation of a good that lies more or less within the senses. The sight of the great Guru, passing over his own son, in the quest for a disciple of greater promise, is not startling to the European mind. The tailor or the banker, in the West, would be apt to do as much. But in such undertakings as theirs there is always, sooner or later, a profit-sharing, by which the gains accumulated are distributed. In the monastic order alone, there is no division of the spoils. It is this which makes

monasticism so powerful for whatever end it proposes to itself. For building, for tasks of education, for industrial enterprises, it has no rival and the work that it does changes the face of the whole earth. Its fruit was not eaten by the worker, but was given to the world, and work so given endures for ever.

In India the time has come for the exploitation of the ideals of the forefathers. Exploitation means realisation. In this sense the blossom represents the exploitation of the plant. By means of renunciation, we are enabled to realise, or capitalise, or exploit, our gathered forces of character and experience. Similarly, we have now to take those powers and ideals of cooperation that made Ajanta and Kenhari and began Ellora, and exploit them on behalf of the civic unity.

Europe has to learn from India of the sanctity of the family, of the sweetness of self-suppression, and the holiness of faithful widowhood. But India on the other hand, has to study the virtues of Europe; the ready cooperation and warm love of those who are only comrades and not kindred; the emotional strength and self-restraint of the individual; and above all, the unfaltering discipline that looks so like servitude, yet is, in free persons, the finest flower of freedom.

Having these two opposites in one hand,—the civic commune for Europe, the family for India—we can begin to tabulate those elements of each which the other most needs. In Europe the family is affected by the conceptions of the civic life: in India, ideas proper only to the family tend to be imported into the civic life itself. A certain degree of this will probably prove persistent, giving in each case its national colour to the public life. But in the struggle for the realisation of new ideals we must work in each case to achieve the complement of the inborn tendency. Europe must strive to assimilate the culture of the family, India must individualise the whole civic consciousness. The place where we are, it has been said, is the only place in the whole universe towards which we cannot move. Similarly, the evolution already reached is the very thing we are to transcend. We must not rest in the thing we have achieved.

The Indian idea of personal freedom is an idea developed in the family, connoting the freedom of the unit, as seen against the communal background of infinite patience and love. The whole Indian character is adjusted to this conception. By the fervent co-operation of the whole race, during thousands of years, for its realisation, those deep insights have been gained into God and love and human tenderness which make Indian poetry and philosophy so wonderful and so compelling. Even wilfulness and rebellion imply the faith that he against whom I sin, is inalienably mine.

How marvellous is this truth! The saints, in Europe, have had glimpses of it. Says St. Teresa: "As the fish lives and moves and breathes in water, so is it true that we live and move and even sin, in God." But this is a flash of illumination, a single heart, or a moment of ecstatic inspiration. In India, a nation understands it. A deep ocean of love, consciously realised, in spite of all the haughtiness of the minnows swimming on its surface, is the explanation of the life of the Indian family.

But this marvellous vision is concomitant to a spoilt-child ideal of personal freedom for which the civic life has no place. The whims and caprice that are so beautiful to the lover, would be intolerable to the kindest and warmest of fellow citizens or fellow-soldiers. Unbroken self-restraint is the essential condition to be fulfilled by those who would practise a civic constructiveness. Here comes in the importance of etiquette, as the protection of the public life. Europeans practise the severest forms of etiquette in the family itself; the *you* employed by them between brothers, and sisters corresponds to *apni*; and they cannot understand why there should be rudeness to one we love. The Indian, on the contrary, would be cut to the heart by formality and distance of manners from his intimates; and would feel that this showed a desire to set him outside a barrier. These two opposite ways of feeling come from

the dominance of the *civitas* and the family respectively. The two peoples approach the question of manner from opposite extremes. Yet the fact remains, that the evolution of strict forms of etiquette is a necessity to the growth of a great public life. The common citizen of the future must have the training that at present is peculiar to kings. Wherever we look, we shall see that etiquette and the civic life go together. The civilisation of Islam is based on an intertribal intercourse which demanded constant courtesy. Hence the stateliness of Mahomedan manners. The Yellow Races have a genius for etiquette, and a genius also for civic organisation. Ancient Rome, the most constructive power ever seen in history, owed much to her inheritance of yellow blood. Indian nationality can only be the result of warm and constant cooperation between persons of various provinces, faiths, castes and races. Such intercourse demands in the first place an exquisite regard for others and a stern respect for self. Every institution carries its own idealism. To him who worships the *civitas*, the disciplined character is the ideal. Chaotic disobedience is contemptible, worthy only of the sub-human. True freedom is seen as self-control, self-direction, and sustained power of self-surrender. Obedience to the right person must be instinctive, unbroken; submission to the wrong must never occur. To bring up a disobedient child would be a disgrace. Yet the fruit of this early training is not to be servility, but discrimination and responsibility; that is to say, in every act of obedience there is to be freedom, an appraisalment of the lawfulness of the authority and the righteousness of the act required.

To him who worships the *civitas*, again, there is a whole series of new relationships created, round which his emotions and his imagination centre. Names like *leader*, *comrade*, *follower*, *fellow-citizen*, *countryman*, *fellow-worker* now become instinct with life. It is no longer necessary, or even desirable, to call a man *brother* in order

to show one's devotion to him. The vocabulary is enriched. One loves an elder brother; but follows one's captain to the very scaffold. Pride arises in one's own courage and dogged sense of discipline. One rejoices in the consciousness of a cold and reserved exterior, beneath which burn volcanic fires.

Manu makes clear enough what is to be the overwhelming virtue of the civic life. It is the passion for justice. For we must remember that the citizen is the king democratised. Even as the Brahmin is the ideal, for those whose only conception of social forms is the church, or *samaj*, so the *Kshatriya* becomes the type for those who would realise the *civitas*. Dharma, justice, the national righteousness is the philosophy of the public life. Its *thakoor* is the banner; earth and water its holiest symbols; the 'People and the Soil' the watchword in every heart.

Such are the developments that have to be added to the evolution which India has already attained. And on her side what she has achieved is now to be imparted to the world. The perpetual alternation of opposites is the law of the universe, and an alternation of ideals includes in its realisation all that is noble.

R. M.

CONVERSATIONS OF THE DEAD.

II

TURIU. URIU.

TURIU.

Goddess Leda who from heaven descendest, how beautiful are thy feet as they gild the morning. The roses of Earth are red, but the touch of vermilion with which thy feet stain the heavens, is redder.—it is the crimson of love, the glory of passion.

Goddess Leda, look down upon men with gracious eyes. The clang of war is stilled, silent the hiss of the shafts and the shields clamour no more against each other in the shock of the onset. We have hung up our swords on the walls of our mansions. The young men have returned unhurt, the

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girls of Asilon cry through the corn sweet and high to the hearts of their lovers.

Goddess Leda, lady of laughter, lady of bliss! in the chambers of love, in the song of the bridal, in the gardens and by the delightful streams where boy and girl look into each other's eyes, speak low to the heart, enter in. Drive out hatred, drive out wrath. Let love embrace the world and silence the eager soul of strife with kisses.

URIU.

The song of Turiu is beautiful, but the chant of Uriu is mighty. Listen to the Hymn of Tanyth.

Tanyth, terrible Mother! laced with a garland of skulls, thou that drinkest the blood of the victim upon the altar loud with the death-shriek, mighty and merciless Mother!

Tanyth, thou in the shock of the fighting, with the raucous cry that rises high and drowns the crash of the car and the roar of the battle,—blood-stained, eager and terrible, pitiless, huge and swift,—wonderful, adorable Mother!

Hear me! I who fear thee not, I who love thee, ask of thee, art thou weary, art thou satiate now with the blood of the foe and the flesh of the victims? Why has it sunk to rest, the thunder of war in Asilon, land of the mighty?

I am not weary, I am not satiate. I charge thee, awake and give me again delight of the slaughter, trampling the face of the fallen foe as I scatter with shafts the ranks that boasted and shouted, forgetting that Uriu fought in the van of the battle.

Mother, arise! leave to Leda her gardens and delicate places, the faces lovely and smooth of Asilon's boys and the joyous beauty of women. I am old and grey in the council and battle. She has nothing for me; what shall I do with her boon of peace and her promptings of love and beauty?

Mother, arise, Tanyth the terrible! shake the world with thy whisper, loom in the heavens, madden men's hearts with the thirst of blood, the rapture of death and the joy of the killing. We will give thee thy choice of the captives, women and men to fall and to bleed on thy altar.

Tanyth, lady of death, queen of the battle! there is a joy in the clash of death that is more than woman's

sweet embrace, a pleasure in pain that the touch of her lips cannot give us; lovelier far is the body torn by the spears than her white limbs covered with shining gems. Tanyth's skulls are more than the garland upon thy breasts, O Leda.

TURIU.

It is great, Uriu, master of war and song, but mine too is beautiful. It is long since we met in the temples and marketplaces of Asilon. Ages have rolled by and the earth is changed, Prince of the Asa.

URIU.

I have lived in the heavens of the great where we fight all day and meet to feast in the evening.

TURIU.

And I in gardens of love and song where the sea murmurs low on flower-skirted beaches. But the time comes when I must go down and take up again the song and the sweetness in mortal places of pleasure.

URIU.

I also go down, for the warrior too is needed and not only the poet and lover.

TURIU.

The world is changed, Uriu, Prince of the Asa. Thou wilt not get again the joy of slaughter and pitilessness. Men have grown merciful, full of tenderness and shrinking.

URIU.

I know not. What Tanyth gives me to do, that I will do. If there were no sternness, no grimness in the world that she creates, I should not be called.

TURIU.

We will go down together and see what this world is in which after so many millions of years we are again wanted.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER II THE POWERS OF THE MIND.

The instrument of the educationist is the mind or antahkarana, which consists of four layers. The reservoir of past mental impressions, the chitta or storehouse of memory, which must be distinguished from the specific act of memory, is the foundation on which all the other layers stand. All experience lies within us as passive or potential memory; active memory selects and takes what it requires from that storehouse. But the active memory is like a man searching among a great mass of locked-up material; sometimes he cannot find what he wants; often in his rapid search he stumbles across many things for which he has no immediate need; often too he blunders and thinks he has found the real thing when it is something else, irrelevant if not valueless, on which he has laid his hand. The passive memory or chitta needs no training, it is automatic and naturally sufficient to its task; there is not the slightest object of knowledge coming within its field which is not secured, placed and faultlessly preserved in that admirable receptacle. It is the active memory, a higher but less perfectly developed function, which is in need of improvement.

The second layer is the mind proper or manas, the sixth sense of our Indian psychology, in which all the others are gathered up. The function of the mind is to receive

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the images of things translated into sight, sound, smell, taste and touch the five senses and translate these again into thought-sensations. It receives also images of its own direct grasping and forms them into mental impressions. These sensations and impressions are the material of thought, not thought itself; but it is exceedingly important that thought should work on sufficient and perfect material. It is therefore, the first business of the educationist to develop in the child the right use of the six senses, to see that they are not stunted or injured by disuse, but trained by the child himself under the teacher's direction to that perfect accuracy and keen subtle sensitiveness of which they are capable. In addition, whatever assistance can be gained by the organs of action, should be thoroughly employed. The hand, for instance, should be trained to reproduce what the eye sees and the mind senses. The speech should be trained to the perfect expression of the knowledge which the whole antahkarana possesses.

The third layer is the intellect or buddhi, which is the real instrument of thought and that which orders and disposes of the knowledge acquired by the other parts of the machine. For the purposes of the educationist this is infinitely the most important of the three I have named. The intellect is an organ composed of several groups of functions, divisible into two important classes, the functions and faculties of the right hand and the functions or faculties of the left hand. The faculties of the right hand are comprehensive, creative and synthetic; the faculties of left hand critical and analytic. To the right hand be-

long Judgment, Imagination, Memory, Observation; to the left hand Comparison and Reasoning. The critical faculties distinguish, compare, classify, generalise, deduce, infer, conclude; they are the components parts of the logical reason. The right-hand faculties comprehend, command, judge in their own right, grasp, hold and manipulate. The right-hand mind is the master of knowledge, the left-hand its servant. The left hand touches only the body of knowledge, the right-hand penetrates its soul. The left hand limits itself to ascertained truth, the right hand grasps that which is still elusive or unascertained. Both are essential to the completeness of the human reason. These important functions of the machine have all to be raised to their highest and finest working-power, if the education of the child is not to be imperfect and one-sided.

There is a fourth layer of faculty which, not as yet entirely developed in man, is attaining gradually to a wider development and more perfect evolution. The powers peculiar to this highest stratum of knowledge are chiefly known to us from the phenomena of genius,—sovereign discernment, intuitive perception of truth, plenary inspiration of speech, direct vision of knowledge to an extent often amounting to

revelation, making a man a prophet of truth. These powers are rare in their higher development, though many possess them imperfectly or by flashes. They are still greatly distrusted by the critical reason of mankind because of the admixture of error, caprice and a biassed imagination which obstructs and distorts their perfect workings. Yet it is clear that humanity could not have advanced to its present stage if it had not been for the help of these faculties, and it is a question with which educationists have not yet grappled, what is to be done with this mighty and baffling element, the element of genius in the pupil. The mere instructor does his best to discourage and stifle genius, the more liberal teacher welcomes it. Faculties so important to humanity cannot be left out of our consideration. It is foolish to neglect them, it is criminal to discourage them. Their imperfect development must be perfected, the admixture of error, caprice and biassed fancifulness must be carefully and wisely removed. But the teacher cannot do it; he would eradicate the good corn as well as the tares if he interfered. Here, as in all educational operations, he can only put the growing soul into the way of its own perfection.

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BAJI PURBHOU.

—000—

NOTE—This poem is founded on the historical incident of the heroic self-sacrifice of Baji Purbhou Deshpande, who to cover Shivaji's retreat, held the pass of Rangana for two hours with a small company of men against twelve thousand Moguls. Beyond the single fact of this great exploit there has been no attempt to preserve historical accuracy.—AUROBINDO GHOSE.

A noon of Deccan with its tyrant glare
Oppressed the world; the hills stood deep in haze,
And sweltering athirst the fields glared up
Longing for water in the courses parched
Of streams long dead. Nature and man alike,
Imprisoned by a bronze and brilliant sky,
Sought an escape from that wide trance of heat.
Nor only on inanimate hills and trees,
Nor on rare herdsman or the patient hind
Tilling the earth or tending sleeplessly
The well-eared grain, that burden fell. It hung
Upon the Mogul horsemen as they rode
With lances at the charge, the surf of steel
About them and behind, as they recoiled
Or circled, where the footmen ran and fired,
And fired again and ran; "For now at last,"
They deemed, "the war is over, now at last
The panther of the hills is beaten back
Right to his lair, the rebel crew to death
Is hunted, and an end is made at last."
Therefore they stayed not for the choking dust,
The slaying heat, the thirst of wounds and fight,
The stumbling stark fatigue, but onward pressed
With glowing eyes. Far otherwise the foe,
Panting and sore oppressed and racked with thirst
And blinded with the blazing earth who reeled
Backward to Raigurh, moistening with their blood
Their mother, and felt their own beloved hills
A nightmare hell of death and heat, the sky
A mute and smiling witness of their dire
Anguish,—abandoned now of God and man,
Who for their country and their race had striven,—
In vain, it seemed. At morning when the sun
Was yet below the verge, the Bhonsle sprang
At a strong mountain fortress, hoping so
To clutch the whole wide land into his grasp;
But from the north and east the Moguls poured,
Swords numberless and hooves that shook the hills
And barking of a hundred guns. These bore
The hero backward. Silently with set
And quiet faces grim drew fighting back
The strong Mahrattas to their hills; only
Their rear sometimes with shouted slogan leaped
At the pursuer's throat, or on some rise
Or covered vantage stayed the Mogul flood
A moment. Ever foremost where men fought,
Was Baji Purbhou seen, like a wild wave
Of onset or a cliff against the surge.

At last they reached a tiger-throated gorge
Upon the way to Raigurh. Narrowing there
The hills draw close, and their forbidding cliffs
Threaten the prone incline. The Bhonsle paused;
His fiery glance travelled in one swift gyre
Hill, gorge and valley and with speed returned
Mightily, like an eagle on the wing
To the dark youth beside him, Malsure
The younger, with his bright and burning eyes,

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Who wordless rode, quivering, as on the leath;
 His fierce heart hungered for the rear, where Death
 Was ringing mid the laughter of the swords.
 "Ride, Suryaji," the Chieftain cried, his look
 Intent with purpose, "hither from the rear
 Summon the Purbhou." Turning with the word
 Suryaji's hooves sped down the rock-strewn slope
 Into the trenchant valley deep. Swiftly,
 Though burdened with a nation's fate, the ridge
 They reached, where in stern silence fought and fell,
 Their iron hearts broken with desperate toil,
 The Southron rear, and to the Purbhou gave
 The summons of the Chief; "Ride, Baji, ride,
 The Bhonale names thee, Baji." The Purbhou spoke
 No word, but stormed with loose and streaming rain
 To the high frowning gorge and silent stood
 Before his leader. "Baji, more than once
 In battle thou hast stood, a living shield,
 Between me and the foe. But more today,
 O Baji, save than any single life,—
 Thy nation's destiny. Thou seest this gorge
 Narrow and fell and gleaming like the throat
 Of some huge tiger, with its rocky fangs
 Agrin for food; and though the lower slope
 Descends too gently, yet with roots and stones
 'Tis hampered, and the higher prone descent
 Impregably forbids assault; too steep
 The sides for any to ascend and shoot
 From vantage. Here might lionhearted men,
 Though few, delay a host. Baji, I speed
 To Raigurh and in two brief hours return.
 Say with what force thy iron heart can hold
 This passage till I come. Thou seest our strength,
 How it has melted like the Afghan's ice
 Into a pool of blood." And while he paused
 Who had been chosen, spoke an iron man
 With iron brows who rode behind the Chief,
 Tanaji Malsure, that living sword:
 "Not for this little purpose was there need
 To call the Purbhou from his toil. Enough,
 Give me five hundred men; I hold the pass
 Till thy return." But Shivaji kept still
 His great and tranquil look upon the face
 Of Baji Purbhou. Then, all black with wrath,
 Wrinkling his fierce hard eyes, the Malsure;
 "What ponders then the hero? Such a man
 Of men, he needs not like us petty swords
 A force behind him, but alone will hold
 All Rajasthan and Agra and Cabool
 From rise to set." The Purbhou answered him:
 "Tanaji Malsure, not in this living net
 Of flesh and nerve, nor in the flickering mind
 Is a man's manhood seated. God within
 Rules us, who in the Brahmin and the dog
 Can, if He will, show equal godhead. Not
 By men is mightiness achieved; Baji
 Or Malsure, tis but a name, a robe,
 And covers One alone. We but employ
 Bhavani's strength, who in an arm of flesh
 Is mighty as in the thunder and the storm.
 I ask for fifty swords." And Malsure;
 "Well, Baji; I will build thee such a pyre
 As man had never yet, when we return;
 For all the Deccan brightening shall cry out
 'Baji the Purbhou burns.' And with a smile

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The Purbhou answered; "Me thou shalt not burn.
For this five feet or more of bone and flesh,
Whether pure flame or jackals of the hills
Be fattened with its rags, may well concern
Others, not Baji Purbhou." And the Chief
With the high calmness in his shining look,
"We part, O friend, but meet again: we must,
When from our tasks released we both shall run
Like children to our Mother's clasp." He took
From his wide brow the princely turban stown
With aigrette diamond-crowned and on the head
Of Baji set the gleaming sign, then clasped
His friend and, followed by the streaming host
That gathered from the rear, to farther hills
Rode clattering. By the Mogul van approached
Baji and his Mahrattas sole remained;
Watched of the mountains in the silent gorge.

To be continued.

INDIA'S NEED.

The following passages are quoted from the reply to the address presented to Swami Vivekananda, by the Calcutta Reception Committee after his long journey from the West:—

SWAMI'S LOVE FOR INDIA— HIS COUNTRY.

"One wants, to lose the universal in the individual. One renounces, flies off, and tries to cut himself off from all associations of the body, of the past, one works hard to forget even that he is a man; yet, in the heart of his heart, there is a soft sound, one string vibrating, one whisper, which tells him, East or West, home is best. Citizens of the capital of this empire, before you I stand not as a sanyasin, no, not even as a preacher, but I come before you the same Calcutta boy to talk to you as I used to do. Aye, I would like to sit upon the dust of the streets of this city, and, with the freedom of childhood, talk to you my mind, my brothers. Accept, therefore, my heart-felt thanks for this unique word that you have used, 'Brother.' Yes; I am your brother, you are my brothers. I was asked by an English friend on the eve of my departure, 'Swami, how do you like now your motherland after four years' experience of the luxurious, glorious, powerful West? I could only answer 'India I loved before I came away. Now the very dust of India has become holy to me, the very air is now to me holy, it is now the holy land, the place of pilgrimage, the Fatherland.'

SWAMI'S LOVE FOR HIS MASTER.

Gentlemen you have touched another heart of my heart, the deepest of all, that is the mention of my teacher, my master, my beloved ideal, my God in life—Sri Ramkrishna Paramahansa. If there has been anything achieved by me by thoughts, or word, or deeds, if from my lips ever has fallen one word that has helped anyone in the world, I beg no credit for it, it was His. But if there have been curses falling from my lips, if there has been hatred coming out of me, it is mine, and not His. All that has been good has been mine. All that has been

life giving, strengthening, pure, and holy has been His inspiration, His words and He Himself. Yes, my friends, yet the world has to know that man. We read in the history of the world of prophets and their lives coming down to us through centuries of writings and workings by their disciples; through thousands of years of smoothening and plastering the lives of great prophets of yore come down to us; and yet, in my opinion, not one stands as high in brilliance as that life which I saw with my own eyes under whose shadow I had lived, at whose feet I have learnt everything, the life of Ramkrishna Paramahansa. Aye, friend you all know the celebrated saying of the Gita—Yada Yada hi—

MANIFESTATION OF THE DIVINE.

Along with it you have to understand one thing more. Such a thing is before us to-day, before one of these tidal waves of spirituality comes, these are little whirlpools of a similar nature all over society. One of these stands up, at first unknown, unperceived and unthought of, assuming proportion swallowing, as it were, and assimilating all the other little whirlpools, becoming immense, becoming a tidal wave and falling upon society with a power which none can resist. Such is happening. If you have eyes you can read it. If your heart is open you will receive it. If you are truth-seekers, you will find

it. Blind, blind indeed is the man, who does not see the signs of the day. Aye, this boy born of poor Brahmin parents in some wayside village somewhere of which very few of you have even heard, is literally being worshipped in lands which have been fulminating against heathen worship for centuries. Whose power is it? Is it mine, or yours? It is none else than the power which was manifested here as Ramkrishna Paramahansa. For, you and I and sages and prophets, nay, even incarnations, the whole universe are but manifestations of power more or less individualised, more or less concentrated. Here has been a manifestation of an immense power, just the very beginnings of whose workings we are seeing, and before this generation passes away, you will see more wonderful workings of that power. It has come just in time for the regeneration of India. For we forget from time to time the vital power that must always work in India.

INDIA WANTS SPIRITUAL HEROES.

We want spiritual ideals before us. We want enthusiastically to gather round grand spiritual names. Our heroes must be spiritual. Such a hero has been given unto us in the person of Ramkrishna Paramahansa. If this nation wants to rise, take my word, it will have to come enthusiastically round this name. It does not matter, who preaches Ramkrishna Paramahansa, whether I, or you, or anybody. But Him I place before you, and it is for you to judge, and for the good of our race, for the good of our nation, to judge now, what you shall do with this great ideal of life. One thing we are to remember, that it was the purest of all lives, that you have ever seen, or let me tell you distinctly, that you have read of. And it is a fact before you that it is the most marvellous manifestation of soul-power that you can read of, much less expect to see. Within ten years of His passing away this power has encircled the globe, that is before you. Gentlemen, in duty bound, therefore, for the good of our race, for

Just out! Just out! THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM

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the good of our religion, I place this great spiritual ideal before you. Judge Him not through me. I am only a weak instrument. Let not His character be judged by seeing me. It was so great, that I or any one of his disciples, if we spent hundreds of lives, could not do justice to a millionth part of what He really was. Judge for yourselves; in the heart of your hearts is the Eternal Witness, and may the same Ramkrishna Paramahansa, for the good of our nation, for the welfare of our country, and for the good of humanity, open your hearts, make you true and steady to work for the immense change, which must come, whether we work or not. For the work of the Lord does not wait for the likes of you or me. He can raise His workers from the dust by hundreds and thousands. It is a glory and a privilege that we are allowed to work at all under Him.

THE TEACHING OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The *New Thought*, an American journal publishes the following: This shows how rapidly the Vedantic thoughts are spreading over that country.

During the World's Fair there came to Chicago, Swami Vivekananda, a teacher of the Vedanta philosophy, which is the world's oldest religion. He was the most most interesting figure at that most famous Congress of Religions which formed such a notable feature of the World's Fair of 1893. His picturesque attire, yellow turban, and beautiful face, attracted the attention of every one who passed him. He was physical

ly more beautiful than most men; and mentally, more fascinating. He had a rich musical voice and a magnetic personality. Those who attended his lectures were deeply impressed with his eloquence. Coming from India, a country of romance and mysticism, his lectures were replete with Oriental imagery. He gave an impetus to Vedanta movement which has since become widespread in America.

Swami Vivekananda came to us with a message. He taught the greatness of the philosophy of India. He taught the secrets of health and happiness, as attained through a well-ordered, spiritual life. He gave the message that strengthened those who were discouraged. He gave the student new aspirations. He enlarged men's narrow views and imbued them with a broader comprehension of duty.

The Swami was a disciple of the Mahatma, Ramakrishna. There is an interesting story about this great Yogi which gives an insight into the powerful influence of this philosophy or religion over the mind of its devotee. As a small child, Ramakrishna was made a temple priest in the temple of the Mother of Bliss, at Kali. There he sang and wept and prayed to the Goddess of the Hindus and served the silent image with flowers. The boy became possessed of a great desire to know if there was really a Mother of Bliss in the universe. Day after day and night after night he prayed and wept calling upon her to manifest herself to him, which, in time she did. The people of the neighborhood thought him mad, and to divert his mind married him to a young girl of five years. The marriage was in reality a betrothal, and

Ramakrishna, in the transports of his spirit, forgot her, until several years afterwards she stood before him in the perfection of beauty. Falling at her feet, he cried: "I have revered all women as mother, but I am at your service." However, the young bride refused to recall the soul of her husband to earth, and became one of his most ardent disciples.

Swami Vivekananda possessed an earnestness that stimulated enthusiasm in the minds of his students. "Are you mad after truth?" was one of the questions he would ask of those who sought to become initiates of the Vedanta philosophy and partakers in its beatitudes. He taught the preliminary virtues of unselfishness, purity, the forgiveness of injuries, faith in the invisible ideal, and worship of the Father-Mother whose dwelling is in the Spiritual Soul of humanity.

If it be true that nature is uniform in all her works—and so far no human experience has contradicted it—if it be true that the same law prevails throughout the universe, then, as it has been said in the Vedas: "Knowing one lump of clay we know the nature of all the clay that is in the universe." Take up one little plant and study its life and learn of its mystery, and we know the universe.

The Swami taught that everything exists throughout eternity; that nothing can be created or destroyed, in the sense of coming out of nothing, or of going back to nothing. Only the movement is in succeeding waves and hollows, going back to fine forms, coming out into large proportions. The bird springs from the egg, becomes a beautiful bird, lives its life, then dies, leaving only

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NOTICE.

THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM being an account of the Swami VIVEKANANDA BY SISTER NIVEDITA, is now out, and may be ordered from Messrs. Longman, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, or 91 & 93, Fifth Avenue, New York; or from the UDBODHAY OFFICE, 12, 13, Gopal Chandra Neogi's Lane, Bagh Bazar, Calcutta. Indian edition cloth bound 4s. 6d., paper bound 2s. 6d. Postage 6d. extra.

other eggs, seeds of future birds. So with animals so, with men. Everything begins from certain seeds, certain rudiments, certain fine forms becomes grosser and grosser, and develops; goes on that way for a certain time, again goes back to that fine form, and subsides. The raindrop in which the beautiful sunbeam is playing, has been drawn up in the form of vapor from the ocean, goes far away into the air, reaches the mountain; then it changes into snow, again into water again rolls back down through hundreds of miles to the mother ocean. So with everything in nature. This earth has come out of nebulous form becoming colder and colder throwing up this crystallized form upon which we live; and in the future will become colder and colder until it dies, and will break into pieces, will be pulverized, go back into rudimentary nebulous fine form. This is happening before us today. This has been happening through time immemorial. This is the whole history of man, the whole history of nature, the whole history of life.

The last to come in the order of creation is intelligence. At the beginning intelligence becomes involved, and in the end intelligence gets evolved. The sum-total of the intelligence displayed in the universe must, therefore, be the involved universal intelligence unfolding itself. This universal cosmic intelligence is the Supreme Lord. It is He who is shining as the sun and the stars; He comes as gentle showers He is the ocean. He is the mother earth. He comes as gentle wind that we breathe. He is the strength of man walking in the pride of youth. He is love and devotion in the heart of woman.

Swami Vivekananda taught that we reap what we sow! that we are the makers of our fate. None else has the blame none has the praise. Divine Power is open to everyone, at all times, in all places, under all conditions. Upon us depends how we use it. Blame none for your own faults, and take the whole responsibility upon yourself. Good thoughts and good deeds will bring to your aid unlimited power to defend you always and ever. Through the practice of Yoga one attains to self-mastery and learns the secret of focusing the energies of life, which may be applied practically, lovingly and patiently to human needs. Such was the teaching of Swami Vivekananda.

NOTICE.

We beg to bring to the notice of our subscribers that owing to the Saraswati Puja holidays Karmayogin came out late this time.

SECTION 1:—SCIENCE AND ART IN RELIGION.

The following chapter is taken from Kisorilal Sarkar's "Hindu System of Religious Science and Art."

Science and Art are twin sisters in every department of mental culture. In fact the whole of modern civilization consists of the two. In cultivating knowledge of the material world, one portion of the study is distinctly *scientific*, and another portion a matter of *art*. Take for instance the study of Chemistry; what is studied in the class-room in the shape of learning principles, laws and formulae is science. What is done in the laboratory is Art. As regards the cultivation of the knowledge of the mental and moral sphere of life, it may not be usual to carry on studies separately on the two lines, but it may be so carried on and ought to be. There are men however who would grudge to give religion a *locus standi* of its own in the sphere of science and art. They, however, are ready to test it by the data and facts of physical science, with a view to dismiss it as something baseless. But many would willingly admit the claim of religion to be the subject of science on its own data and facts. But a mere science of religion is a thing too lame to represent the whole truth of what is called religion. To represent the whole truth of it, the experience of those who practise religion should be put side by side with the science of religion. In other words religious Science and religious Art should go together in order to substantiate the truth of religion. In fact, it is the art of religion which is *religion proper*. For, the word religion without any qualification means the experiences of a man of religion. If one wants to test the truths of religion he must honestly and earnestly ascertain not only the soundness of certain proposi-

tions and postulates affecting religion, but the force and result of what one experiences in practising religion. In medicine the clinical experience is often more useful than theoretical descriptions, in determining the properties of a drug. If one knows the science regarding an object, he only *knows* the qualities and character of that object. But one who has reduced the qualities of the object to some practical purpose in the shape of an art has *appreciated* and *felt* it. For instance, if one knows the science of heat, he is no doubt able to discuss about heat. But it is quite a different thing to be able to produce heat and fire. This requires some sort of tactics and experience which may be called the art of producing heat. Such tactics and experience may be various, but it is either by actually producing fire or by feeling it by touch that a man gets actual experience of what fire is. The scientist knows that every substance contains heat in it. But the practical man who requires fire, actually gets it produced by some shift or other, say, by rubbing two pieces of wood. This is art causing an effect which cannot but be home-felt and real. Similarly, one may have knowledge of the science of chemistry without ever having been in the laboratory. Such a person can have no experience of chemical action though he may have a knowledge of some of its laws. Take again the case of electricity. A scientific knowledge of electricity no doubt widens the range of human knowledge regarding nature. But it is the various electric arts to which mankind owes the manifold blessings of modern civilization.

Thus a complete treatment of a particular religious system must involve a consideration of the science portion and the art portion of that religious system. In many systems the two factors are not distinctly recognized. But the Hindu system distinctly recognises the dual phase and this recognition is the distinguishing features of it.

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KARMAYOGIN

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PASSING THOUGHTS.

—ooo—

Great Consequences.

The events that sway the world are often the results of trivial circumstances. When immense changes and irresistible movements are in progress, it is astonishing how a single event, often a chance event, will lead to a train of circumstances that alter the face of a country or the world. At such times a slight turn this way or that produces results out of all proportion to the cause. It is on such occasions that we feel most vividly the reality of a Power which disposes of events and deferts the calculations of men. The end of many things is brought about by the sudden act of a single individual. A world vanishes, another is created almost at a touch. Certainty disappears and we begin to realise what the *pralaya* of the Hindus, the passage from one age to another, really means and how true is the idea that it is by rapid transitions long-prepared changes are induced. Such a change now impends all over the world, and in almost all countries events are happening, the final results of which the actors do not foresee. Small incidents pass across the surface of great countries and some of them pass and are forgotten, others precipitate the future. In England, in Prussia, in Greece, still more in

Turkey, Persia and China a slight movement of one or two men may be sufficient at the present moment to alter the destinies of the country.

The Egyptian Murder.

The assassination of Boutros Pasha in Egypt has the chance of being one of these momentous events. In itself it is an incident which has happened in many countries without disturbing the march of ordinary events. The lives of rulers are always open to this peril from the fanatic, the personal enemy with a grudge, the crank or the lunatic. In England itself the lives of ruling men or princes have been taken or attempted. But these are not ordinary times and Egypt is not in a normal condition. Hitherto the Egyptian question has not been acute. There is a strong Nationalist sentiment which grows with time, the Denshaw incident has left wounds behind, but, beyond the mere fact of the presence of the foreigner, there seems to be no specific grievance which could give intensity of feeling or a formidable shape to the vague discontent and the perfectly natural general aspiration. If the virtual ruler of Egypt is well advised, the act of a solitary assassin need not provide anything but a few days unhealthily excitement—it need not be the spark in the powder magazine. But if Sir Eldon Gorst allows himself to be swayed into providing the Egyptian

with specific causes of discontent he may succeed in adding an Egyptian difficulty to the permanent burdeng of England. The minds of rulers at such seasons are moved rather by impulses beyond their control than by that calm thought which would guide them in ordinary times. We know what Lord Cromer would have done, it is to be seen what a higher Power impels Sir Eldon Gorst to do; for on the reception of an event and not on the event itself its consequences depend.

Great Preparations.

Conversely, at such times great preparations, at least in the initial stages of the change, lead to nothing or very little. Pompous associations, largely attended conferences, earnest and careful deliberations all end in smoke, they vanish, leaving no trace behind. This is largely because these great preparations either take their stand on the chimæra that the past can be restored, or they anchor themselves on the permanency of present conditions. But in these periods things move so rapidly that yesterday's conditions entirely disappear today and today's have no surety of being in existence to-morrow. Under such circumstances the rule of the Gita becomes almost a necessity, to do one's duty according to one's lights and leave the results to God. For, when we attempt to see into the immediate

uture, the one comment that suggests itself is in the Homeric phrase, 'These things lie on the knees of the Gods.'

Revelation in Jail.

Revelation is a thing Religion verfully asserts, Science as potentially denies. According to our ideas in this country, man has a faculty, latent in him but easily developed through the various means grouped under the expression *sadhana*, by which he is able to see spiritually and get the revelation of things not discernible by the reason. Sri Jutishna Kumar Mitra in relating his spiritual experiences in Agra jail dwelt on the revelation of the omnipresent and merciful God which is continually with him in his imprisonment. He had what we call the *pratyaksha darshan*. This is a thing the possibility of which our Western men trained in European enlightenment think it a very intellectual thing to deny. On a similar occasion the "Indian Social Reformer" sneered at the experience, declared that God reveals Himself only in His laws and, if we remember right, scoffed at the idea of such a revelation being given in such an inappropriate, disreputable and uncomfortable place as a jail. It is curious at least that not one out of many should have had this experience recently in precisely similar circumstances and that the various experiences should have been expressed in almost exactly the same terms. After all, an ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory. Our own belief is that the notions of the world are travelling towards a signal refutation of the atheistic and agnostic attitudes and that India is the place selected for the revelation. It is for this reason that these experiences are becoming so frequent in men who are rather men of action than what is generally known as purely religious men, that is to say, who seek God in life and the service of men and not merely in the closet and the astrum. A new religion summing up and correcting the old, a religion based not on dogma but on direct knowledge and experience, is the need of the age, and it is only India that can give it to the world.

THE PRINCIPLE OF EVIL.

The problem of evil is one that has taxed human thought and evolved various and conflicting solutions. To the man who does not believe in anything but material, the problem does not exist. Everything is in nature as the result of evolution. Nature is blind and unintelligent and has therefore no conception of good or evil; the conception belongs to the human mind and is the result of the social sense and the ideas of pleasure and pain developed in human beings by a perfectly intelligible natural process. It is to men who believe in Intelligence as governing and developing the world that the problem exists. Why did evil come into existence and what is its purpose?

The unwillingness of the devout soul to admit that evil can have its existence in God, has led to variations of the Manichean theory which sees a double control in the world, God as the Principle of good and Satan as the Principle of evil. Those who regard the belief in the existence of an intelligent evil power as superstition, find the origin of evil in man who abuses his freedom and by his revolt and self-will gives birth to sin. This solution solves nothing, for it does not explain why there should have been a possibility of evil at all. Unless we limit our conception of God as the source and creator of all, that from which all proceeds, we must admit that evil as part of the economy of the world must have proceeded from Him no less than good. Even if we violently posit another creative force in the world limiting His universality, we shall have to assume that He, having the power to prevent evil, permits it; for He is omnipotent, and none can do anything except by the permission of His all-wise and overruling Providence. And if we limit the omnipotence of God, we reduce Him to a mere Demiurgus, a great Artificer of things struggling amongst forces over which He has not entire control. Such a conception is unphilosophical and contrary to the universal spiritual experience of mankind. The problem remains why, if He is God, All-Love, *sarvaman-galam*, He creates evil or, if He does not create it, permits it.

To our mind there is no escaping from the belief that, if God exists, He is All. All proceeds from Him from what other source can it proceed? All exists in Him; in what other being or continent can it exist? Therefore, evil must proceed from Him, evil must exist in Him. Since He is All-Wise, for all knowledge is His, it must exist for some wise and perfect purpose. Since He is All-Love, it must exist for good and not for anything which contradicts the good. Only, His is an infinite wisdom, ours a finite, His perfect, ours undeveloped. His is an infinite and all-wise love, ours a finite and unwise love, a love imperfectly informed by knowledge, full of *maya*, attachment to passing happiness and pleasure. God's love looks beyond, ours fixes its eyes on the moment.

Experience must always be the basis of true knowledge, but it must be experience illuminated by true perception, not experience dominated by surface impressions. The experience of the mind which has compassed calm and is able to preserve its tranquillity under the most strenuous assaults of pain, misfortune and evil, is alone worth having. The mind which is not *dhira*, which feels grief and thinks under the influence of affection and passion, even if it be noble affection and passion, cannot arrive at the *samyak Jnanam*, the complete and perfect truth. Emotion is for the heart, it should not besiege the intellect; for the proper business of the intellect is to observe and understand, not to be obscured by the slightest prejudice, the least trace of feeling. One who is *dhira* will look narrowly at every incident and, if he cannot see at once, wait for enlightenment as to its ultimate purpose and issue; so waiting, so calmly considering, the meaning of life dawns on the mind; an infinite purpose reveals itself in things small and great, in occurrences good and bad; omniscient Providence reveals itself in the fall of the sparrow and the death of the ant as well as in the earthquake that destroys great cities and the floods that make thousands destitute and homeless. Rudra and Shiva reveal themselves as one. The Yogin sees God in all things, not only in all beings but in all events. He is the flood, He is the earthquake, He is Death that leads to a higher life, He is Pain that prepares

us for a higher bliss. This is a thing that cannot be argued; it has to be seen. *Pūripashyanti dhiraḥ*. And sight is only possible to the calm heart and the unperturbed understanding.

The materialist is not wrong when he holds good and evil to be merely operations of Nature which she uses impartially and without making a distinction, and that the distinction is an evolution in the human mind. Evil is good disintegrating to prepare for a higher good. That which is now tyranny, was once necessary to consolidate human society. What was once an ideal state of society, would now be barbarous and evil. Morality progresses, religion widens with the growing manifestation of that which is divine in the human race. As with the individual, so with the race and the world, evil tends to good, it comes into existence in order that men may reject the lesser good and rise to the higher.

The problem of pain remains. Was it necessary that the process should be accompanied with pain to the individual? At one time the capacity for pain, physical and mental, was infinitely less than it is now, so little that it might be pronounced to be nil. It is a remarkable fact that disease, pain and grief have grown keener with the growing fineness of the human organisation. Obviously this can only be a temporary development necessary to prepare a higher race which shall rise above pain to a higher capacity for pleasure and happiness. The lower organisation resisted the *sanskara* of pain and grief by the coarseness of its composition, it rejected pain in the sense of not knowing it. The higher organisation of the future will not be below it, but rise above it. It was the knowledge of good and evil that brought grief and sin into the world; when that knowledge is surmounted, man will rise above grief and sin. Before he eat the forbidden fruit, he had the innocence of the animal; when he shall cease to eat it, he will have the innocence of the God. Is it not so that in nature pain is a possibility which has to be exhausted and man has been selected as the instrument to bring it into existence, in a limited space, for a limited time, and work it out of the cosmos? In the

light of this idea, the Christian doctrine of the Son of Man on the cross acquires a new significance and man himself becomes the Christ of the universe.

Another question occurs. Is pain real or a shadow? The Vedantist believes that the soul is a part of God or one with God Himself, and cannot feel pain or grief, but only ananda, bliss. The jiva or soul takes the *rasa*, the delight of the dualities, and it changes to bliss in his nature; but this is veiled by the ignorance that separates the jiva in his *swarupa* from the mind and the heart. Pain is a negative *vikara* or corruption of true experience in the mind, pleasure a positive *vikara*. The truth is ananda. But this is a knowledge for which mankind is not ready. Only the Yogin realises it and becomes *sama*, likeminded, to pain and pleasure, good or evil, happiness or misfortune. He takes the *rasa* of both and they give him strength and bliss; for the veil between his mind and his soul is removed and the apparent man in him has become one with the *swarupa* or real man. If mankind as a whole came too early by that knowledge, the evolution of the perfect good would be delayed. The utter sweetness of *daya* and *prema*, pity and love, might never be extracted from the *lila*.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER. III

THE MORAL NATURE.

In the economy of man, the mental nature rests upon the moral, and the education of the intellect divorced from the perfection of the moral and emotional nature is injurious to human progress. Yet, while it is easy to arrange some kind of curriculum or syllabus which will do well enough for the training of the mind, it has not yet been found possible to provide under modern conditions a suitable moral training for the school and college. The attempt to make boys moral and religious by the teaching of moral and religious text-books is a vanity and a delusion, precisely because the heart is not the mind and to instruct the mind does not neces-

sarily improve the heart. It would be an error to say that it has no effect. It throws certain seeds of thought into the *antahkarana* and, if these thoughts become habitual, they influence the conduct. But the danger of moral text-books is that they make the thinking of high things mechanical and artificial, and whatever is mechanical and artificial, is inoperative for good.

There are three things which are of the utmost importance in dealing with a man's moral nature, the emotions, the *sanskaras* or formed habits and associations, and the *swabhava* or nature. The only way for him to train himself morally is to habituate himself to the right emotions, the noblest associations, the best mental, emotional and physical habits and the following out in right action of the fundamental impulses of his essential nature. You can impose a certain discipline on children, dress them into a certain mould, lash them into a desired path, but unless you can get their hearts and natures on your side, the conformity to this discipline becomes a hypocritical and heartless, often a cowardly compliance. This is what is done in Europe, and it leads to that remarkable phenomenon known as the sowing of wild oats as soon as the yoke of discipline at school and at home is removed, and to the social hypocrisy which is so large a feature of European life. Only what the man admires and accepts, becomes part of himself; the rest is a mask. He conforms to the discipline of society as he conformed to the moral routine of home and school, but considers himself at liberty to guide his real life, inner and private, according to his own likings and passions. On the other hand, to neglect moral and religious education altogether is to corrupt the race. The notorious moral corruption in our young men previous to the saving touch of the Swadeshi movement, was the direct result of the purely mental instruction given to them under the English system of education. The adoption of the English system under an Indian disguise in institutions like the Central Hindu College is likely to lead to the European result. That it is better than nothing, is all that can be said for it.

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As in the education of the mind, so in the education of the heart, the best way is to put the child into the right road to his own perfection and encourage him to follow it, watching, suggesting, helping, but not interfering. The one excellent element in the English boarding school is that the master at his best stands there as a moral guide and example leaving the boys largely to influence and help each other in following the path silently shown to them. But the method practised is crude and marred by the excess of outer discipline, for which the pupils have no respect except that of fear, and the exigency of the inner assistance. The little good that is done is outweighed by much evil. The old Indian system of the guru commanding by his knowledge and sanctity the implicit obedience, perfect admiration, reverent emulation of the student, was a far superior method of moral discipline. It is impossible to restore that ancient system; but it is not impossible to substitute the wise friend, guide and helper for the hired instructor or the benevolent policeman which is all that the European system usually makes of the pedagogue.

The first rule of moral training is to suggest and invite, not command or impose. The best method of suggestion is by personal example, daily converse and the books read from day to day. These books should contain, for the younger student, the lofty examples of the past given, not as moral lessons, but as things of supreme human interest, and, for the elder student, the great thoughts of great souls, the passages of literature which set fire to the highest emotions and prompt the highest ideals and aspirations, the records of history and biography which exemplify the living of those great thoughts, noble emotions and aspiring ideals. This is a kind of good company, *satsanga*, which can seldom fail to have effect, so long as sententious sermonising is avoided, and becomes of the highest effect if the personal life of the teacher is itself moulded by the great things he places before his pupils. It cannot, however, have full force unless the young life is given an opportunity, within its limited sphere, of embodying in action the moral impulses which rise within it. The thirst of knowledge,

the self-devotion, the purity, the renunciation of the Brahmin,—the courage, ardour, honour, nobility, chivalry, patriotism of the Kshatriya,—the beneficence, skill, industry, generous enterprise, and large openhandedness of the Vaisya,—the self-effacement and loving service of the Sudra,—these are the qualities of the Aryan. They constitute the moral temper we desire in our young men, in the whole nation. But how can we get them if we do not give opportunities to the young to train themselves in the Aryan tradition, to form by the practice and familiarity of childhood and boyhood the stuff of which their adult lives must be made?

Every boy should, therefore, be given practical opportunity as well as intellectual encouragement to develop all that is best in his nature. If he has bad qualities, bad habits, bad *sanskaras* whether of mind or body, he should not be treated harshly as a delinquent, but encouraged to get rid of them by the Rajayogic method of *sanyama*, rejection and substitution. He should be encouraged to think of them, not as sins or offences, but as symptoms of a curable disease alterable by a steady and sustained effort of the will,—falsehood being rejected whenever it rises into the mind and replaced by truth, fear by courage, selfishness by sacrifice and renunciation, malice by love. Great care will have to be taken that unformed virtues are not rejected as faults. The wildness and recklessness of many young natures are only the overflowings of an excessive strength, greatness and nobility. They should be purified, not discouraged.

I have spoken of morality; it is necessary to speak a word of religious teaching. There is a strange idea prevalent that by merely teaching the dogmas of religion children can be made pious and moral. This is an European error, and its practice leads either to mechanical acceptance of a creed having no effect on the inner and little on the outer life, or it creates the fanatic, the pietist, the ritualist or the unctuous hypocrite. Religion has to be lived, not learned as a creed. The singular compromise made in the so-called National Education of Bengal, making the teaching of religious beliefs compulsory, but forbidding the practice of *anusthana*

or religious exercises, is a sample of the ignorant confusion which distracts men's minds on this subject. The prohibition is a sop to secularism declared or concealed. No religious teaching is of any value unless it is lived, and the use of various kinds of *sadhana*, spiritual self-training and exercise, is the only effective preparation for religious living. The ritual of prayer, homage, ceremony is craved for by many minds as an essential preparation and, if not made an end in itself, is a great help to spiritual progress; if it is withheld, some other form of meditation, devotion or religious duty must be put in its place. Otherwise, religious teaching is of little use and would almost be better ungiven.

But whether distinct teaching in any form of religion is imparted or not, the essence of religion, to live for God, for humanity, for country, for others and for oneself in these, must be made the ideal in every school which calls itself national. It is this spirit of Hinduism pervading our schools which, far more than the teaching of Indian subjects, the use of Indian methods or formal instruction in Hindu beliefs and Hindu Scriptures, should be the essence of Nationalism in our schools distinguishing them from all others.

THE STRESS OF THE HIDDEN SPIRIT.

—:O:—

The world is a great game of hide and seek in which the real hides behind the apparent, spirit behind matter. The apparent masquerades as real, the real is seen dimly as if it were an unsubstantial shadow. The grandeur of the visible universe and its laws enslaves men's imaginations. "This is a mighty machine" we cry, "but it moves of its own force and needs neither guide nor maker; for its motion is eternal." Blinded by a half truth we fail to see that, instead of a machine without a maker, there is really only an existence and no machine. The Hindus have many images by which they seek to convey their knowledge of the relation between God and the world, but the idea of the machine does not figure largely among them. It is a spider and his web, a fire with many sparks,

a pool of salt water in which every particle is penetrated by the salt. The world is a waking dream, an embodied vision, a mass of knowledge arranged in corporeal appearances expressing so many ideas which are each only a part of one unchanging truth. Everything becomes, nothing is made. Everything is put out from latency, nothing is brought into existence. Only that which was, can be, not that which was not. And that which is, cannot perish; it can only lose itself. All is eternal in the eternal spirit.

What was from of old? The spirit. What is alone? The spirit. What shall be for ever? The spirit. All that is in Space and Time, is He; and whatever there may be beyond Space and Time, that too is He. Why should we think so? Because of the eternal and invariable unity which gives permanence to the variability of the many. The sum of matter never changes by increase or diminution, although its component parts are continually shifting; so is it with the sum of energy in the world, so is it with the spirit. Matter is only so much mobile energy vibrating intensely into form. Energy is only so much spirit manifesting the motion that we call energy. Spirit is Force, Spirit Existence,—matter and energy are only motions in Spirit. Force and Existence made one in Bliss, Sacchidanandam, this is the eternal reality of things. But that Force is not motion, it is Knowledge or Idea. Knowledge is the source of motion, not motion of knowledge. The Spirit therefore is all, It is alone. Idea or Force, Existence, Bliss are only its triune manifestations, existence implying idea which is force, force or idea implying bliss.

The Spirit manifest as Intelligence is the basis of the world. Spirit as existence, Sat, is one; as Intelligence it multiplies itself without ceasing to be one. We see that tree and say "Here is a material thing"; but if we ask how the tree came into existence, we have to say, it grew or evolved out of the seed. But growth or evolution is only a term describing the

sequence in a process. It does not explain the origin or account for the process itself. Why should the seed produce a tree and not some other form of existence? The answer is, because that is its nature. But why is that its nature? Why should it not be its nature to produce some other form of existence, or some other kind of tree. That is the law, is the answer. But why is it the Law? The only answer is that it is so because it is so; that it happens, why no man can say. In reality when we speak of Law, we speak of an idea; when we speak of the nature of a thing, we speak of an idea. Nowhere can we lay our hands on an object, a visible force, a discernable momentum and say "Here is an entity called Law or Nature." The seed evolves a tree because tree is the idea involved in the seed; it is a process of manifestation in form, not a creation. If there were no insistent idea, we should have a world of chances and freaks, not a world of law—there would be no such idea as the nature of things, if there were not an originating and ordering intelligence manifesting a particular idea in forms. And the form varies, is born, perishes; the idea is eternal. The form is the manifestation or appearance, the idea is the truth. The form is phenomenon, the idea is reality.

Therefore in all things the Hindu thinker sees the stress of the hidden spirit. We see it as Prajna the universal Intelligence, conscious in things unconscious, active in things inert. The energy of Prajna is what the Europeans call Nature. The tree does not and cannot shape itself, the stress of the hidden Intelligence shapes it. He is in the seed of man and in that little particle of matter carries habit, character, types of emotion into the unborn child. Therefore heredity is true; but if Prajna were not concealed in the seed, heredity would be false, inexplicable, impossible. We see the same stress in the mind, heart, body of man. Because the hidden spirit urges himself on the body, stamps himself on it, expresses himself in it, the body expresses the individuality of the

man, the developing and conscious idea of varying type which is myself; therefore no two faces, no two expressions, no two stamp impressions even are entirely alike; every part of the body in some way or other expresses the man. The stress of the spirit shows itself in the mind and heart; therefore men, families, nations, have individuality, run into particular habits of thought and feeling, therefore also they are both alike and dissimilar. Therefore men act and react, not only physically but spiritually, intellectually, morally on each other, because there is one self in all creatures expressing itself in various idea and forms variously suitable to the idea. The stress of the hidden Spirit expresses itself again in events and the majestic course of the world. This is the zeit Geist, this is the purpose that runs through the process of the centuries, the changes of the suns, this is that which makes evolution possible and provides it with a way, means and a goal "This is He who from years sempiternal hath ordered perfectly all things"

This is the teaching of the Vedanta as we have it in its oldest form in the Upanishads. Advaita, Vishishtadwaita, Dwaita are merely various ways of looking at the relations of the One to the Many, and none of them have the right to monopolise the name Vedanta. Advaita is true, because the Many are only manifestations of the one. Vishishtadwaita is true because ideas are eternal and having manifested, must have manifested before and will manifest again,—the many are eternal in the One, only they are sometimes manifest and sometimes unmanifest. Dwaita is true, because although from one point of view the One and the Many are eternally and essentially the same, yet, from another, the idea in its manifestation is eternally different from the Intelligence in which it manifests. If Unity is eternal and unchangable, duality is persistently recurrent. The Spirit is infinite, illimitable, eternal and infinite, illimitable, eternal is its stress towards manifestation filling endless space with innumerable existences.

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**MOONDACA UPANISHAD
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ATHARVAVEDA.
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CHAPTER II

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This that is manifested and secret, this that moveth in the heart our being, the mighty foundation on whom all that moves and breathes and sees is established, you shall know to be that Supreme and Aderable which is the Is and the Is Not and is beyond knowledge and the highest to its creatures.

2. This brilliant, this subtler than subtlety, this vastness in which all the worlds are set with their peoples, this is that which is Brahman Immutable. Life is That, Speech is That, Mind is That, That is the truth, That Immortality. O fair son, know It for that into which thou must penetrate.

3. Take up the bow of the Upanishad, that mighty weapon, set to it an arrow sharpened by worship; draw the bow with a mind steeped in the feeling of oneness and shoot at the Eternal as thou wouldst shoot at a target.

4. OM is the bow and the soul is the arrow and God is the target. Pierce Him with an infaltering aim and lose thyself in Him as an arrow is lost in that it striketh.

5. He in whom the mind is set with all the life-currents and in whom heaven and earth and the ether are inwoven Him know to be the one self of all; all other creed renounce: for this is the bridge over death and the way to immortality

6. Where the nerves meet in the heart of a man as the spokes of a wheel meet in the nave of it, there God dwelleth within us and is born in many disguises. Meditate on the Self as Om and let this ferry you to the other side of the great darkness.

7. The Omniscient and All comprehending of whom is all this might and majesty, that the earth declareth, He the self is enthroned in His heaven in the holy city of the Spirit. As spirit become mind He is the pilot of the life and the body; He hath set the heart as His foundation and by that heart He is established in matter. Him by the high and direct knowledge strong and quiet souls behold all a lustre and delight and immortality.

8. When a man hath seen that Higher and Lower, the knot of his heart-strings is rent, then all his doubts are cut asunder and his works dwindle away from him.

9. The Brahman in a glorious golden sheath is hid, the indivisible and stainless Spirit who is free from action and passion; He is the brightness and the lustre of lustrous and the One that self-knowers know.

10. There the sun does not shine and the Moon has no splendour, the stars are blind; there these lightnings flash not nor any earthly fire. For all that is bright is but the shadow of His brightness, and by His shining all this shineth.

11. For this is the Brahman and the Immortal. The Brahman is before us and the Brahman is behind us, the Brahman is to the south of us and the Brahman is to

the north of us, the Brahman is above us and the Brahman is below us. He is extended everywhere. This whole magnificent universe is nothing but the Brahman.

THIRD MOONDACA.

CHAPTER I.

1. There are two birds that cling to one common tree, beautiful of plumage, yokefellows are they, eternal companions; and one of them eateth the delicious fruit of the tree and the other eateth not, but watcheth his fellow.

2. Man is the bird that dwelleth on one common tree with God, but he is lost in its sweetness, and because he is the slave of its sweetness and fallen from lordship, therefore he hath grief, therefore he is bewildered. But when he seeth that other who is Lord and the beloved, then he knoweth that all this is but His greatness, and his grief passeth away from him.

3. When the wise man, the seer beholdeth the Golden-hued, the Doer of all actions, the Lord, the Purusha, the womb of Brahman, then he shaketh from him sin and righteousness and he conquereth all stain and riseth to a high Equality towards all things and all creatures.

4. For the wise man, because he knoweth Him for the Life that becometh apparent through all creatures, taketh not pleasure in creeds nor in much disputing. He, that doing all actions, yet playeth with the Self and rejoiceth in the Self, such a man is the best of God knowers.

5. For the Self is always to be won; He is won by truth and self-discipline, and He is won by perfect knowledge, and He is won by holy

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living, even that bright and luminous Purusha in the inner body whom with the vaning of human defect men striving after God behold.

6. Truth prevaileth at last and not falsehood. Truth built the long high-road of the Gods by which the Rishis satisfying their desire, journey where that highest home of Truth hath His dwelling.

7. He is godlike, immense, unimaginable; and again He appeareth as finer than the fine: He who is farther than farness, is yet very near. He is here, He is hidden in the heart of us when we have eyes to see Him.

8. Eye cannot seize, and speech cannot grasp Him, nor all the other gods understand, nor can self-discipline reach Him, nor the most strenuous deeds; only whose higher intelligence is purified by the clearness of knowledge, beholdeth after long meditation God indivisible.

9. The Self is subtle and can be known with the heart only, and in the heart life gathereth its fivefold currents. All the heart of creatures is with the vital currents shot through and interwoven, and only when that is purified, the Self in its manifest purity pervadeth it.

10. Whatsoever world the pure-hearted illumineth with his thoughts or whatsoever objects of enjoyment he desireth, he taketh that

world by conquest and winneth those desires; let him then that wisheth for lordship, approach with homage the self-knower.

CHAPTER. II.

1. For he knoweth the Brahman, that highest abiding-place, in whom all this brilliant universe abideth. The strong and quiet souls that worship without desire the Purusha, rise beyond this seed and this procreation.

2. He who desireth and his mind dwelleth with yearnings, by those yearnings is born again in this place or in that other; but when a man hath satisfied himself of desire and realised his Self, for him even in this world all desires dissolve and vanish.

3. The Self is not to be won by exposition, nor by brainpower, nor by much learning; but He whom the Spirit chooseth, he getteth the Spirit and to Him this Self of all discovereth His body.

4. The Self is not to be won by the weak nor by a confused heart nor by featureless self-discipline; but the man of knowledge who by these means striveth after God, to him this Self entereth into the Brahman as its dwelling-place.

5. Calm souls, winning God, having their thirst of knowledge satiated, possessed of the Self, free from affections, passionless, win utterly the Omnipresent and enter into the

All by harmony with the Self of all creatures.

6. They who have made sure of the real nature of things by the knowledge that is the end of the Veda, purified in their higher intelligence by divine renunciation, are made in the ultimate end of things absolute and immortal and are released in the heavens of the Brahman.

7. The sixteen members depart into their foundations and all the gods to their containing Gods return, and actions depart and the Self that is made of pure knowledge; all are made one in the Highest who is imperishable.

8. As rivers flowing onwards set at last in the sea and forget their separate name and form, so the knower delivered from name and form returns to that divine Purusha who is higher than the Highest.

9. For he that knoweth this Highest Brahman, becometh Brahman, nor of his house is any born that knoweth not the Eternal; he crosseth over sin, he crosseth over grief, he becometh immortal; for he is released from the captivity of the heart-strings.

10. This is the thing said in the Rigveda; "The Vedawise who perform due actions and are devoted to the Brahman and themselves offer all with faith to the one Master of Knowledge, to them one shall tell this God-knowledge, who have performed and done with the vow of the head according to the ritual."

11. This is the truth the Rishi Ungirus of old expounded; this let no man who hath done the vow, study. Salutation to the mighty sages, salutation?

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ooo

(Continued from the last issue.)

Small respite had the slender band who held
 Fate constant with that brittle hoop of steel;
 For like the crest of an arriving wave,
 The Moslem van appeared, though slow and tired,
 Yet too late to break such barrier faint,
 And forced themselves to run;—nor long availed;
 For with a single cry the muskets spoke,
 Once and again and always, as they neared,
 And, like a wave arrested, for a while
 The assailants paused and like a wave collapsed,
 Spent backward in a cloud of broken spray,
 Retreating. Yielded up the dangerous gorgo
 Saw only on the gnarled and stumbling rise
 The dead and wounded heaped. But from the rear
 The main tremendous onset of the North
 Came in a dark and undulating surge
 Regardless of the check,—a mingled mass,
 Pathan and Mogul and the Rajput clans,
 All clamorous with the brazen throats of war
 And spitting smoke and fire. The bullets rang
 Upon the rocks, but in their place unhurt,
 Sheltered by tree and rock the silent grim
 Defenders waited, till on root and stone
 The confident, high-voiced, triumphant surge
 Began to break, to stumble, then to pause,
 Confusion in its narrowed front. At once
 The muskets clamoured out, the bullets sped,
 Deadly though few; again and yet again,
 And some of the impetuous faltered back
 And some in wrath pressed on; and

while they swayed

Poised between flight and onset, blast on blast
 The volleyed death invisible hailed in
 Upon uncertain ranks. The leaders fell,
 The forward by the bullets chosen out,
 Prone or supine or leaning like sick men
 O'er trees and rocks, distressed the whole advance
 With prohibition by the silent slain.

So that great onset failed. And now withdrawn
 The generals consulted, and at last
 In marching, ordered ranks the footmen came,
 An iron resolution in their tread,
 Silent, deliberate. Far in the van,
 Tall and large-limbed, a formidable array,
 The Pathan infantry; a chosen force,
 Lower in crest, strong-framed, the

Rajputs marched,

The chivalry of Agra led the rear,
 Then Baji first broke silence, "Lo, the surge!
 That was but spray of death we first repelled,
 Chosen of Shiyaji, Bhavani's awards,
 For you the gods prepare. We die indeed,
 But let us die with the highvoiced assent
 Of Heaven to our country's claim enforced
 To freedom." As he spoke, the Mogul lines
 Entered the menacing wide-throated gorge,
 Carefully walking, but not long that care
 Endured, for where they entered, there they fell,
 Others behind in silence stern advanced.
 They came, they died; still on the previous dead
 New dead fell thickening. Yet by paces slow
 The lines advanced with labour infinite

And merciless expense of valiant men

For even as the slopes were killed and held,
 Still the velocity and lethal range
 Increased of the Maharatta bullets; dead
 Rather than living held the conquered slope,—
 The living who, half-broken, paused. Abridged,
 Yet wide, the interval opposed advance,
 Daunting those resolute natures; eyes once bold
 With gloomy hesitation reckoned up
 The dread equivalent in human lives
 Of cubits and of yards, and hardly hoped
 One could survive the endless unacquired
 Country between. But from the southron wall
 The muskets did not hesitate, but urged
 Refusal stern; the bullets did not pause,
 Nor calculate expense. Active they thronged
 Humming like bees and stung strong
 lives to death.

Making a holiday of carnage. Then
 The heads that planned pushed swiftly
 to the front

The centre yet unhurt, where Rajasthan,
 Playmate of death, had sent her hero sons.
 They with a rapid royal reckless pace
 Came striding to the intervening ground,
 Nor answered uselessly the bullets thick
 Nor paused to judge, but o'er the increasing dead
 Leaping and striding, shouting, sword in hand,
 Rushed onward with immortal courage high
 In mortal forms, and held the lower slope,
 But now the higher incline, short but steep,
 Baffled their speed, and as they clambered up,
 Compact and fiery, like the rapid breath
 Of Agra's hot simoom, the sheeted flame
 Belched bullets. Down they fell with huge collapse,
 And, rolling, with their shock drove back the few
 Who still attempted. Barred advance, retreat.
 Threatening disgrace and slaughter, for a while
 Like a bound sacrifice the Rajputs stood
 Diminishing each moment. Then a lord
 High-crested of the Rathore clan stood out
 From the perplexed assailants, with his sword
 Beckoning the thousands on against the few,
 And him the bullets could not touch; he stood
 Defended for moment by his lance.
 Not yet exhausted. And a mighty shout
 Rose from behind, and in a violent flood
 The Rajputs flung themselves on the incline
 Like clambering lions. Many hands received
 The dead as they descended, flinging back
 Those mournful obstacles, and with a rush
 The lead surmounted and on level ground
 Stood sword in hand; yet only for a while,—
 For grim and straight the slogan of the south
 Leaped with the fifty swords to thrust them back,
 Baji the Purbhou leading. Thrice they came,
 Three times prevailed, three times the

Southron charge

Repelled them; till at last the Rathore lord,
 As one appointed, led the advancing death,
 Nor waited to assure his desperate holds
 But hurled himself on Baji; those behind
 Bore forward those in front. From right and left
 Maharatta muskets rang their massing out
 And withered the attack, that still dissolved,
 Still formed again from the insistent rear

And would not stand. So was the fatal gorge
 Filled with the clamour of the close-fought fight.
 Sword ring on sword, the slogan shout, the cry
 Of guns, the hiss of bullets filled the air,
 And murderous strife heaped up the scanty space,
 Rajput and strong Mahratta breathing hard
 In desperate battle. But far off the hosts
 Of Agra stood arrested, confident,
 Waiting the end. Far otherwise it came
 Than they expected. For, as in the front,
 The Rathore stood on the disputed verge
 And ever threw fresh strength into the scale
 With that inspiring gesture, Baji came
 Towards him singling out the lofty crest,
 The princely form; and, as the waves divide,
 Before a driving keel, the battle so
 Before him parted, till he neared, he slew.
 Avoiding sword, avoiding lifted arm
 The blade surprised the Rajput's throat, and down
 As falls an upright poplar, with his hands
 Outspread, dying, he clutched Mahratta ground.
 Loud rose the slogan as he fell. Amazed,
 The eager hosts of Agra saw reel back
 The Rajput battle, desperate victory
 Turned suddenly into entire defeat,
 Not headlong, but with strong discouragement,
 Sullen, convinced, rejecting the emprise.
 As they retired, the brilliant Pathan van
 Assumed the attempt. "Exhaust," the
 "Exhaust the stubborn mountaineers; for now,
 Fatigued with difficult effort and success,
 They hardly stand, weary, unstrung, inert.
 Shatter this fringe, and we march on and seize

Baigurb and Shivaji." Meanwhile, they too
 Not idle, covered by the rocks and trees
 Straining for vantage, pausing on each ledge
 Seizing each bush, each jutting promontory,
 Some iron muscles, climbing, of the south
 Lurked on the gorge's gloomy walls unseen.
 On came the Pathans running rapidly.
 But as the nearest left the rocky curve
 Where lurked the ambush, loud from stone
 and tree
 The silence spoke. Sideways, in front, behind
 Death clamoured; and tall figures strewed
 the ground
 Like trees in a cyclone. Appalled the rest
 Broke this way and broke that, and some
 cried, "On!
 Some shouted "Back!" for those who led, fell fast.
 So the advance dissolved, divided,—more
 In haste towards the plains, greeted with death
 Even while they ran; but others forward, full
 Of panic courage, drove towards the foe
 They could not reach,—so hot a blast and fell
 Stayed their unsteady valour, their retreat
 So swift and obstinate a question galled,
 Few through the hail survived. With gloom
 their chiefs
 Beheld the rout and drawing back their hosts
 In dubious council met, whether to leave
 That gorge of slaughter unredeemed or yet
 Demand the price of so immense a loss.

To be continued.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

HATHA YOGA.

Hatha Yoga is that branch of science of Yoga which teaches how to conquer hunger, thirst and sleep; how to overcome effects of heat and cold; how to gain perfect health and cure disease without using drugs; how to arrest the untimely decay of the body resulting from the waste of vital energy; how to preserve youth even at the age of one hundred without having a single hair turn grey, and how to prolong life in this body for an indefinite period. Anyone who practices it with in the course of time acquire marvellous powers; powers indeed which must dumbfound a psychologist or anatomist.

A few years ago a Hatha Yogi was brought to England. Although in middle life he looked like a boy of eighteen. Not only was his physical condition perfect but through practice he had mastered eighty-four postures of the body. He could bend his limbs in so astonishing a way that it seemed as if his joints must be unattached while his bones were as though made of some elastic substance. Many English physicians and surgeons came to see him and were amazed at the extraordinary positions of his limbs. They brought a skeleton and tried to fix its bones in the same positions, but could not do so without breaking them. Afterwards they reached the conclusion that if the bones were once fixed in those positions the man would be unfitted for any kind of

work. Yet the example of the Yogi openly contradicted their statements. His limbs were strong and of good use to him in every possible way. He could work, lift heavy weights, and move about with absolute ease. The writer himself saw him in India, and also other Hatha Yogis who could accomplish equally wonderful feats. The primary object of these various postures described in Hatha Yoga is to gain control over the involuntary muscles of the body which is impossible to the ordinary man. We all possess this power latent within us, but the Hatha Yogis were the first to discover a scientific method by which it could be developed.

All Hatha Yogis eat very little, but they can go also entirely without food for days or even for months, and succeed in conquering sleep. The author knew of one who had not slept for twelve years, and who was nevertheless in perfect health. He has also seen a Hatha Yogi usually ate, for instance, a piece of unseasoned bread in twenty-four hours, and who refused to wear warm clothing in the coldest winter weather, and yet who voluntarily worked hard as a street labourer without showing the least sign of fatigue. It was impossible to the majority of people, who have made themselves much slaves to sleep and food, to imagine that if they do not sleep eight or nine hours of the twenty-four and eat pounds of flesh, they cannot live. Hatha Yogis are the

living contradictions of such opinions. Perhaps the reader is familiar with the account of that Yogi who was buried alive for forty days in an hermetically sealed box, with a guard of English officers to watch the the sopt night and day. During these forty days, the Yogi could neither eat, sleep, nor breathe yet at their expiration he was brought to consciousness without any ill effects and he lived for many years.

Then again these same Yogis who do not eat, sleep, or drink for a long period, can, if they wish, eat as much as ten persons at one time without suffering any unpleasant consequences. Of course they do not eat any kind of meat. They digest their food consciously, as it were. They claim that by a third eye they can, so to speak, see what is going on in their internal organs. Why should this seem incredible to us when the discovery of Roentgen rays transparent?

Some of the Hatha Yogis have extraordinary eyesight. They can not only perceive objects at a great distance, but can also see clearly in complete darkness. When lying in bed, they can pick up pins from the floor without the least glimmer of ordinary light to guide them. This will not appear so strange when we remember that there is invisible light in the atmosphere of a perfectly dark room. If we can learn to use this atmospheric light, imperceptible to the common eye, and can develop our eyesight, there is no reason why we should

not see things in the dark. The Yogis understand this and know the method by which the power of eye sight can be developed. As regards distinguishing objects at a great distance this is not so difficult to believe since we know that here are persons living not Yogis, who can see the moons of Jupiter without the help of any instrument.

This branch of optical science in Hatha Yoga is called in Sanskrit "Triatka" Yoga. It teaches, among other things, how, through gazing on one object and at the same time performing certain special breathing exercises, many optical maladies can be cured as well as the power of sight strengthened. The authentic records of Hatha Yogis much for the fact that it produces many beneficial effects when properly practised under the direction of a competent master of Hatha Yoga.

A Yogi who is expert in this science of optics can fascinate or madden another by his optical powers. The process of hypnotism or mesmerism verifies this claim. A Yogi can likewise read the thoughts of another by looking at his eyes; for according to the Yogi the eye is the index of the Mind. Here it may be asked how do the Yogis acquire these powers? They do not get them from outside. These powers are dormant in every individual, and through practice the Yogis bring them out. They say:—"Whatever exists in the universe (the macrocosm) exists also in the human body (the microcosm.)" "That is, the finer forces exist potentially in our own organism, and if we study our nature carefully we shall be able to know all the forces and the laws which govern the universe.

Hatha Yoga, again, teaches the cure of disease through breathing exercises and the regulation of the diet and of the general habits of the daily life. But it does not claim that physical health is the same as spirituality. On the contrary, it tells us that if a healthy body were a sign of spiritualities, then wild animals and savages who enjoy perfect health would be exceedingly spiritual; yet they are not, as we know. The principal idea of these Yogis is that physical maladies are obstacles in the path of spiritual progress, while a healthy body furnishes one of the most favourable conditions for the realisation of the highest spiritual truths in this life. Those who do not possess good health

should, therefore, begin to practice Hatha Yoga.

In the practice of Hatha Yoga strict dietetic rules must be observed. Anything that is sharp, sour, pungent, or hot, like mustard, liquors, flesh of animals, curd, buttermilk, oil cakes, carrots, onions, and garlic should not be eaten. Food, again, which having been once cooked, has grown cold and been rewarmed, should be avoided; as should also excess of salt or acidity or that which is hard to digest. Rice, barley, wheat, milk, sugar, honey and butter are good for a Hatha Yoga diet. The manner in which Americans live in hotels and boarding-houses, where the food is often unclean, is far from favourable to this practice. Food cooked for hundreds of people in a restaurant cannot be equally good for all and may easily cause disease. Those who wish to enjoy perfect health must be careful about what they eat; they must also observe all the laws of hygiene regarding cleanliness of the body, fresh air, and pure water. They should not live in over-heated houses; neither should they indulge in artificial stimulants specially beer, wine and coffee the habit of excessive coffee-drinking is a serious menace to American nation. Many people are already suffering from nervous prostration as a result of indulgence in this direction, and there are very few cases in which the nervous system will not be affected by it to some extent.

He who wishes to practice Hatha Yoga should first of all find a Hatha Yoga teacher, who has perfect control over his physical body; and having found him, he should lead a life in strict accord with his instructions. He should lead a life in a secluded spot and where the changes of weather are neither sudden nor extreme. He should be a rigid vegetarian and abstain from all kinds of drinks that stimulate the system. He should never fill the stomach with a large quantity of food. He should observe the moral laws and practice absolute continence. He should learn to control his senses, keep his body clean, and purify his mind by arousing feelings of kindness and love towards all living creatures. (Excerpt from Swami Abhedananda's "How to be a Yogi")

INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL ART: A MOST STRIKING CONTRAST BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE.

I. Views of Mr. James Fergusson D. C. L., F. R. S.

Mr. James Fergusson, D. C. L., F. R. S., M. R. A. S., the great authority on the subject of Architecture, in his monumental work, the "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (forming the third Volume of the New Edition of *History of Architecture*, a work in four volumes), draws a most striking contrast between India and Europe, in respect of the claims of Indian and European Architectural Art. Says that distinguished authority,—"Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant, uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved; while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side,—the educated intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong, the feeble and uneducated native as inevitable succeeding, because his principles are right. The Indian builders think only of what they are doing, and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose;

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hence the difference in the result. The mode in which the art has been practised in Europe for the last three centuries has been very confusing. In India, is clear and intelligible. No one can look at the subject without seeing its importance, and no one can study the art as practised there without recognising what the principles of the science really are. Architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. * * What really renders India so interesting as an object of study is that it is now a living entity. Greece and Rome are dead and have passed away and we are living so completely in the midst of modern Europe that we cannot get outside to contemplate it as a whole. But India is complete cosmos in itself." (*History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 5, 6, and 4).

II. Views of Mr. E. B. Havell.

Mr. E. B. Havell, ex-Principal of the Government School of Arts, at Madras and at Calcutta, and the author of that monumental work, *INDIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING*, is no less emphatic than Mr. James Fergusson on the capacity for constructive achievement of the Indian builders. In an article in the *Hindustan Review* for April, 1909, he expresses himself in a manner which leaves no room for doubt.

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"James Fergusson wrote of the Indian builders, 30 or 40 years ago, that he had imbibed from them more of the true principles of architecture, as practised by the greater master-builders of Europe than he had learnt from all the books he had read. And I myself in recent years have watched and admired their skill, and found evidence, which would convince any but a "sun-dried bureaucrat" that India could still rival her great architectural triumphs in the past, if the cruel and senseless official boycott which our administrative system imposes upon her master-builders were removed. For, let it be understood that under our stupid University and and Public works Systems, the Indian master-builder finds all approaches to lucrative employment barred to him, throughout British India and in many of the Native States, unless he abandons all the traditions of Indian craftsmanship and becomes a mechanical copyist of the regulation European, departmental designs."

"By the official boycott of the Indian master-builder, we also boycott not only all the higher handicrafts for which India has always been one of the greatest schools in the world—wood and stone carving and inlaying, metal-work, lacquer-work, terra-cotta and tile-work—but the fine arts as well. It is chiefly through this official neglect of Indian architecture and contempt for Indian art that the Indian aristocracy now fill their palaces with tenth-rate European pictures, instead of employing the Indian artists, descended from the court-painters

of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, to decorate their *chitra-salas* or picture-halls, with splendid fresco-paintings, as they did in the days of the great Mogul. For where do the Indian master-builders who uphold the splendid tradition of Agra and Delhi find employment and encouragement? Not in British India, where we have made architecture practically a Government monopoly; but in the few "unprogressive," Native States which still value their past artistic traditions. * * The war of commercialism which in the last two centuries has swept over Europe, carrying away all but a few feeble remnants of the splendid traditional craftsmanship of the Middle Ages, has not yet entirely overwhelmed Indian Art. Art in India, especially in the North, is much more real and living, less artificial and exotic, than it is in the great art-centres of Europe. India needs art-schools, museums, picture and sculpture galleries. The descendants of the architects who built the Taj-Mahal; of the Court-painters who executed the exquisite miniatures which are the delight of the modern connoisseurs; of the craftsmen who decorated the places of Jahangir and Shah Jahan; and of the engineers who constructed their great public works, still carry on the traditions of their forefathers. And throughout the villages of India, there are still handicraftsmen—weavers, cotton-painters, potters, goldsmiths, brass-smiths, wood and stone-carvers, etc., whose skill of hand and inherited craft traditions represent a natural source of immense industrial wealth, which in Europe, is revived artificially by an elaborate and costly system of teaching in art-schools, by museums, art-galleries and schools of handicraft."
—*The Dawn Magazine*.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

These passages are quoted from one of the Madras lectures of Swami Vivekananda.

"This is the ancient land where wisdom made its home before it went into any other country, the same India whose influx of spirituality is represented on the material plane by rolling rivers like oceans, where the eternal Himalayas, rising tier after tier, with their snowcaps, as it were, looking into the very mysteries of heaven. Here is the same India whose soil has been trodden by the feet of the greatest sages that ever lived. Here



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first arose enquiries into the nature of man, and into the internal world. Here first arose the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, existence of a supervising God, an immanent God in nature and in man, and here the highest ideals of religion and philosophy have attained their culminating points. This is the land from whence, like tidal waves, spirituality and philosophy have again and again marched out and deluged the world, and this is the land from whence more such tides must proceed in order to bring life and vigour into the decaying races of mankind. It is the same India which has withstood the shocks of centuries, of hundreds of foreign invasions, of hundreds of upheavals of manners and customs. It is the same land which stands firmer than any rock in the world with its undying vigour, and indistructible life. He is of the same nature as the teaching about soul, without beginning and without end, immortal and we are the children of such a country.

INCENTIVE FROM THE PAST

I am here to speak to you to-day, about some practical things and my object in reminding you about the glories of the past is simply this. Many times have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing, let us look into the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher, than she ever was. Our ancestors were great, we must first

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know that. We must learn the element of our being, the blood that courses in our veins, we must have faith in that blood, and what it did in the past, and out of that faith and consciousness of that greatness, we must build an India, yet greater than what she has been. There have been periods of decay and degradation. I do not attach much importance to that, we all know that; that period has been necessary. The mighty tree produces beautiful ripe fruit. This fruit is put on the ground, it decays, it rots, and out of that decay spring the root, and the future tree perhaps mightier than the first one. And this decay through which we have passed was necessary. Out of this decay is coming the India of the future; it is already sprouting, its first leaves are already out and the mighty gigantic tree, the urdhvamulam is here, already beginning to appear."

The Swami after dealing with the variety of conditions that make Indian problems very complicated and saying that religion is the only common ground in Asia and before religion all difficulties vanish, proceeded.

UNIFYING OF RELIGION THE BASIS OF THE FUTURE INDIA :-

The first plank in the making of a future India, the first step that is to be when out of that rock of ages, is this unifying of religion. We have to be taught that Hindus, Dualists, Qualified Monists, or Monists, or any other sects Saivaites, Vaishnavites, Pasupati, all the various denominations, have certain common ideas behind, that the time has come when, for the well-being of ourselves, for the well-being of our race, we must give

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SECTION 1:—SCIENCE AND ART IN RELIGION.

The following chapter is taken from
Kisori Lal Sarkar's "Hindu System
of Religious Science and Art."

Roughly speaking, Rationalism is the developing of knowledge, and Emotionalism is the moving of the heart. And what are Science and Art as explained before? Science is clear knowledge and art is a practical appreciative movement. Thus generally speaking, Science corresponds to Rationalism and Art to Emotionalism. It is especially so in the case of religion, and as regards the Hindu religion, the distinction between Rationalism and Emotionalism as corresponding to Science of religion and Art of religion is brought out in relief at every step.

Rationalism and Emotionalism in ordinary parlour may simply mean reasoning and feeling processes as found in the lives of men in general. They may be simply matters of *lokaika* (worldly) experience as the Hindus would say. But in the Hindu mind the terms *Jnana* and *Bhakti* meaning Rationalism and Emotionalism convey a much higher import.

Jnana is not common knowledge, but it is the illumination of the soul by which the *Para Brahma* is realized as the great Soul of the Universe. And *Bhakti* is similarly not an ordinary feeling of love and attachment, but that self-less devotion which the touch of the All-Beautiful and All-Loving Supreme Spirit draws forth from the hearts of men.

Such is the Rationalism and Emotionalism of Hinduism as called. The process which leads to the above *Jnana* and *Bhakti* are respectively the process of purified Rationalism and Emotionalism.

Rationalism is sometimes associated with what is called *Nibritti* (renunciation) and Emotionalism with what is called *Prabritti* (activity).

This association for the two is considering the concomitants of the two processes as shown below.

As stated above, Rationalism as incited by the Hindus is knowledge purified. But how it is purified? It is purified by self-abnegation and abstraction. *Para Brahma* predominates in any degree, it vitiates thought with prejudice. Thought is also subject to vitiation when one is in a whirlpool of excitement. Therefore self-abnegation and abstraction which are all that is meant by the word renunciation are associated with *Jnanakanda*. In other words, it is for this reason that *Jnanakanda* is said to be the *Nibritti*, *Dharma*. Again Emotionalism as approved by the Hindus, is similarly desire and action purified. But how are they to be purified? Desire and action cannot be purified by rest and inactivity. They cannot be altogether suppressed successfully or with any beneficial result. They are purified only by indulging in activity in a self-sacrificing spirit. Thus a self-sacrificing spirit of activity being the only means of purifying them Emotionalism is very properly associated with what is called *Prabritti Dharma* or proper indulgence in action.

In reality there is no conflict between what is called *Nibritti Dharma* and what is called *Prabritti Dharma*. For *Nibritti* is the elimination of self-fulness and not the elimination of action.

Rationalism and Emotionalism may be compared and contrasted as follows:—The one is based upon *Viveka* or dispassionate analysis, the other upon *Sadhana* or earnest devotion.

The quantum of the one is measured by the extent, the quantum of the other is measured by depth; and thus the one tends to a consciousness of an all-prevailing expansion and the other tends to that of concentration to a point or to a focus.

The one widens the range of the view of the Divinity; the other intensifies the touch of the Divinity.

The one imparts religious thoughts; the other substantiates religious facts. The great difference between Rationalism and Emotionalism is that the one is of the theoretical character and the other of a practical character.

Rationalism or Science supplies bare knowledge, but Emotionalism or Art fulfils some want of the heart. Thus the path of Rationalism is abstract, while the truth of Emotionalism is home-felt.

Although Science and Art are allied together, the function of each is separate. Similarly, the function of Rationalism and Emotionalism is separate, the one gives an abstract knowledge of the Deity, and the other makes Him touched and felt in His protection and love.

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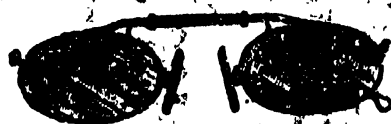
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Late Judge, High Court Calcutta
Head Office :—85, Grey Street, Calcutta

সুপ্তভাত ।

তৃতীয় বৎসর ।

সচিত্র মাসিক পত্র ও মালোচন ।

ঐশ্বরী কুমুদিনী মিত্র সরস্বতী বি.এ., সম্পাদিত
প্রায়শঃ মাস তরিতে সুপ্রভাতের তৃতীয় বৎসর
আরম্ভ হইয়াছে । সুপ্রভাত প্রথম প্রেরণ
মাসিক পত্রিকা । ব্যবসায় প্রদান প্রদান
লক্ষপ্রতিষ্ঠা লেখক-লেখিকাগণের গবেষণাপুণ
প্রবন্ধাদি পরিপূর্ণ থাকে । সাধারণার্থ্য—
ঐশ্বরী কুমুদিনী মিত্র মহোদয়ের "হংকা-
তিসার" ডাক্তার প্রবন্ধের নামে "বাদাগীর
মন্তিক ও তাহার অপব্যবহার" ঐশ্বরী কুমুদিনী
মিত্রের "কালকালিনী," ঐশ্বরী কুমুদিনী
মিত্রের "নানক-চরিত", প্রত্যেক বঙ্গালীর
পাঠ করা অঙ্গ কর্তব্য । এতদ্ব্যতীত শান্তি-
নিকেতনে—রবীন্দ্রনাথ, একাদশদী পদবিহা
ও ত্রিগুণ, ভারতবর্ষ উপন্যাস প্রভৃতি অনা-
দি সুপ্রভাত প্রবন্ধে পরিপূর্ণ । শিল্পকলাসম্বন্ধে
সুপ্রভাত পাঠ করা উচিত ।

বাসক মূল্য ২৫/০

বাসক মূল্য ২৫/০

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PASSING THOUGHTS.

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Indian Regeneration.

It is common amongst men of almost all parties in India today, to use the word Regeneration, as if their country's need in this respect were so obvious as to require no arguing. It may be worth while to pause and ask, Is this really so? If so, why? and in what respects?

In the first place, India, we are to suppose, requires regeneration. Do other countries also require it? Does England, for instance, require it? or America, Germany, France? In the ordinary use of the term, we think it is assumed that India requires the purifying and unerring process of rebirth in a sense which England does not share. Is India then, in our minds inferior to England? Is she more degraded than England? These are points in which clearness of thought and vision are absolutely necessary.

Let us put the question in another way, in a way which will command our instant apprehension,—Is my mother more degraded than so-and-so's English Mother? How dare anyone suggest the question! yet the greater includes the less. Evidently no man worthy of the name could sit quiet, to hear of the degradation of his country, in comparison with that of another people. Yet India needs something,

and needs it badly, or this worm-like attitude could not have been so hastily assumed.

When we compare the great era of Cobden, Bright and Gladstone, in English politics, with the era of the Boer war, the Thibetan expedition and the Labour-question in the Transvaal, it might be suggested that England also required regeneration. But the mysterious term would evidently in that case connote a purely spiritual process of self-renewal. It would be equivalent to the exclamation of a great Indian Moderate, some years ago, "Oh that the England of the Emancipation of the slave, the England of the Reform Bill, the England of the repeal of the Corn Laws, of the emancipation of the child, the labourer and woman, the England of so many emancipations, would return upon herself!"

Oh that she would, indeed! The meaning here is perfectly clear and unconfused. The same man who says this, however, is capable of saying in the very next breath, a man for man, an Englishman is a better man than an Indian." With these premises he cannot be referring to their comparative spirituality. It is not even probable that he is referring to intellectual capacity. No, his comparison is directed solely to the relative strength, aggressiveness and prowess of self-protection of the

two persons, Englishman and Indian. Man for man, the advantage here lies, he feels, with the Englishman. He knows better what he wants, as an Englishman, and how to reach it, than the Indian, as an Indian. And this he may believe, though at the same time he sincerely feels his own people to be greater, in every moral, spiritual and intellectual quality.

The Invention of the Machine.

Now the sudden introduction of machinery at the end of the eighteenth century, revolutionised the western world. Thousands of men were concentrated into a single factory. They lost their individuality as craftsmen and became a mass of unskilled "labour." Their consolidated interests, however, made them a force to be reckoned with. The single factory became a city of factories. Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, grew up in a night by the rush of peasants from the villages to become machine-tenders. Along with their rustic culture, however, these villages threw off also their rustic allegiance to the zeminder and the clergy. They stood in the city poorer than they themselves could dream but also free for the first time of the Padre and the squire. They had to receive the franchise. Without it, they were too dangerous. The Corn Laws had to be repealed in their favour or there would have

been no law left in England. The People, in fact, were born.

The Birth of the People.

But now a marvellous thing comes to light. The qualities which the English had hitherto manifested as individuals, as a ruling class, they now began to demonstrate as a nation. And perhaps the most prominent of these characteristics was a clear and definite notion of what they wanted. About this, they were all agreed—agreed to a man. This is the most remarkable feature in the English character. They know what they want and they all want it. They all act automatically and instinctively, at whatever distance from each other, on this unspoken agreement amongst themselves. There is an immense area of thought, feeling and action, throughout which every Englishman behaves exactly like every other Englishman. The thing they want is not always very high. In the reign of Elizabeth they were contented with a very modest allowance of religious freedom, and the right to explore the world and expand their trade. The point is that they all want it. And they all have a definite idea of how it is to be achieved. The enfranchised peasant is, in this respect, only one voice more added to the House of Peers. What he wanted was a vote, not the chance to do something great with this vote! Between themselves there may be something that requires adjustment to the world outside, there are merely two Englishmen where before there was one. All this is natural, perhaps in an island people, and people who have never lost their independence.

They understand well enough how necessary this is to fullness of self-expression. Nothing would induce them to play with it. Unless luxury and wealth have changed their whole character, they would die to a man, aye, and to a woman, in defence of it.

English Superiority.

Thus the quality that is referred to, *par excellence* is not merely physical courage.

It usually, of course, includes this; but here we cannot think that the individual Indian is in any way inferior. Indeed, man for man, it might be held that the comparison worked the other way. The real superiority lies in a certain idea, good or bad as we may choose to think, which makes the unity and cohesion of the English people. For good or for evil, they stand or fall together. Did they abandon the war in South Africa when they met with defeat after defeat? No, they set their teeth harder, and growled the louder and—held on. "Would that I have been Emperor of the English!" exclaimed Napoleon in the hour of defeat. "The Retreat from Moscow would not have cost me a single vote!"

The contrast.

The contrast between India and England in this respect is the contrast between an island and a continent, between the Middle Ages and the mechanical self-organisations of a modern country, on the one hand, a people of a single tribe, whose tribal jealousy is such that they could not amalgamate with the Irish or the Welsh and have only partially done so with the Scotch, because the latter are better traders than themselves; on the other hand an aggregation that has been growing since the dawn of humanity; races, tribes, languages, traditions and a thousand other elements of enrichment, any of which may be treated as a source of unity or disunity, at will. There is no comparison between the two problems. The English has been even simpler than that of Japan. The Indian is a very different matter. What is also different, however, is the relative national strengths to be evolved by its solution. Here there can be no comparison. Let the Indian millions once arrive at a simple, united idea of what they need and mean to have and nothing in the world could resist them. Some think this possible. Some think it impossible. With this question we have nothing to do. We

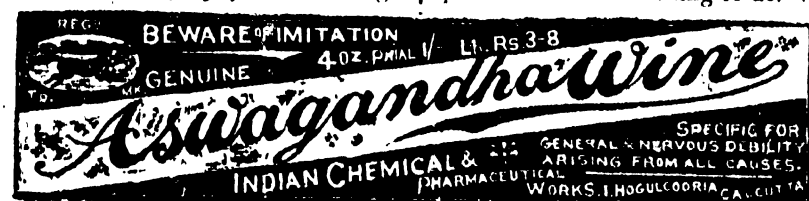
have renounced all considerations of success or failure as well criticism of passing events. Ours is only to recognise the significance of causes, leaving results to take care of themselves. And we think that the significance of speech would be increased if our countrymen would cease lightly to say that their motherland requires Regeneration, and adopt the more accurate statement that she certainly needs self-organisation.

A THEORY OF FREEDOM.

There is no such thing as absolute freedom for the individual, except in mukti. Yet the individual has always striven for relative freedom in all directions. By this struggle for a freedom which he can understand, he makes himself ready for the supreme effort, by which he will one day gain the absolute liberty or mukti itself. Each one of the minor forms of freedom is an image or symbol of that Transcendent Freedom, and as such has the same claim upon the reverence, even of those who do not understand it as an image of God, worshipped by others, has upon one who does not worship it. The man who ceases freedom without striving for it is in so far, a lost soul, for he passes by the open door of mukti.

There are two ways in which freedom of any kind can be manifested when it is present. These are renunciation and conquest. That which we would conquer, we must first understand. We have to enter into it, to wrestle with it on given terms, to offer our very lives to it and at last to win the victory. Every success has cost at least one human sacrifice. Mastery is a kind of freedom. We can not defeat that which has us in its power.

Neither can we renounce what we have not conquered. We can not be independent of a thing which is admittedly stronger than we. In renunciation, we attain true freedom, for in renunciation we transcend strength as well as weakness. But of these two things there can be no question that one leads downwards into deeper bondage and the other outward into free air and liberty; nor can anyone be in



doubt as to which does which. Conquest in an essential antecedent of renunciation. True renunciation of any thing is a step to mukti.

A man struggles for freedom, which is mastery, all his life. If he does not do so, he is not a man. He may be a clod or an idiot, a drunkard or a parasite. A man struggles and struggles to be free. Some strive for freedom for themselves alone setting up self-will or appetite in the place of their God. These are the criminals, the mad men, the failures of society. We find sometimes amongst such the nature of a child. To a child there is little difference between good and evil. He will as readily pursue the sense-gratification of robbing a pantry, as that of plucking a flower or catching a butterfly. He throws his whole heart into the effort of the moment and is, withal, full of love and loveliness. This class of child souls furnishes the Jagais and Madhais of the annals of religion, the criminals who become saints. The true criminal is steeped in tamas and egotism. He miscalls license by the name of liberty. License is not liberty for the simple reason that true liberty presupposes mastery. The profligate is the victim of his own vices. He lies helpless at their feet. He does not even enjoy his appetites. His life is spent like that of wild animal between ungovernable desire and ungovernable fear. He who would be free must first learn to govern. One who is uncontrolled is anything but free.

The free man is that man whose will is efficient. The first enemy that the will has to encounter is ignorance, the second is unbridled impulse. That these may be overcome, we submit ourselves, while the body is yet weak, to intellectual education and are initiated, at physical maturity, into the world of the ideals of our race. Such is the provision made by humanity in order that we may live strenuously, keeping the body beneath our feet; see the ideals unclouded by our own feebleness or by any grossness; and will efficiently for the triumphant achievement of the highest that we perceive. To toil, to see, to will, and to attain, this is the four-fold debt that we in-

cur to our forefathers by the very fact of birth. A man must strive, strive to the uttermost. And since without possible success there can be no intensity of effort he must often succeed. A man's striving must begin moreover as soon after the moment when visions come to him as he judges fit. There can be no ruling, no dating, no circumscribing of his effort from outside. Human beings are born, by incessant work to increase their own faculty, by ceaseless striving to add to their inheritance. They are born to disdain limitation. It is decreed in the Counsels of God that man shall be confronted by destiny only to defy and master it; that the impossible shall to him become the possible, the one inexorable law of human life is effort to the utmost.

There is such a thing as the body-politic. Even the body-politic, however has to conform to the spiritual claim of individual man, his right, by hopeful struggle to find mukti.

The political unit furnishes new and more complex objects of attainment to the parts of which it is made up. New rights, new tasks, new ambition dawn upon us in relation to our political position. Again, nothing must defeat the right of the soul to the utmost of activity, the utmost of sacrifice, my right to serve, my right to suffer, my right to love, on the highest and widest area of which I am capable, must be defeated by nothing in the world save the greater power of my brother to do these things with equal and added nobility. And if I find this in him, since it is the ideal that I worship and not myself as the embodiment of that ideal, I shall place his feet upon my head and follow him. For in him I find the ideal, more clearly than in myself. Nothing in the world has a right to interfere with knowledge working thus hand in hand with love. Brothers standing side by side as citizens and loyal children of a common mother must be impeded by nothing in working out their duty and offering their lives to her. If a man direct his political activities towards the interests of himself or a section of his people against the welfare of his country as a whole, he is a traitor and the whole weight of the

body-politic has a right to oppose and thwart him. But if his work for a class be dominated by the love of his country, then it is harmonious with the national well-being and is service and not treachery. A nation has the right to serve its country to the utmost. A nation, moreover has this one duty alone. In serving its land, it raises itself. It fulfils its debt to humanity and to the world. It recreates its own mother. A child has a right to spurn and defeat anything that could come between him and his mother, anything that would prevent his serving her to the farthest limit of his own capacity, anything that would make him into servant or slave, in one house where he was born a son.

But we must study the position of the individual in relation to this task of the body-politic. The land must be served by the nation and by the individual as a part of the nation; not as divided from it and out of relation to it. This is the truth so clearly seen by our forefathers. This is the perception to which caste witnesses so strongly. It is true that we have forgotten the meaning of caste. We see it as the limitation or assertion of our rights instead of regarding it as the regimentation of our duties. It is always thus, in an age of degradation when a people become passive and fall into static decay. We ought to be thankful for any blow that might rouse us up from so sluggish a condition. If we translate rights into duties and apply the new word as the key, many a problem will be unlocked. By our organisation into castes, we the children of India, were at one time able to divide up our labours and responsibilities amongst ourselves, giving to each group the task best suited to its capacity more or less successfully but denying the right of none to his share of the household fire, to his own form of happiness and to his own mode of self-expression. Caste was also our school of self-government and gives us to this day a sense of the value to the community of our personal opinion and a measure of the decorum which is obligatory in its expression.

But all the castes put together will in this age constitute only the social expression of Hinduism and Hinduism is no longer conterminous

with the national unity. That now includes many elements once strange. Hinduism itself moreover, as befits a progressive unit has grown incalculably in its own size and complexity. It consists of a certain common fundamept of orthodoxy plus the reforming sects of the Mahomedan period plus the reforming sects of the present period. All these parts have an equal right to the name of Hindu. And similarly Hindu, Jain and Musalman have an equal right to the name of Indian. The national unity is built on place, not on language or creed or tradition, as some would have us believe, but on home. The interest of the children is one with that of the home, therefore they cannot be divided.

It follows that the task before us is to educate ourselves in the consciousness of our own unity. We have to saturate our own sub-conscious mind with the thought of it. We have so to make it a part of ourselves that we react instinctively on its behalf. Perfect harmony and mental cohesion of the body-politic is the necessary antecedant of political mastery which is another name for that relative good which we call national freedom.

There was an age when man had no family. He was incapable of the faithfulness and sustained cooperation that that institution demands. To day, we are born with the family—honour in our blood. Even the youngest child quivers under an attack on father and mother, the feeblest resents the attack of an outsider on members of the household. We are all loyal to the head of the house, all feel the delight of sacrifice for the good of the rest. Our ideals are the perfect wife, the stainless widow, the loving daughter. The mother is the central passion of her son's life. The grave tenderness of the father is the cherished memory of endless years. In the battle of life the struggle for self is transformed into the struggle for those we love.

An age will come when men shall be as tightly knit to the thought of country. Our feeling for the family is to be a gauge of our devotion to nation and motherland. By what we have already attained in the one, we can measure what we must next attain in the other. We have received promotion in the

school of self-realisation. Having learnt the lesson of the family, we have next to learn that of nationality. As the individual has become the instrument of the one, so he has now to become eager tool of the other. All that force which moves in him as the vitality of egoism has to find in him a transformation point where it is converted into force of patriotism. And that this may not constitute a mere term to the aggression of the wolf-like pack, it must be lifted and redeemed by a great and holy love. Love is the spiritual reality behind the symbolism of mother and child. Even the living human mother is only the outward and visible emblem of her own infinite love. Can we not see the still vaster love that finds expression as the Motherland? It is said that there is no tie like that which binds together all the children of a single marriage. Are we not melted into unity, then, by the common love of the common land? As the human brain converts the physical energy of food into the spiritual energy of thought, so must each Indian man become an organ for the conversion of the individual struggle for individual efficiency and mastery. Victory will remain in the end with that combatant in whom the highest mind and character are indissolubly united with the greatest love—Joto Dharma Stoto Joyah.

A vague emotion is not enough however. We must serve and suffer for the objects of our love. How we serve and suffer for the family? No purpose of unity is to be trusted that has not been hammered into shape on the anvil of pain as well as joy. How are we to provide for ourselves the necessary education? A child as we have seen, in order to be made free—to be enabled to will what he will, freely and efficiently—is put under authority and expected to engage himself in the struggle for knowledge. How are we to recognize this process in the struggle for nationalization? We want to make ties outside the family as strong as family ties. How is this to be done? We want to create that new ethics which substitutes the lines of cooperative organisation for those of unity of kindred. In what form can this be brought home to the individual? In what way can he be put in direct personal con-

tact with the lesson he is to learn? What symbol can we deliberately create in order to catch for ourselves the end of the thread by which we may hope to unravel the secret?

The first lesson we have to learn is that of implicit obedience to rightfully constituted authority. This is not the same thing as obedience to one's father. These we have the tie of love creating an impulse to self-subordination. Here the father has delegated his authority without in any way transferring the affection that belongs to him alone. We soon learn, farther, that the obedience required of us by the external authority is the same whether our heart be in it or not. Perfection of obedience can hardly be realized in the case of one whom we do not respect. But rigorous obedience to one whom we respect but do not love is a very important part of a complete training. This lesson can be learnt in many ways through our relation to our school master, the employer, the captain of the ship, the stationmaster, the leader of an expedition and so on. Authority carries with it responsibility. We must learn to subordinate our self at a moment's notice to him of whose responsibility we avail ourselves. Authority without responsibility can not be considered here since it is unlawfully constituted and amounts to spiritual anarchism. Lawful authority is permeated and regulated by its own responsibility we can not concede the one without conceding the other. And implicit obedience is the reverse of the medal, the complement of the quality, the other extreme of this pair of opposites.

He who obeys best rules best. He who rules best is most perfect in obedience. Here we come to the question of the quality of true obedience and therefore to that of the education it demands. A slave can not obey. He only does as he is forced, a very different thing. Virtue in the slave may demand wrong doing at the bidding of his master, a thing intolerable to the human conscience. His struggle for moral freedom may demand of him a crime. "When I was in slavery," said an American negro, "I always stole. It was my only way of feeling free." True obedience is unbroken but it is free. It is not exacted by force; it

is rendered wholeheartedly by those who perceive that ruled and ruler are working together for a common end, collaborating in the demonstration of a single principle which commands their mutual assent. Obedience which is not this, either in fact or in potentiality is not worth receiving. It is a fact that no man of an ungoverned in pulses can successfully exercise authority. One who wishes to bear rule has first to possess himself of certain amount of self-control. True obedience is founded on respect for character. It follows from the mutualness of this object that the highest forms of rules theoretically are those in which subject and sovereign occasionally change places. From this point of view the republic is the supreme political form. There are other aspect of the question, however, which make a permanent monarchy practically desirable. England and some other western countries have compromised very ingeniously between these two institutions by the establishment of what is known as constitutional monarchy, where the actual government is in the hands of the people through their political parties and the advisory Cabinets, while the necessities of symbolism and ritual are met by the royal house in which the sovereign himself represent national stability and unity, behind the fluctuations of party.

The political system in England is only the crown of an immense life of disciplined and coordinated co-operation. It is in this giving them their immense capacity for democratic organisation at a moment's notice that the actual superiority of Englishmen lies and not in personal qualities. They breathe the atmosphere of this disciplined co-operation from their very cradle. They study it on the cricket field and in the football team. They are broken in to it by the fag system. Every small boy when he arrives at school becomes the fag of a big one who acts as his protector against all others though he bullies and thrushes him and makes him fetch and carry for himself like the veriest slave, nor is

there any sense of social rank in the choice of the fag and his gurdian. The

big boy may be the son of a tailor and his fag the son of a peer. They know no other relation during their school years than that of master and slave. Once the relationship is established, the heir to an earldom has to black the boots of the son of his father's shoemaker without demur. The very fact of sending a boy of ten or eleven away from home to live amongst boys who are not of his own kindred shows the value which the English place on the life that lies outside and beyond the family. The boy who lives at school has already begun to make his own way in the great world apart from his family. He early learns the reserve and privacy that belong to the deeper emotions. He cultivates a whole new series of relationships and practises the courtesies and restraints as well as the daring and personal pride that are due to these. He is in fact an individual beginning to catch a glimpse of his own powers, dreaming great dreams as to his own future and gaining experience daily in the exercise of his personal freedom. The fault of the training lies undoubtedly in the brutality and unscrupulousness which it is apt to engender. It breeds men who may be left in safety with our silva, but are utterly without restraining morality about the political rights of others. A man who has been through an English boys' school is apt to think that might is right and that to what is not material and concrete the laws of morality do not apply. That these are the faults of their education the whole of the history of their country shows.

Yet strength is good and civic and national unity is good; public order based not on force or fear, but on the mutual respect and good will of ruler and ruled is also good, nay, even essential to mankind. What is known as political freedom is not perhaps the absolute goal. Yet it is a relative duty of such dignity and rank that without it men are not altogether men, just as we can not conceive of one

utterly incapable of the virtues of the family attaining to mukti. It is through perfect manhood that we achieve that which is beyond humanity and perfect manhood includes the citizen and the patriot. "The weak can not attain to that" say the Upanishads.

In that community which is made one not by ties of blood and alliance but by the infinitely subtle and spiritual bond of the common love for the common home, a man must play his part. Freedom within the nation is not freedom to enter into this duty or remain outside; it is freedom to make obedience or authority our own, according to that for which we are best fitted. And freedom for a nation, amongst the comity of nations is to stand unfettered in its quest for self-expression.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

SIMULTANEOUS AND SUCCESSIVE TEACHING.

CHAPTER IV.

A very remarkable feature of modern training which has been subjected in India to a reductio ad absurdum is the practice of teaching by snippets. A subject is taught a little at a time, in conjunction with a host of others, with the result that what might be well learnt in a single year is badly learned in seven and the boy goes out ill-equipped, served with imperfect parcels of knowledge, master of none of the great departments of human knowledge. The system of education adopted by the National Council, an amphibious and twy-natured creation, attempts to heighten this practice of teaching by snippets at the bottom and the middle and suddenly change it to a grandiose specialism at the top. This is to base the triangle on its apex and hope that it will stand.

The old system was to teach one or two subjects well and thoroughly and then proceed to others, and certainly it was a more rational system than the modern. If it did not impart so much varied information, it built up a deeper, nobler

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and more real culture. Much of the shallowness, discursive lightness and fickle mutability of the average modern mind is due to the vicious principle of teaching by snippets. The one defect that can be alleged against the old system was that the subject earliest learned might fade from the mind of the student while he was mastering his later studies. But the excellent training given to the memory by the ancients obviated the incidence of this defect. In the future education we need not bind ourselves either by the ancient or the modern system, but select only the most perfect and rapid means of mastering knowledge.

In defence of the modern system it is alleged that the attention of children is easily tired and cannot be subjected to the strain of long application to a single subject. The frequent change of subject gives rest to the mind. The question naturally arises, are the children of modern times then so different from the ancients, and, if so, have we not made them so by discouraging prolonged concentration? A very young child cannot, indeed apply himself; but a very young child is unfit for school teaching of any kind. A child of seven or eight, and that is the earliest permissible age for the commencement of any regular kind of study, is capable of a good deal of concentration if he is interested. Interest is, after all, the basis of concentration. We make his lessons supremely uninteresting and repellent to the child, a harsh compulsion the basis of teaching and then complain of his restless inattention! The substitution of a natural self-education by the child for the present unnatural system will remove this objection of mutability. A child, like a man, if he is interested, much prefers to get to the end of his subject rather than leave it unfinished. To lead him on step by

step, interesting and absorbing him in each as it comes, until he has mastered his subject is the true art of teaching.

The first attention of the teacher must be given to the medium and the instruments, and, until these are perfected, to multiply subjects of regular instruction is to waste time and energy. When the mental instruments are sufficiently developed to acquire a language easily and swiftly, that is the time to introduce him to many languages, not when he can only partially understand what he is taught and masters it laboriously and imperfectly. Moreover, one who has mastered his own language, has one very necessary facility for mastering another. With the linguistic faculty unsatisfactorily developed in one's own tongue, to master others is impossible. To study science with the faculties of observation, judgment, reasoning and comparison only slightly developed, is to undertake a useless and thankless labour. So it is with all other subjects.

The mother tongue is the proper medium of education and therefore the first energies of the child should be directed to the thorough mastering of the medium. Almost every child has an imaginative instinct for words, a dramatic faculty, a wealth of idea and fancy. These should be interested in the literature and history of the nation. Instead of stupid and dry spelling and reading books, looked on as a dreary and ungrateful task, he should be introduced by rapidly progressive stages to the most interesting parts of his own literature and the life around him and behind him, and they should be put before him in such a way as to attract and appeal to the qualities of which I have spoken. All other study at this period should be devoted to the perfection of the mental functions and the moral character. A foundation should be laid at this time for

the study of history, science, philosophy, art, but not in an obtrusive and formal manner. Every child is a lover of interesting narrative, a hero-worshipper and a patriot. Appeal to these qualities in him and through him, let him master without knowing it the living and human parts of his nation's history. Every child is an inquirer, an investigator, an analyser, a merciless anatomist. Appeal to these qualities in him and let him acquire without knowing it the right temper and the necessary fundamental knowledge of the scientist. Every child has an insatiable intellectual curiosity and turn for metaphysical enquiry. Use it to draw him on slowly to an understanding of the world and himself. Every child has the gift of imitation and a touch of imaginative power. Use it to give him the ground work of the faculty of the artist.

It is by allowing Nature to work that we get the benefit of the gifts she has bestowed on us. Humanity in its education of children has chosen to thwart and hamper her processes and, by so doing, has done much to thwart and hamper the rapidity of its own forward march. Happily, saner ideas are now beginning to prevail. But the way has not yet been found. The past hangs about our necks with all its prejudices and errors and will not leave us; it enters into our most radical attempts to return to the guidance of the all-wise Mother. We must have the courage to take up clearer knowledge and apply it fearlessly in the interests of posterity. Teaching by snippets must be relegated to the lumber-room of dead sorrows. The first work is to interest the child in life, work and knowledge, to develop his instruments of knowledge with the utmost thoroughness, to give him mastery of the medium he must use. Afterwards, the rapidity with which he will learn, will make up for any delay in taking up regular studies, and it will be found that, where now he learns a few things badly, then he will learn many things thoroughly well.

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BAJI PURBHOU.

—000—

(Continued from the last issue.)

But to the Purbhou came with anxious eyes
 The captain of the band. "Baji," he cried,
 "The bullets fail; all the great store we had
 Of shot and powder by unsparing use
 Is spent, is ended." And Baji Purbhou turned;
 One look he cast upon the fallen men
 Discernible by their attire, and saw
 His ranks not greatly thinned; one look below
 Upon the thousands strewn thick the gorge,
 And grimly smiled; then where the sun in fire
 Descending stooped towards the vesper verge
 He gazed and cried; "Make iron of your souls.
 And yet, if Bhavani wills strength and the sword
 Can stay our nation's future from overthrow
 Till victory with Shivaji return."
 And so they waited without word or sound,
 And over them the silent afternoon
 Waited; the hush terrestrial was profound
 Except the mountains and the fallen men
 No sight, no voice, no movement was abroad,
 Only a few black-winged slow-circling birds
 That wandered in the sky; only the wind
 That now arose and almost noiselessly
 Questioned the silence of the wooded sides,
 Only the occasional groan that marked the pang
 By some departing spirit on its frame
 Inflicted. And from time to time the gaze
 Of Baji sought the ever-sinking sun.
 Men fixed their eyes on him and in his firm
 Expression lived. So the slow minutes passed.
 But when the sun dipped very low, a stir
 Was felt far off, and all men grasped their swords
 Tighter and put a strain upon their hearts.
 Resolved at last the stream of Mogul war
 Came once more pouring, not the broken rout
 Of Pathans, not discouraged Rajput swords,
 But Agra's chivalry glancing with gold
 And scimiters inlaid and coloured robes.
 Swiftly they came expecting the assault
 Firewinged of bullets and the lethal ram,
 But silence met them and to their intent
 So ominous it seemed, a while they paused,
 Fearing some ruse, though for much
 death prepared.
 Yet careful of prevention. Reassured,
 Onward with a high shout they charged the slope.
 No bullet sped, no musket spoke; unhurt
 They crossed the open space, unhurt they climbed

The rise; but even as their hands surprised
 The shrubs that fringed the vantage,
 sword unseen
 Hacked at their fingers, through the
 bushes thrust
 Lances from warriors unexposed bore through
 Their bosoms. From behind the nearest lines
 Pressed on to share their fate and still the son
 Of men bore onward till with violent strain
 They reached the perilous crest; there for a while
 A slaughter grim went on and all the verge
 Was heaped and walled and thickly fortified
 With splendid bodies. But as they were piled,
 The raging hosts behind tore down their dead
 And mounted, till at last the force prevailed
 Of obstinate numbers and upon a crest
 Swarming with foemen fought against
 desperate odds

The Southron few. Small was the space
 for fight
 And meeting strength with skill and force
 with soul.

The strong and agile keepers of the hills
 Prevailed against the city-dwelling hosts,
 With covert and the swiftly stabbing blades
 O'erpowering all the feints of Agra's schools
 So fought they for a while; then suddenly
 Upon the Purbhou all the Goddess came
 Loud like a lion hungry on the hills
 He shouted, and his stature seemed to increase.
 Striding upon the foe. Rapid his sword
 Like lightning playing with a cloud, made void
 The crest before him. On his either side
 The swordsmen of the south with swift assault
 Prevented the reply, till like a bank
 Of some wild river the assault collapsed
 Over the stumbling edge and down the rise
 And once again the desperate moment passed.
 The relics of the murderous strife remained,
 Corpses and jewels, broodery and gold.
 But not for this would they accept defeat.
 Once more they came and almost held. The wrath
 Rose in the Purbhou and he roused himself
 In soul to make an end; but even then
 A stillness fell upon his mood and all
 That god-like impulse faded from his heart.
 And passing out of him a mighty form
 Stood visible, Titanic, scarlet-clad,
 Dark as a thundercloud, with streaming hair
 Obscuring heaven, and in her sovran grasp
 The sword, the flower, the boon, the
 bleeding head



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Bhavani.—Then she vanished, the daylight
Was ordinary in a common world!
And Bajji knew the goddess formidable
Who watches over India till the end.
Even then a sword found out his shoulder, sharp
A Mogul lance ran grinding through his arm.
Fiercely around him gathered in a knot
The mountaineers; but Bajji, with a groan,
"Moro Deshpande, to the other side
Hasten of the black gorge and bring me word.
Pides any from the west, or canst thou hear
The Raigarh trumpets blow? I know my hour
Is ended; let me know my work is done."
He spoke and shouted high the organ loud,
Desperate, he laboured at the man strength,
To push the Mogul from the gorge's end
With a slow compulsion. By his side fell fast
Mahratta and Mogul and on his limbs
The swords drank blood, a single redness grew
His body, yet he fought. Then at his side
Ghastly with wounds and in his fiery eyes
Death and rejoicing, a dire figure stood,
Moro Deshpande: "Bajji, I have seen
The Raigarh lances; Bajji, I have heard
The trumpets." Conquering with his cry the din
He spoke, then dead upon a Mogul corpse
Fell prone. And Bajji with a gruesome hand
Wiping the blood from his fierce staring eyes
Saw round him only fifteen men erect
Of all his fifty. But in front, behind,
On either side the Mogul held the gorge.
Groaning once more the grim Mahratta turned
And like a bull with lowered horns that runs,
Charged the exultant foe behind. With him
The desperate survivors hacking ran
And as a knife cuts instantly its way
Through water, so the yielding Mogul wall
Was cleft and closed behind. Eight men alone
Stood in the gorge's narrow end, not one
Unwounded. There where hardly three abreast
Have room to stand, they faced again the foe.
And from this latest hold Bajji beheld
Mounting the farther incline, rank on rank
A mass of horsemen; galloped far in front
Some forty horse, and on a turbaned head

Bright in the glory of the sinking sun
A jewelled aigrette blazed. And Bajji looked
Over the wide and yawning field of space
And seemed to see a fort upon a ridge,
Raigarh; then turned and sought again the war.
So for few minutes desperately they strove,
Man after man of the Mahrattas fell
Till only these were left. Then suddenly
Bajji stood still and sank upon the ground.
Quenched was the fiery gaze, never less the arm,
Bajji lay dead in the unconquered gorge.
But ere he fell upon the rocks behind
The horse hooves ring and as the latest left
Of the two hundred died, the bullets thronged
Through the two narrow mouth and hurled
them down
Who entered. Clamorous, exultant blared
The Southron trumpets but with stricken hearts
The swords of Agra back recoiled; fatal
Upon their serried unprotected mass
In hundreds from the verge the bullets rained,
And in a quick disordered stream, appalled,
The Mogul rout began. Sure-footed, swift
The hostile strength pursued, Suryaji first
Shouting aloud and singing to the hills
A song of Ramdas as he smote and slew.
But Shivaji by Bajji's empty frame
Stood silent and his gaze was motionless
Upon the dead. Tanaji Malsure
Stood by him and observed the breathless corpse,
Then slowly said, "Thirty and three the gates
By which thou enterest heaven, thou fortunate
Thou valiant heart. So when my hour arrives,
May I too clasp my death, saving the land
Or winning some great fortress for my lord."
But Shivaji beside the corpse beheld
A dim and mighty cloud that held a sword,
And in its other hand where once the head
Depended bleeding, raised the turban bright
From Bajji's head, still glittering with its gems,
And placed it on the chief's. But as it rose
Blood-stained with the heroic sacrifice,
Round the aigrette he saw a golden crown.

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Every religion centres round some particular idea: Ancient Egypt round death, Persia round the mystery of Good and Evil; Christianity round the redeeming love of a divine Incarnation. Only Hinduism aims at the heights of Vairagya and Mukti, and at nothing secular. This is indeed the weak point of Hinduism as the Swami Vivekananda so often said. "Only renunciation and mukti in this shop! Nothing for the householder was his half-jocular way of referring to the want he felt keenly.

The quality, by which Hinduism has it in her power to make up for this defect of her greatness, is her capacity for synthesising every religious idea with which she comes in contact. The absorptive power of Hinduism as a religion coupled with its resistant power as a civilisation, furnishes one of the most startling paradoxes in the history of man. Derived originally from a veritable network of religions, in which the co-ordinating element was the philosophy now known as vedanta, it has thrown out reforming sects in Mahomedan period, and thrown out reforming sects in the Christian period, each of these being in fact the expression of its admiration for the new ideal of which it has caught a glimpse.

To-day, however, Hindus see that the greatest call upon the religious instincts of the country, lies in the need of assimilating whole new areas of life. We must make possible the 'short views' of the Christians. There must be some religious teaching and encouragement for those who only want heaven not mukti. There must be a recognition of righteousness, as well as of holiness. Righteousness lies in duty done; holiness acquires renunciation. A thousand good citizens are necessary, as the background of one great Sannyasin. There must be a philosophy of citizenship, as well as of Sannyas.

And in truth the exaltation of one thing does not demand the decrying of its fellow. The ideal is always infinite, always divine. A highly moralised society, produces the greatest saints. The purity of fathers and mothers makes possible the birth of Avatars. Where marriage is faithfully kept there sincere Sannyas is possible, not amongst profligates and riotous lives. Similarly, the presence of honorable citizens is necessary to the maintenance of a grand religious ideal and the citizens as necessary to its manifestation as the monk.

But if this is so we have to search one ancient scriptures with a new aim. We must seek for all that can support and encourage us in doing manfully the work of the present world. Renunciation can be achieved through duty quite as well as by the abandonment of duty. We have thousands of texts to tell us so but the prevailing preconception in favour of Sannyas has led to our ignoring all that favours dharma. The weak point of European society lies in the absence of the monastic ideal. True. But equally sure is it that the weak point of Hinduism is the want of emphasis on the ideal of the householder and the citizen.

The reason lies largely in the fact that when our texts were formulated our society was in rich in virtue as in material resources. When the last of these deserts us, it is difficult to prevent the decay of the former; and what is wanted to day is a deliberate recapture of both.

For this we must exalt work. We must look upon the world at a school in which it is worth while to shine for promotion from class to class we must set our shoulder to the wheel and struggle unceasingly to attain the end we have set before ourselves. Our philosophy tells us that absolute progress is impossible, in the things of this life. But relative progress is fully possible and while we move on this plane of relativity, we must work as if perfection would rework the very next step.

Let us set before ourselves the master ideals, even in things relative "I don't make good screws, Sir, I make the best that can be made" said an indignant workman in reply to too casual an enquiry. This ought to be our attitude. We must make the best screws that can possibly be made. In every direction it must be the same. The best not too good, the highest not too difficult, for us to attain. Nothing less than the utmost. Nothing easy. Nothing cheap. The same energy that might have made an ascetic will also make a workman, if that will better serve the Mother's purpose.

And let our ideals be higher for our friends also. Let no man consort with mean company. Monk or citizen, let a man be noble. Whether Brahmin or Pariah let him practise self-respect, and demand the like from others. We help no one by being so passive as to convert him into a brute.

In the school, the lessons are graduated, but all alike are Education. All are equally the concern of the school authorities. Even so with our civilization, the integrity of the man of business is to the full as acceptable an offering as the renunciation of the monk, for unless there be honest men of the world, the religious order must come to an end.

Thus Hinduism fully recognising the need of the practical and secular life, and drawing from within herself, the stores that are necessary for its development and growth, synthesises once more ideals that seemed opposite. The Super-Social life is seen in its true relation to Society. The goal is preached as attainable, not only by the Sadhu in the forest, but also by the butcher in the town, and the wife in the home.

INDIA IN A NEW LIGHT. RESEARCHES OF DR. P. C. ROY. (Down Magazine.)

Dr. Praphulla Chandra Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D., Senior Professor of Chemistry at the Calcutta Presidency College, better known throughout the world as Dr. P. C. Ray, the discoverer of Mercurous Nitrite and many other similar nitrogen compounds, has in the department of scientific history achieved results which will live for all time and rescue the fair fame of India from a stigma which he has shewn to be thoroughly undeserved. The reproach incessantly cast at India so long, has been that in her past she was too subjective; too metaphysical, too otherworldly, and that her downfall was by reason of her impracticalness, her otherworldliness, her speculative non-scientific spirit. Thus, the Indians had always hitherto been credited with a knowledge only of deep and abstract philosophy and also of the mathematical and medical sciences; but latest researches in the department of scientific history as revealed in Dr. P. C. Ray's two volumes of that monumental work "History of Hindu Chemistry," have indisputably established the fact that in ancient India Chemistry was zealously and au-

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cessfully cultivated. This historical discovery has completely revolutionised European public opinion on the subject and that great German author, Hermann Schelenz one of the greatest of the living authorities on Pharmaceutical Chemistry and author of the *History of Pharmacy* ("Geschichte der Pharmazie") has gone into ecstasy over Dr. P. C. Ray's *History of Hindu Chemistry*, and has authoritatively declared as his deliberate opinion that the mastery of chemical processes as elaborately described in the Hindu work, *Rasaratna-Samuchaya* upon which Dr. Ray has copiously drawn in his *History*, shows that the Hindu chemists were far ahead of their European contemporaries of the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. Before the publication of the first volume of the *History*, the world had a very meagre idea of the scientific acumen of the ancient Hindus in the department of Chemistry. But since its publication "a new and interesting chapter has been added to the history of Sciences and of human progress,—we are quoting the words of Mons. P. E. Berthelot that great French *savant* of the last century whose synthesis of Formic Acid and of Alcohol researches in thermochemistry and agricultural chemistry have now become classic. In the other volume, which was published last year and which is a continuation of the first, Dr. Ray has gone further and made good the claim of Hindu Chemistry to a scientific development, independent of the Greek, or indeed, any other foreign influence. He has shown that the development of Hindu Chemistry is the outcome of the arduous and continuous efforts of the different sages, prominent among whom was Nagarjuna, in the pursuit of alchemy or chemistry. In his treatise on alchemy (chemistry.) *Rasa ratnakara* Nagarjuna comes in as a friend of King Sahivahana—a connexion which has the support of an old tradition, as also his disciple Ratnaghoat. Alchemy was introduced into the sphere of Buddhism by Nagarjuna having been almost neglected up to the time. Mons. Sylvain Levi, one of the foremost orientalist and *savants* of the day writing a review of Dr. Ray's *History* (vol. II) in the columns of a leading French journal, *Journal Asiatique* records the following observations: Dr. Ray has undoubtably proved the grand rôle played by Buddhist monks in alchemy and the preponderating part of Buddhism in *Tantric* literature." Even in the 13th century A. D. continues the same authority, "the Hindu chemist Govindacharya, the author of *Rasaratna* declares

to have composed his work after having derived his information from Buddhist sources, as also from the Buddhist of Tibet." Besides Buddhist chemists, as noted by Mons. Levi in the course of the same review, there were a good many Hindu chemists, and "Dr. Ray notices a good many Hindu chemical *tantras* and gives the summary of them and continues the list up to the 17th century A. D." (*Synopsis Libe*) Among these Hindu chemical works reviewed by Dr. Ray in his book, the following may be specially mentioned,—(1) *Rasendracharman*, (2) *Rasendrachintamani* (3) *Rasaratnasamuchaya* and (4) *Rasaura*, the last two of which have already been referred to. The part played by Buddhist monks in the development of the chemical science was indeed remarkable; but it should be noted, the author of *Hindu Chemistry* shows that the Buddhist *Tantras* concerning the science received their development in the Hindu *Tantric* works on Chemistry and were indeed finally absorbed in them.

II.

Indeed, the picture of chemical knowledge in ancient India which Dr. Ray unfolds before the astonished gaze of the modern Indian, as well as the modern European, is fascinating to a degree. Dr. Ray has traced the history of Chemistry in India, from the pre-Buddhist times down to the middle of the 16th century A. D. He has divided the whole period under four divisions of time, namely, 1. the Aryanvedic, 2. the Transitional, 3. the Tantric, and 4. the later-chemical periods; the first extending from the pre-Buddhist era to the 9th century A. D., the second from the 9th to the 12th century, the third from the 12th to the 14th, and the fourth from the 14th to 1550 A. D. The greatest name in Hindu Chemistry is, as we have seen, Nagarjuna of the second century A. D., the author of *Rasaratnakara*. Nagarjuna's zeal in the study of the science was emulated by a succession of devoted Buddhist monks, with the result that a considerable number of Buddhist alchemical *tantras* were produced. To Dr. Ray belongs the credit of bringing out prominently into view "the grand rôle played by the Buddhist monks in alchemy and the preponderating part of Buddhism in the *tantric* literature." To repeat the words, already quoted, of Mons. Levi. In Dr. Ray's second volume of Hindu Chemistry, published last year (the first volume having originally appeared in 1903), some fifteen new chemical *tantras* have been brought to light, most of them buried in oblivion, in dark recesses, in tattered manuscripts. Says Dr. Ray,

"when the first volume was under preparation it was feared many valuable works on Hindu Chemistry referred to in *Rasaura*, *Rasaratnasamuchaya*, etc., have been lost for ever." Some of these, hitherto supposed to have been lost, have been recovered by Dr. Ray through a vigorous search in the libraries of Benaras, Kashmir, Nepal and the Deccan. The chemical work *Rasaura* to which Dr. Ray refers belongs to the third period of Hindu Chemistry 9th to 12th century A. D., whose text is being edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Dr. Ray, in collaboration with Pandit Harish Chandra Kavirata of Calcutta. The other chemical work, *Rasaratnasamuchaya*, belongs to the fourth period—fourteenth, sixteenth century A. D. The search in the Durbar Library of Nepal, has been productive of one striking result namely, the discovery of an old *Saiva Tantra* on Chemistry the *Kubjika-tantra* which is copied in Gupta characters of the sixth century A.D. The search in the Deccan libraries has led to the discovery of many Buddhist *Tantras* dealing with Chemistry. The Deccan was completely cut off from all outside intercourse, and says Dr. Ray "it is precisely in these regions, which were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, that Indian alchemy flourished." Among the many chemical works which the Doctor has rescued from oblivion, the most worthy of mention are, 1. the Buddhist *Tantra*, *Rasaratnakara*, which is a later redaction of an earlier work by Nagarjuna; 2. the *Rasavidya* of Bhikshu Govinda and 3. the *Rasaratnasamuchaya* of the fourth period of Hindu Chemistry. The chemical *tantras*, Buddhist and Hindu, to which we have referred, are evidently later works; but earlier evidences of possession of chemical knowledge by the Hindus are preserved and incorporated in general medical works, like the *Saṅgita* of Charaka and Suaruta, or the *Ashtangahridaya* of Vagbhata or the still later works of Vrinda and Chakrapani Datta.

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III

As usual, some of our foreign critics have been telling us that the knowledge by the earlier Hindu medical writers (Charaka and Susruta for instance, must have been borrowed knowledge; for, how could, India in those ancient days aspire to a knowledge which has come to the European through the slow growth of the centuries? Thus, Mons. Berthelot, the French savant, to whom Dr. Ray owed indeed, his inspiration in his historical investigations into Indian Chemistry,—was so much struck with the originality of the Hindu process of preparing caustic alkali as given in the *Susruta Samhita*, that he went so far as to suggest that that portion of Susruta was modern, and in fact, a later addition derived from contact with European chemists. But, thanks to the labours of Dr. Ray, the indigenous character of the origin and growth of Hindu Chemistry has been firmly established. A whole chapter has been devoted to a consideration of the indigenous sources of Indian Chemistry; and Dr. Ray has been able to produce a mass of evidence in support of that position. Thus to refute Prof. Berthelot, with special reference to the question of the Hindu process of preparing caustic alkali, Dr. Ray mentions two other Hindu medical writers, Vagbhata and Chakrapani Datta, both of whom lived before the 11th century A.D. and both of whom refer to the particular chemical process described by Susruta. Another independent piece of evidence cited by the Doctor is the fact that caustic alkali was used for the cauterization of bad wounds, as mentioned in the "questions of King Milinda, who flourished in the second century B.C." And in various other ways the Doctor has established the claim of the originality of the Hindus and has shown that, far from borrowing the knowledge of Chemistry from the West, the Hindus were rather the teachers of the Arabians (the Moors) who in their turn helped to spread it in Europe. The comparatively modern dates of Hindu *Tantric* works on Chemistry, together with the fact that the Moors made great progress in alchemy and medicine in a previous period of history, suggested the idea to the minds of many scholars that the Hindus were largely indebted to the Moors for their chemical knowledge as displayed in their works. But the theory of borrowing from the Moors, although plausible, has been completely knocked on the head by Dr. Ray who has shewn that in the

Middle Ages of about the time of the Mahomedan invasion of India, the Hindus far from remaining behind the Arabs and the Westerns were, in their knowledge of chemical and metallurgical processes, far ahead of their contemporaries in other parts of the world. Also, it is acknowledged on all hands that the great Buddhist patriarch to whom we have so often referred Siddha Nagarjuna as he was called of the second century A. D. was the discoverer of the chemical processes of distillation, sublimation, etc. And lastly, the grand rôle played by Buddhist monks in the development of the chemical science has been indisputably established by Dr. Ray and the proofs adduced by him have been accepted by scholars and savants. And we have seen also, that the Hindu *Tantric* chemical works were only a development of the Buddhist *Tantric* works on the subject. And lastly, not only in the department of Inorganic Chemistry but also in Organic Chemistry, the Hindus had made an advance, and Principal B. N. Seal of the Cooch Behar College, Bengal, in an independent section which is incorporated in Dr. Ray's *History*, has given an account of the constitution of the *fats and oils and the organic tissues*. "He has also briefly noticed the chief chemical industries of the Hindus which secured for them an easy preeminence in manufactures for a thousand years; and has unearthed some interesting Hindu *recipes* relating to matters of chemical technology, e.g. searing of hard rocks to enable them to cut or pulverised; hardening of steel, of cements for rock's metals etc."

Thus, the labours of Dr. Ray in the department of scientific history have borne abundant fruit in the discovery of documents which no amount of cavilling may reject or repudiate, and which go to show that the development of Hindu Chemistry in ancient India was the outcome of Hindu genius and Hindu originality and of arduous and continuous efforts of Hindu sages in the pursuit of the science.

Dr. Ray had, indeed, raised India in the estimation of the civilised world by his brilliant chemical discoveries. But his latest achievement his two volumes on the History of Hindu Chemistry, has secured for her a lasting place in the intellectual hierarchy of nations.

REFUTATION OF MATERIALISM.

In Hindu Philosophy one misses the elaborate and long-drawn arguments for the immortality of the soul which form a prominent feature of the philosophical Theology of Europe. The explanation of this is no doubt to be found in the general unanimity of Hindu philosophers as regards the doctrine in question. All the six orthodox schools of Hindu Philosophy agree in thinking of the soul as not only immortal, but also as eternal. The heterodox school of Buddhist Philosophy too accepts the doctrine in a modified form. It is only out-and-out Materialists like the *Charvākas* that question it. There was therefore little occasion for our philosophers spending time and energy in proving that the soul does not perish with the body. But that the Materialist's arguments were not left quite unheeded, appears from controversial passages here and there in Hindu philosophical works,—passages which are apparently directed against the heretics just mentioned. For instance, in his commentary on the fifty-third and fifty-fourth aphorisms of the third *pāda*, third chapter, of the *Brahmasūtras*, Sankara first states and then argues against the views of the Lokayatikas or Charvākas. The aphorisms commented upon occur in a place where no one would expect them, which shows perhaps that they were the result of an after-thought on the part of the author and the little interest he felt in the superficial speculations of the Materialists. I shall, however, give the substance of both the arguments of these philosophers as stated by Sankara and his refutation of those arguments. The reasonings of the Materialists amount to this:

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"Though consciousness is hidden in external objects, it becomes manifest in these objects when they form an organism, just as the intoxicating power hidden in certain objects is manifested when they are made into wine. There is, therefore, no soul apart from the body, which capable of either going to heaven or attaining liberation. The properties of an object are those that exist while it exists and cease to exist in its absence. Heat and light are, in the sense, properties of fire. Now, the vital functions, sensibility, memory and the like, which are believed to be properties of the soul, are found in the body, and not found without the body. They are, therefore, not the properties of an extra-organic object, but really properties."

Sankara's reply, which is an amplification of the aphorism referred to, is, in substance, this:

"If the properties of the soul are to be set down as properties of the body because they exist while the body exists, why should not they be concluded as not properties of the body for their not existing while the body exists. Form and such other qualities, which are really properties of the body, exist so long as the body exists; but the vital functions and the rest do not exist in the body after death. Besides, form and other properties like it are perceived even by others, but the properties of the soul, sensibility, memory, etc., are not perceived by any one else than the soul to which they belong. Then, again, one knows the existence of these properties in the body while it lives; how can one be sure that at the destruction of one body they are not transmitted to another? Even the possibility of this refutes Materialism. Then, as to the true character of consciousness, the Materialist will perhaps admit that consciousness is the knowledge of matter and material objects. If so, he must also admit that inasmuch as matter and material objects are objects of consciousness, it cannot be their property. For matter to perceive matter is as impossible as it is for fire to burn itself, and for a dancer to climb upon his own shoulders. Form and other properties of matter cannot, we see, make themselves or other properties their

objects. Inasmuch, therefore, as consciousness makes both internal and external things its objects, it is not a material property. If its distinction from material objects be admitted, its independence of them must also be admitted. Moreover, its identity in the midst of changing circumstances proves its eternality. Remembrance and such states of the mind become possible only because the knowing self is recognised as the same in two successive states. Thus, in the consciousness 'I saw this before' the seeing and the recognising self is known as the same. The argument that because perception takes place while the body exists, therefore it is a property of the body, has already been refuted. It is as valid an argument as that because perception takes place while such materials as lamps, etc. The body is only an instrument of perception like lamps, etc. Nor is the body absolutely necessary even as an instrument of perception, inasmuch as a variety of perceptions takes place in the state of dreaming, when the body is inactive. Thus the existence of the soul as something different from the body, is an irresistible fact."

SWAMI ABHEDANANDA IN LONDON.

One of the means of obtaining perfect self-control over mind and body is exercise in the correct method of breathing. This may not come as a surprise upon us, but it seems to have produced no small impression upon the people in London where the Swami Abhedananda explained it to them. To Swamiji holds a class there to which students flock for taking lessons; and the report goes that the number is fast going up. When some of these students were interviewed by the press representatives, the former seem to have given an en-

phatically favourable view of the new teaching. Here is what the Swamiji himself told the representatives:—

"By proper breathing exercises," said the Swami, "a man may develop sufficient will-power to counteract even the forces of gravitation. For example, he could throw himself off a chair by merely willing to do so. He could also withdraw his subtle self, or what some call his 'astral self,' from his body while reclining on a couch, and literally stand aside and look at his body lying there. To suspend the action of the heart and pulse for some seconds is one of simplest of feats. I teach the fundamental principles of Christian Science, which have been taught in India for ages, with this difference, that scientific breathing, as opposed to mere faith, is the means I employ. Self cure is easy by the religion of Vedanta, which means 'the end of wisdom.' For example if a person has toothache or neuralgia, or other acute pain it is possible by employing the correct breathing exercise to withdraw the mind's attention entirely from the locality of the pain, thereby conquering it as completely as if an anaesthetic had been used. There is nothing that psychical societies have discovered which cannot be accomplished by following my method of breathing. All the student has to do is to practise half an hour twice a day, and perfect health of mind and body will result. By breathing exercises, I mean that process by which control of the lungs and nerve centres and command over the vital energy can be obtained. The Yogi declares that the practice of scientific breathing will bring whatever result is desired, whether physical, psychical, or spiritual."

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There is no such thing as betrayal of love nor is anybody a traitor. No right have we to limit our ideas as to the possibilities of man on the ground of his

being a Jew, Mahomedan, Shudra or Brahman. Even the sworn slaves of dogmas are bound to be redeemed. God, Truth, must pull you out from the clasp of conventionality and conservatism, even as Krishna drew out the Gopikas from the homes of their so-called husbands.

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PASSING THOUGHTS.

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A Nation of Students.

We are a nation of students. The whole East is full of students. No figure in the streets of an Asiatic city,—whether the country be India, Persia, or China,—is so representative as that of the student. No power is so pervasive as the school-master's might make itself, if maintained in harmony with the general aspiration. Why this prominence of the learner? What is the explanation? Does it point to a national immaturity? If so, let us face the fact. There is no advantage to be gained, by shutting our eyes to the position of affairs; on the contrary clear thought is itself the starting point of a good fight with crudity and ignorance.

National Immaturity.

We must remember that the very words are foreign, in which this question is being discussed. We are, in fact, measuring ourselves and the maturity of our culture, against a modern and western standard. So measured, we are decidedly immature. There are many practical situations in life, where, beside the ease and mastery of the European, we feel ourselves mere children. Is this immaturity, then, an absolute, or only a relative truth? Is it perhaps true that all the people of the world are more or less immature?

We cannot, get the whole material advantage, out of a given situation as easily as the European can. But no one who has ever engaged in serious conversation with Europeans can doubt that there are many subjects on which they are, beside us, extremely childish. In the field of religions and philosophical speculation, they find it difficult to generalise, and propositions that are obvious to us will puzzle them severely. The same is true of the psychology of social relations. In the culture of the family, Europeans are curiously lacking. That whole idea of play, that shines through all our domestic intercourse, and lubricates all the friction of intimacy, appears to be unborn amongst them. Here they are as immature as we in their field. Those strong faces, with their closed lips and air of instinctive mastery, notify us of nothing genial and easy, in the nature behind. Similarly, in us, the grave refined type of old men, indicates no large public experience. All the lineaments have been carved, in the one case, by contacts with the larger world, the world of struggle and complexities, of clashing interests, and grim affairs; and in the other, by quiet experience of love and suffering, by the thought of God, and by the garnered wisdom of the home. Either European or Hindh, on his own ground, will appear unassailable; judged by the opposite standard,

seem unripe, crude, but half-cultured and childish in his powers.

The Test of Success.

Unfortunately for us, however, the world is being re-made, at this moment, by European culture. Its assimilation is the means and the test of success. With regard to it we are mere students. Then we are all students. It may be that when our lesson is learnt, there will be a compensating one for Europe to learn. That is not our business. Our business is to learn our own. Is it the foreign idea that we have to accept? Not exactly. The foreign idea, as it stands, would merely give us moral indigestion. We should become a nation of moral dyspeptics. But we have to find, in our own stock of ideas, that one which enables us to meet the foreign nation on our own terms. The Englishman loves England, with a wonderful and often beautiful love. What we have to learn from this, is not to share his love for England. That would be the discipleship of monkeys, mere imitation. We have to learn to meet his love for England with an equal, deeper, more tender and far more intelligent love for India. As he professes to make his country and his people the centre of every activity, every thought, so we have really to make our people and our country the centre of our own. He

has unity of national intention. We must realise our own national intention, and find an equal unity in it. *Swadharma*—"Better for each man is his own duty, however badly done, than the duty of another, though that be easy."

The Power of Mind.

All power is in the human mind. We can master anything, simply by giving our attention to it. Even the ideals of the West, the ideals of the new age, are within our grasp, if we study them, if we recognise their necessity, and proceed to work them out. It is natural, however, that under the circumstances, feeling as we do, that the study of our own circumstances, and of the new ideals that are to initiate a new age, is the one duty that devolves upon us, it is natural that education should seem to us the supreme ground of battle for our national rights. No one who stands outside the Indian community can dream of the jealousy with which the students watch all attempts to curtail or limit their numbers. Records are kept, and accurate news is carried, that would astonish those most concerned, if they knew of it, as to how opportunities are shrinking, and by whose action, in this direction or that. A short time ago fees were raised in a certain college. Now, nearly half the students are to be turned out. All this is noted and discussed amongst the students. Their eyes are not shut, nor are they slow to draw their own inferences from the facts. And there is nothing that so stirs them, for all the apparent silence that hangs over the country, as this withdrawal of the means of knowledge.

Nor is this unnatural. Education is our one overwhelming want, in this hour of the nation's history. Knowledge we must have. And knowledge we are determined to have. An immense force has been called into being, by the organisation of schools and colleges. But once evoked, such forces must be fed and developed along sound lines. It is at their peril that mortals attempt to stand in the path of

avalanche or the cannon-ball. Is it imagined that mind-energy is less dangerous than material? Only the bravest, because he may offer himself as a sacrifice. The grossest, because he does not believe that mind is a force, like any other, and rules the world, does not believe that a poor weapon in the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte is more deadly than the best, when used by a coward or a fool, cannot understand, till it has turned and rent him, the perils of the great force called into being, and then subjected to the crushing weight of suppression.

THE LAWS OF THOUGHT.

Thought builds the universe. The mind alone is real. All that is seen is but a dream. There is such a thing as the conscious holding of a thought. When this is done, all that opposes it, or seems contradictory to it, gradually melts away, and we wonder what has become of it, or why we were at one time under its illusion.

Anything may be achieved by thought. Death, disease, poverty, humiliation, any or all of these may be overcome. The one thought, "I am the strong! I am the strong!" earnestly held, calmly, confidently, unwaveringly and yet silently asserted, is enough. In the presence of one strong thought, all of a contrary opinion or party become apologetic, and seek to defend themselves, or to explain why they cannot quite agree. And this without one word being said.

Immense batteries may be made, by numbers of people uniting together to think a given thought. If the whole of India could agree to give, say ten minutes every evening, at the oncoming of darkness, to thinking a single thought, "We are one. We are one. Nothing can prevail against us, to make us think we are divided. For we are one. We

are one, and all antagonisms amongst us are illusion,"—the power that would be generated, can hardly be measured.

The force ought always to be used in constructive forms. We ought always to devote it to what are called positive ends. We ought never to use it for hatred or jealousy or anger, but always in love and faith, and for the upbuilding of something. Even when evil is to be destroyed, or a lie overcome, we must think of the truth that is to be revealed, or the good to be done, and not the evil or the falsehood.

The use of mental powers for directly destructive ends has always been regarded as accursed. It is what the West calls black magic, and certainly recoils upon the user in every terrible way. A large beneficence should distinguish the man who knows the power of his own thought. He should not, indeed, assert two conflicting goods at the same time. But out of all that is possible, he should select that, which for reasons that he apprehends, is most admirable, and desirable, and concentrate upon it. As this emerges into fact, he will find that all that opposes it, is automatically banished or destroyed. The confusion of wishing this and that in opposite directions, is the ordinary way of the ordinary world. This way represents a clearing and rationalising of the ground, it means a dealing scientifically with our own desires, in such a way as to make them realisable by the world about us.

The less selfish the things we wish for, the greater and keener will be the accumulated and multiplied power of our thought-battery. "Awake, awake, great India" is an ejaculation which, said, within the mind, quietly, by hundreds of thousands of persons at a given hour, would produce immeasurable force, in proportion to depth of their concentration on the thing itself. Our thought must be cleared and ordered. When this is done, we shall see, to our surprise, that it has become creative. The world without begins to reflect the world within. Men and women become incarnated ideas. Let us take the question of education for instance. At this moment, it seems to be slipping out of our grasp. What we have to dread

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is being turned into a nation of toolies and peonies, like the people of Java and the process is making great headway. But what right have we to depend on anyone but ourselves, for the preventing of this? What obstacle has anyone to fear, in robbing us of knowledge, but the might of our own minds? Who is it that will sacrifice and labour and build and struggle till we have grasped and mastered our intellectual heritage? Ourselves. Ourselves. Always ourselves. Because we know and with all our might will demonstrate the truth that knowledge is more precious than rubies, we cannot be effectively deprived of it. At whatever sacrifice, we shall insist upon it. We shall give our very lives for it. We must have knowledge, at all costs. We must be educated men. As a nation, we must lead the culture of the world. In days when that culture was classical, literary, and psychological or mathematical, we led it. Now that it is scientific, with side-issues in mechanical application, we must again lead it. We shall never be content with even a second place in these things. The whole history of the world shows that the Indian intellect is second to none. This must be proved, by the performance of a task beyond the power of others, the seizing of the first place in the intellectual advance of the world. Is there any inherent weakness that would make it impossible for us to do this? Are the countrymen of Bashkaracharya and Sankaracharya inferior to the countrymen of Newton and Darwin? We trow not. It is for us, by the power of our thought, to break down the iron walls of opposition that confront us, and to seize and enjoy the intellectual sovereignty of the world.

THE WORK STILL POSSIBLE.

Many people feel that the rapid succession of suppressive enactments which we have lately seen, has made all open and public work for nationality impossible. Between the easy acquiescence of a government servant and the secret activity of the terrorist, they see no possible middle course left. The laborious path of political struggle, which was chalked out by our Moderate patriots in the early eighties, under the hon-

est illusion that it might lead somewhere, has been obliterated before our eyes. A political party can only exist, so long as it is possible for it to proclaim an aggressive policy, which can attract public faith. When such a policy is rendered absurd, the party perishes, because it can no longer command the popular enthusiasm necessary to its existence. In this sense, Moderatism is dead amongst us. No one can any longer believe in the possibility of the aims it proposes. It has overdrawn its account, or the balance has been confiscated, as we may like to put it, and it stands bankrupt of belief.

Now Moderatism was chiefly valuable, because it represented the only form of political activity possible to us under present circumstances. To say that the idea is dead, is tantamount to saying that the path of politics is closed, and "No Thoroughfare" written up large, at the entrance. We must be content henceforth with that political development which we had already reached. Fortunately, that was a good deal. Anyone who studies the history of the Congress is surprised at the way in which the parliamentary idea seems to have sprung into our midst, full-grown from the brain of the infinite. The experience of twenty-five years has neither added to it, nor taken away. The explanation of this fact, lies of course, in the democratic modes of conference which are in vogue in the undivided family, the village, and the caste. Viewed in this connection, the history of the Congress furnishes a very valuable object-lesson in our own efficiency, and we cannot afford, as a people, to despise anything that is capable of feeding our courage.

But now that all activity is forbidden to our poor friends, is there any political activity left, that we may practise for our country? Or are terrorists the only people whose activities can continue unabated? It is a grave question. But let us ask, Was the constructive work ever political? No Moderate ever yet, at a Budget Debate, had the courage to get up and move a vote for a prohibitive tax on imported cotton goods, much less get such a motion passed. A graceful programme of concessions theoretically possible, is after all, only a castle

in the air. Was the Moderate platform ever anything more than this? At best, it was the mock warfare by which, in time of peace, an army keeps itself in training. What work more than this did Moderate politics ever accomplish? Was it the Congress that opened the eyes of the people to the needs of the age? Was it Moderate journals that educated us to stand by ourselves, and seek within ourselves the sources of our strength? It must be admitted that these always lagged behind public opinion; that the Congress never wholly expressed the heart of the people; that the newspapers, admirably as they have sometimes assisted, have never at any time played a leading or formative part in our evolution. Is it not almost a kindness, to snatch from the cripple the crutch on which he leans, if we see that it is weak and faulty, and may lead him to disaster?

Meetings prohibited, papers suppressed, comrades under arrest, is the cause of the nationalist and his organisation therefore dead? By no means! That cause was born of a THOUGHT, and that thought has come to us to stay. We know now that it is the shaping and compelling shadow of the I that accompanies thought, that gives to it its individuality and power. A tree may be conscious, vaguely, of moon and sun, of heat and cold, of water and thirst, but we have not yet imagined that the tree can realise itself, and so convert its knowledge into will. The cat has a certain power of thought. Its sensations are in some respects keener than those of human beings. But they only extend to a certain limited height in scale of dignity. Taste, smell, hearing, are only important to the cat, as they stand related to certain of the lower and grosser needs. Worlds upon worlds of higher things may come and go around her, and she may talk, or councils be held at which thrones change hands, yet puss remains indifferent, serenely absorbed in the catching of a mouse! To all the higher and finer stimuli, she is indifferent; her mind takes no account of them. She has no power to act upon them. The words of an apostle fall upon her ears. But to her they are no more than the sound of the voice of a jhee screaming at her neigh-

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hours. She hears. She knows the difference between sound and silence. And that is all. She feels a kick, and fears it. She feels caresses, and seeks them. But she has no power of mind, to generalise these experiences, or to go behind them, and reason about why and wherefore, much less to take steps for obtaining the mastery over both kinds of bondage.

It is quite possible for a nation to live in the midst of things that concern it, just, like a cat in a circle of apostles. Events come and go. Sensations occur and pass. But the national response is no more than a twitch of dissatisfaction, or a purr of content. The twitch may take the form of speeches and articles, it may even go so far as the organisation of palaver-*sabhas* and protest-newspapers. But if it ends there, nothing much has been accomplished. Let the *sabhas* and the newspapers all be suppressed, and pussy is very little richer or poorer. It is not here that her power is lodged. No, for that, we have to turn to the national mind. Has that realised itself? In any sense or degree. It is not necessary to become an Avatar, in order to act with common-sense. It is not necessary to reach mukti before we attempt to be a little manly. The selfishness of egoism is the beginning of a knowledge of the *atman*. The Indian people have begun to understand that there is a place in the world called India. Let them go on to understand this more and more deeply. Here, in the Indian mind, is the true field of work. The deepening of the national consciousness is the whole of the constructive programme. Does any man mean to tell us that this depends on the existence of licensed and tabulated organs? Nonsense! The lopping-off of a limb may actually deepen a man's consciousness of himself, by forcing him to think deeper, and to circumvent destiny. "Fundamental brain-work" is the one thing that saves nations, and stamps the rank of their actions, even as it does their productions. Wherever this fundamental brain-work can go on intensifying the idea of India, the Indian people, Indian duties, and Indian rights, there real work is going forward, whoever may think to the contrary.

Of this work, every movement,

of every person, in every part of the country, will form a part. No word that is spoken, by mother to babe, by master to workman, by customers to shopkeeper, but will carry a winged message. Every person becomes, to the thinker, a symbol of the Great Mother. Everything will minister to Her worship. That which is aimed against Her will deepen our reverence, while that which speaks in her favour will express and re-echo it. Mistakes will scourge and taunt and torture this national sense into being. Acts of friendship and amity will build it up in harmony and concord. Nothing will foster it more rapidly than attention drawn to the prohibition of education. This will make it defiant, menacing, difficult to control and guide. Yet education also will be its minister and handmaiden. And wherever we see the growth of the national idea, let us learn to think that we see work going forward, a work that can never cease to be possible. Let men but meet; when the moment comes, the mass will fuse. Let us but think: when the hour strikes, we cannot fail to act.

PAPERS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION. NATION-MAKING.

Education in India to-day, has to be not only national, but nation-making. We have seen what a national education is—a training which has a strong colour of its own, and begins by relating the child to his home and country, through all that is familiar, but ends by making him free of all that is true, cosmopolitan, and universal. This is the necessary condition of all healthy education, in all countries, whatever their political position or stage of development. These general statements are as true of England or France, as of India, as true in happiness as in adversity.

The need for special attention to nation-making, however, is a question of the moment, a matter of those temporary vicissitudes through which a country may be passing, in a given period. It is always easy, by common consent of responsible persons, or by the sound communal instincts of a healthy people, to select out and emphasise, for a definite purpose, any elements in a general education that may be thought desirable. All our insti-

tutions have arisen in some such way. The need of purity was first brought forward, in our customs, at some time when loss of civilisation was a pressing danger. The regulation of marriage was a device deliberately intended to prevent mixture of race, in a period that had to face this as a possibility. Similarly, a people who need above all things the development of a national sense, can make special provision for developing the necessary elements of thought and character, throughout the education of their children.

National feeling is, above all, feeling for others. It is rooted in public spirit, in a strong civic sense. But these are only grandiloquent names for what may be described as organised unselfishness. The best preparation for nation-making that a child can receive is to see his elders always eager to consider the general good, rather than their own. A family that willingly sacrifices its own interests to those of the village, or the street, or the town, household that condones no act of dishonesty on the part of public servants, out of consideration for its own comfort or safety; a father who will fling himself at any obstacle, in the cause of honour and justice for the people, these are the best and strongest education for nation-making that a child can have. The wild-boar, small as he is, throws himself upon the horse and his rider, never doubting his own capacity to destroy both. This is the courage of the man who attacks public evils. This is the object-lesson by which a child can best be trained. Hunger for the good of others, as an end in itself, the infinite pity that wakes in the heart of an Avatar, at sight of the suffering of humanity, these are the seed and root of nation-making. We are a nation, when every man is an organ of the whole, when every part of the whole is precious to us; when the family weighs nothing, in comparison with the People.

China in Asia, and France in Europe, are the two countries that have best known how to make the public spirit into religion. This is the fact that made Joan of Arc a possibility. A peasant-girl in a remote village could brood over the sorrows of her country, till she was possessed by the feeling that there

was match pity in Heaven for the fair realm of France." An idea like this was like the compassion of a Buddha, and nowhere but in France could it have been applied to the country.

We must surround our children with the thought of their nation and their country. The centre of gravity must lie, for them, outside the family. We must demand from them sacrifices for India, *bhakti* for India, learning for India. The ideal for its own sake. India for the sake of India. This must be as the breath of life to them. We must teach them about India, in school and at home. Some lessons must fill out the conception: others must build up the sense of contrast. Burning love, love without a limit. Love that seeks only the good of the beloved, and has no thought of self, this is the passion that we must demand of them.

We must teach them to think heroically. They must be brought up to believe in their own people. Few stories are so moving as that of two English youths who were killed by an angry mob in the Punjab, dying with the words on their lips, "We are not the last of the English!" Similarly we must learn to draw every breath in the proud conviction, "We are not the last of the Indians!" This faith our children must inherit from us, along with all other forms of stern and heroic thought. It is a mistake to think heroes are born. Nothing of the sort. They are made, not born; made by the pressure of heroic thought. All human beings long at bottom for self-sacrifice. No other thirst is so deep as this. We desire destruction, not prosperity, and the good of others.

Let us recognise this. Let us make room for it. Let us emphasize it, and direct it towards one single *bhakti*. Let love for country and countrymen, for People and Soil, be the mould into which our lives flow hot. If we reach this, every thought we think, every word of knowledge gained, will aid in making clearer and clearer the great picture. With faith in the Mother, and *bhakti* for India, the true inter-

pretation of facts will come to us unsought. We shall see the country as united, where we were told that she was fragmentary. Thinking her united, she will actually be so. The universe is the creation of mind, not matter. And can anyone force in the world resist a single thought, held with intensity by three hundred millions of people? Here we have the true course of a nation-making education.

PAPERS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION. THE EDUCATION OF THE HEART.

The reconstitution of a nation has to begin with its ideals. This, because in a nation three primary elements have to be considered, first the country, or region, second, the people, and third, the national mind. Of the three, the last is dominant and all-directing. By working through it, we may modify or even re-create either or both of the other two while their influence upon it is comparatively feeble and indirect. Mind can remake any thing, however inert or rebellious, but a rebellious mind, what can reach? It follows that in national reconstitution there is no other factor so important as education. How is this to be made national and nationalising? What is a national education? And conversely what is un-national? And further what kind of education offers the best preparation for the attempt to solve the national problems? What type of education would be not only national, but also nation-making?

Education has to deal with various factors, the imparting of special processes, the assimilating of certain kinds and quantities of knowledge, the development of the man himself. Of all these it is the last which is incomparably the most important, and in the man, it is again his ideals which form the critical element. It is useless to attempt to teach a man anything which he does not desire to learn. It is absurd to try to force on him an advantage which he resists. Education is like mining. It begins with

the ideal, it builds first at the top.

New ideals have to be approached through the old. The unfamiliar has to be reached through the familiar. It may indeed be questioned whether there is such a thing as a new ideal. There is an ideal and there is a form through which it is expressed, but when we reach the ideal itself, we have reached the eternal. Here, all humanity is at one. Here, there is neither new nor old, neither own nor foreign. The limiting forms are some old, some new: but the ideal itself knows nothing of time. Yet the expression 'new ideals' has a certain meaning. European poetry, for instance, glorifies and exalts the betrothed maiden. Indian poetry equally idealises the faithful wife. Both are only customary forms through which is reached the supreme conception, that of holiness in woman. Obviously, however, it would be futile to try to lead the imagination of an Indian child to this ideal, through the characteristically European conception, and equally foolish to try to lead the European child through the prevailing Indian form. Yet, when education has done its perfect work, in the emancipation of the imagination towards great and gracious womanhood, it is clear that there will be an instant apprehension of this ideal, even in new forms. The poetry of Tennyson and Browning will at once be understood at its highest and best, by the trained and developed heart and yet it would have been a crime to try to bring up the Indian child on it. Equal would be the folly of trying to educate the European child on Sita and Savitri instead of Beatrice and Joan of Arc, although the same child when grown up, may well test the depth of its own culture by its instant sympathy with the Eastern heroines.

A national education is, first and foremost, an education in the national idealism. We must remember however that the aim of education is emancipation of sympathy and intellect. This is not often reached by foreign methods. But in the exceptional cases of a few individuals it may seem to occur: and

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better emancipation through the foreign, than bondage through our own. By this fact of the attainment of the universal,—must the education ultimately stand justified or condemned. To emancipate the greatest number of people most easily and effectively, it is necessary to choose familiar ideals and forms, and in every case, it is necessary to make progression absolutely continuous, so that there be no sharp incongruity amongst the elements of early experience. Such incongruity begets confusion of thought, and this confusion is educational chaos. A national education then, must be made up of familiar elements. The ideal presented must always be first clothed in a form evolved by our own past. Our imagination must be first based on our own heroic literature. Our hope must be woven out of our history. From the known to the unknown, from the easy to the difficult, must be the motto of every teacher, the rule of every lesson. The familiar is not the goal; knowledge is the goal: trained faculty is the aim. An education that stopped short at the familiar would be a bondage instead of an emancipation; a mockery not a reality. The familiar is merely the first step. But as the first step, it is essential.

Geographical ideas must be built up first through the ideas of India. But they must not stop there. A knowledge of geography would be singularly rustic if it did not include a clear concept of the world, as a whole. And even this is not sufficient. There must, in a complete education, be a release of the geographical faculty, an initiation into geographical enquiry, an inception of geographical research.

Similarly of history. The sense of historic sequence must be trained through India. To that, every thing else historical must stand related. But the history of India must be only a stepping-stone to

constantly-widening circles of knowledge. The history of Mongolian, Semitic, European and African peoples; their civilizations and their movements, must all be followed up. And the crown of this training will be found in the power to interpret anew the old facts, to perceive fresh significance, and unthought-of sequences, and to gather from the story of the past the dynamic forces of the future.

So much for a historical education. It must never be forgotten that nationality in culture is the means, not the end. There is a level of achievement where all the educated persons of the world can meet, understand and enjoy each other's associations. This level is freedom. Intellectually speaking, it is *mukti*. But it can be reached only by him whose knowledge is firm-rooted in love for mother and mother-land, in tender memories of childhood and the early struggle after knowledge, and in an unshakable assurance that the face of God shines brightest and His name sounds sweetest, in the village of his birth.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

THE TRAINING OF THE MIND. THE OBSTRUCTION OF THE SENSES. CHAPTER V.

There are six senses which minister to knowledge, sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste, mind, and all of these except the last, look outward and gather the material of thought from outside through the physical nerves and their end-organs, eye, ear, nose, skin, palate. The perfection of the senses as ministers to thought must be one of the first cares of the teachers. The two things that are needed of the senses are accuracy and sensitiveness. We must first understand what are the obstacles to the accuracy and sensitiveness of the senses, in order that we may take the best steps to remove them.

The cause of imperfection must be understood by those who desire to bring about perfection.

The senses depend for their accuracy and sensitiveness on the unobstructed activity of the nerves which are the channels of their information and the passive acceptance of the mind which is the recipient. In themselves the organs do their work perfectly. The eye gives the right form, the ear the correct sound, the palate the right taste, the skin the right touch, the nose the right smell. This can easily be understood if we study the action of the eye as a crucial example. A correct image is reproduced automatically on the retina, if there is any error in appreciating it, it is not the fault of the organ, but of something else.

The fault may be with the nerve currents. The nerves are nothing but channels, they have no power in themselves to alter the information given by the organs. But a channel may be obstructed and the obstruction may interfere either with the fullness or the accuracy of the information, not as it reaches the organ where it is necessarily and automatically perfect, but as it reaches the mind. The only exception is in case of a physical defect in the organ as an instrument. That is not a matter for the educationist, but for the physician.

If the obstruction is such as to stop the information reaching the mind at all, the result is an insufficient sensitiveness of the senses. The defects of sight; hearing; smell, touch, taste, and anesthesia in its various degrees, are curable when not the effect of physical injury or defect in the organ itself. The obstructions can be removed and the sensitiveness remedied by the purification of the nerve system. The remedy is a simple one which is now becoming more and more popular in Europe for different reasons and objects, the regulation

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of the breathing. This process inevitably restores the perfect and unobstructed activity of the channels and, if well and thoroughly done, leads to a high activity of the senses. The process is called in Yogic discipline, nadi-suddhi, or nerve purification.

The obstruction in the channel may be such as not absolutely to stop in however small a degree, but to distort the information. A familiar instance of this is the effect of fear or alarm on the sense action. The startled horse takes the sack on the road for a dangerous living thing, the startled man takes a rope for a snake, a waving curtain for a ghostly form. All distortions due to actions in the nervous system can be traced to some kind of emotional disturbance acting in the nerve channels. The only remedy for them is the habit of calm, the habitual steadiness of the nerves. This also can be brought about by nadi-suddhi or nerve-purification, which quiets the system, gives a deliberate calmness to all the internal processes and prepares the purification of the mind.

If the nerve channels are quiet and clear, the only possible disturbance of the information is from or through the mind. Now the manas or sixth sense is in itself a channel like the nerves, a channel for communication with the buddhi or brain-force. Disturbance may happen either from above or from below. The information from outside is first photographed on the end organ, then reproduced at the other end of the nerve system in the chitta or passive memory. All the images of sight, sound, smell, touch and taste are deposited there and the manas reports them to the buddhi. The manas is both a sense organ and a channel. As a sense organ it is as automatically perfect as the others, as a channel it is subject to disturbance resulting either in obstruction or distortion.

As a sense organ the mind receives direct thought impressions from outside and from within. These impressions are in themselves perfectly correct, but in their report to the intellect they may either not reach the intellect at all or may reach it so distorted as to make a false or partially false impression. The disturbance may effect the impression which attains the information of the eye, ear, nose, skin or palate, but it is very slightly powerful here, in its effect on the direct impressions of the mind, it is extremely powerful and the chief source of error. The mind takes direct impressions primarily of thought, but also of form, sound, indeed of all the things for which it usually prefers to depend on the sense organs. The full development of this sensitiveness of the mind is called in our Yogic discipline Sukshmadrishti or subtle reception of images. Telepathy, clairvoyance, clairaudience, presentment, thought-reading, character-reading and many other modern discoveries are very ancient powers of the mind which have been left undeveloped, and they all belong to the manas. The development of the sixth sense has never formed part of human training. In a future age it will undoubtedly take a place in the necessary preliminary training of the human instrument. Meanwhile there is no reason why the mind should not be trained to give a correct report to the intellect so that our thought may start with absolutely correct if not with full impressions.

The first obstacle, the nervous emotional, we may suppose to be removed by the purification of the nervous system. The second obstacle is that of the emotions themselves warping the impression as it comes. Love may do this, hatred may do this, any emotion or desire according to its power and intensity may distort the impression as it travels. This diffi-

culty can only be removed by the discipline of the emotions, the purifying of the moral habits. This is a part of moral training and its consideration may be postponed for the moment. The next difficulty is the interference of previous associations, formed or ingrained in the chitta or passive memory. We have a habitual way of looking at things and the conservative inertia in our nature disposes us to give every new experience the shape and semblance of those to which we are accustomed. It is only more developed minds which can receive first impressions without an unconscious bias against the novelty of novel experience. For instance, if we get a true impression of what is happening—and we habitually act on such impressions true or false—if it differs from what we are accustomed to expect, the old association meets it in the chitta and sends a changed report to the intellect in which either the new impression is overlaid and concealed by the old or mingled with it. To go farther into this subject, would be to involve ourselves too deeply into the details of psychology. This typical instance will suffice. To get rid of this obstacle is impossible without chittasuddhi or purification of the mind and mental moral habits formed in the chitta. This is a preliminary process of Yoga and was effected in our ancient system by various means, but would be considered out of place in a modern system of education.

It is clear, therefore, that unless we revert to our old Indian system

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in some of its principles, we must be content to allow this source of disturbance to remain. A really national system of education would not allow itself to be controlled by European ideas in this all important matter. And there is a process so simple and momentous that it can easily be made a part of our system.

It consists in bringing about passivity of the restless flood of thought sensations rising of its own momentum from the passive memory independent of our will and control. This passivity liberates the intellect from the siege of old associations and false impressions. It gives it power to select only what is wanted from the storehouse of the passive memory, automatically brings about the habit of getting right impressions and enables the intellect to dictate to the chitta what sanskaras or associations shall be formed or rejected. This is the real office of the intellect,—to discriminate, choose, select, arrange. But so long as there is not chitta suddhi, instead of doing this office perfectly, it itself remains imperfect and corrupt and adds to the confusion in the mind channel by false judgment, false imagination, false memory, false observation, false comparison, contrast and analogy, false deduction, induction and inference. The purification of the chitta is essential for the liberation, purification and perfect action of the intellect.

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I believe that the present of India is deep-rooted in her past, and that before her shines a glorious future.

O Nationality, come thou to me as joy or sorrow, as honour or as shame! Make me thine own!

MR. HAVELL ON INDIAN ART.

A paper read before the Indian section of Royal society of arts. January 13th Sir George Birdwood in the chair.

Art still survives throughout the length and breadth of India as a part of a great traditional culture, intimately bound up with the religion and daily life of the great mass of the Indian people. In this traditional culture art still is as much a part of national life and education as it was in Europe from the dawn of civilization down to the eighteenth century. Opposed to this view of art as a part of religion, life, and work are two great exotic forces—Western commercialism, in which art is merely an instrument of wealth, and Western education, represented by Anglo-Indian schools and colleges, from which art and religion are almost totally excluded. To these may be added the principles of Anglo-Indian administration, in which art has hitherto been treated as it generally is in modern European life, only as a luxury and means of intellectual recreation or amusement.

THE SCHOOLS OF ART.

Art administration in India is now represented by four Government Schools of Art, which occupy an anomalous position totally isolated from the rest of the administrative machinery. They were originally instituted when Lord Macaulay's view of the worthlessness of all Indian culture governed the whole educational administration, with the intention of bringing, to the benighted East that which academic Europe still believes to be the higher artistic culture of Greece and Italy. But about thirty years ago, through the influence of Sir George Birdwood's writings, different views of artistic policy in India began to prevail at the India Office, and the Secretary of State has since repeatedly affirmed in despatches that the intention of the Schools of Art in India is not to force upon Indians European ideas of art, but to promote the development of Indian art and craft upon their traditional lines.

The ways and means of accomplishing this task may be a matter of opinion, but I do not think that any art teacher would now question the wisdom of the principle which has been thus laid down for the guidance of art schools in India. Every artist in Europe deprecates the tendency of Oriental artists and craftsmen to imitate blindly the products of modern European commercialism, and when some years ago the Japanese Government sent a Commission to Europe for the purpose of

ascertaining what methods of European art teaching could usefully be introduced into Japan, it received the unanimous advice from all the authorities it consulted, both here and on the Continent, to make the traditional art practice the basis of national art education. If this is the right artistic policy for Japan, it is right for India also, and I should imagine that no competent authority would now dispute that the same principle applies to art education in every country. But this clear conception of policy leaves the question of ways and means unanswered, and imposes upon Schools of Art in India a task which, under present circumstances, is totally beyond their power.

In the first place, before any European art expert can qualify himself for the task, he must for understanding the aims of Indian art learn a good deal of Indian art history, philosophy, religion and mythology; and to obtain this knowledge he must spend many years of study, research and travel. But the art expert, who is sent out to India with a despatch from the Secretary of State announcing his mission to promote the revival of Indian art, has his ardour for research considerably damped at the outset by finding that the principle laid down for his guidance is totally opposed to all the traditions of the department of which he is a very subordinate official, and to the settled policy of the great department of State which has the control of the design of public buildings. Even within the narrow limits of his jurisdiction he finds many, and great, difficulties to contend with. The schools are placed, not in the great centres of Indian art and industry, but at the principal seats of government, which are also the centres of Anglo-Indian university life and of European commerce. They are, therefore, quite out of touch with real Indian art, that is, the art which enters into the religion, life, and work of the great mass of the Indian people, outside the very small section known as the "educated" class, or those who have been taught in Anglo-Indian or European schools and colleges.

The great majority of the students who attend the Schools of Art are not properly speaking, art students; they are either drawn from the great artistic and industrial castes which number, roughly, some ten million craftsmen, representing Indian traditional art practice, nor are they, generally, students who have shown any special aptitude for artistic pursuits.

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They are, for the most part, the flotsam and jetsam of the Anglo-Indian university system—students who have either failed to obtain entrance into the university, or who have, for some reason or other been obliged to find some other means of livelihood than those which the university curriculum provides. Because the university excludes art from its scope, and for other reasons which I shall allude to further on, an artistic career in India holds out very small pecuniary inducements. There is only a very limited prospect of Government employment for successful students, and no Indian artist or craftsman has ever yet had any kind of distinction conferred upon him by our Government, though under native rule an artist's was a highly honourable occupation, which received due recognition from the State.

The very fact that the principalship of the Schools of Art has always been held by Europeans, adds to the difficulty of carrying out the policy laid down by the India Office. To send out art experts to India to teach Indian art seems very like sending coals to Newcastle, and it would be so, were it not that Indian art has fallen into such contempt with English-educated Indians that it has hitherto been almost impossible to find an Indian who is at the same time fully acquainted with Indian art tradition, and has sufficient knowledge of English to write departmental reports about it for the information of Government. The students of the art schools naturally expect a European principal to teach European art, and one of the greatest difficulties I had to contend with for many years was the opposition of students and their parents to what seemed to them the retrograde and inconsistent policy of making Indian art the foundation of the entire curriculum of the school. They were willing to accept the proposition that Indian art should be taught in the lower classes, or on what is called the industrial side of the school, but the ambition of every student was to become eventually a portrait painter or sculptor, and obtain prizes at the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition—the Royal Academy of Anglo-India. As a rule, students could only be bribed to remain in the industrial side by scholarships and the prospect of Government employment.

THE TEACHING OF THE FINE ARTS.

The theory that Indian art is only admirable when applied to industrial purposes, and barbaric, or undeveloped, in

the higher flights of artistic expression, which we call the "fine arts," is really at the root of an art teacher's difficulties in India, for as long as this proposition is maintained as the basis of educational policy it is wholly illogical and useless to attempt to teach Indian art at all. It is logical to teach, as Indian schools of art did teach for the first twenty-five years of their existence, that all Indian art is inferior, and that educated Indians should borrow all their artistic ideas from Europe. But it is hopelessly illogical to teach, as we have been teaching for the last twenty-five years, and are still teaching, that Indian applied art is admirable and Indian fine art barbaric. It is utterly useless to expect educated and highly intelligent Indians to draw a distinction between Indian art in its industrial applications and Indian art as applied to sculpture, painting, and architecture. The distinction is purely artificial and academic, and cannot be maintained as a working principle in teaching. If educated Indians accept our teaching that Europe has always excelled Asia in painting, sculpture and architecture, we cannot expect them to share the admiration we reserve for Oriental textiles, pottery, or jewellery.

There are technical considerations which make differences between artistic methods in a carpet, a mosaic, and a fresco painting, but all art is one, and both in Europe and in Asia the æsthetic philosophy which controls the weaver's fingers is the same as that which controls the painter's brushes and the sculptor's chisel. No school of æsthetic thought has ever propounded one philosophy for the carpet weaver, and another for the picture painter and sculptor. Indian art must stand or fall as a complete school of æsthetic philosophy: to maintain as an educational principle that the lower department of it has been successful and the higher a failure is to condemn all Indian art in the eyes of Indians who are capable of forming a considered and reasonable judgment for themselves.

THE MADRAS SCHOOL OF ART.

In Madras School of Art, when I took charge of it in 1884, the system of teaching was, like all other Indian Schools of Art at that time, based upon this illogical reasoning, that while Indian craft

* I found one student in Madras who had been drawing a State scholarship for 17 years. Probably he considered he was qualifying for an old age pension.

must be preserved, Indian fine art was not worth preserving. Indian ideas of design were, to a certain extent, encouraged on the craft side of the School, but in the drawing classes, which all the students attended, Indian art was tabooed, and the usual examples of a South Kensington School of Art—the casts from the antique, the drawing-copies, &c.—were placed before them, and a collection of European paintings belonging to the Madras Fine Arts Society was hung in the picture gallery. Not a single example of the best Indian painting or sculpture was to be found in the school. The natural effect of this system was that even those students who were bribed to work as craftsmen by payments in the shape of Government scholarships took no real interest in their work. Public opinion among educated Indians, as well as among most Anglo-Indians, condemned all Indian art as inferior, so the highest ambition of every student was to learn as much as possible of European art, or rather to imitate as faithfully as possible the European examples which the school provided. I found on my arrival a pupil-teacher, on the school staff, whose father was one of the most skilful goldsmiths in Madras, diligently engaged in making shaded drawings from the antique in the most approved South Kensington fashion, and his great pride was, not that he was himself a good goldsmith, but that he had won prizes at the Madras Fine Arts Exhibition for still-life painting in oil.

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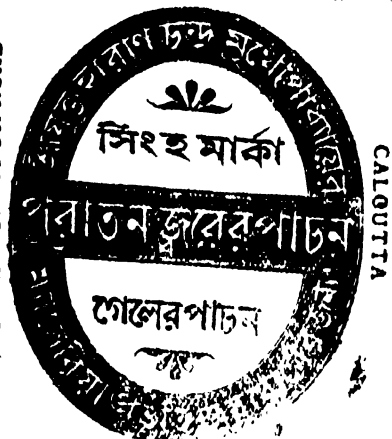
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Though I was strongly convinced at that time, without any deep study of Indian art, that the system was fundamentally unsound, it was not easy for a young official, in a very subordinate position in the educational service, to reverse entirely the policy of his predecessors in the face of a strong public and official opinion, and but for the sympathy and encouragement of the then Governor of Madras, Sir Mountsart Elphinstone Grant Duff, I should have given up the attempt in despair at the beginning of my official career. As it was, I was compelled to make some compromise. The Madras Fine Arts Society removed its pictures from the Art Gallery; Indian examples were introduced throughout the school, both in the workshops and in the drawing classes; the "antique" casts were undisturbed, but were not used in the drawing classes except by a very few students, mostly Europeans, who paid higher fees to learn picture painting and sculpture. I must congratulate Mr. Hadaway, the present Principal, on having got rid of them altogether, and I am glad to hear that he is carrying out further reforms, which I was not able to accomplish in teaching during the time I was in charge.

THE CALCUTTA SCHOOL OF ART.

In the Madras School of Art the question of the teaching of the fine arts did not become a pressing one, because the school was essentially a craft school; and with the help of some very excellent Indian craftsmen as teachers, and by offering inducements to the sons of craftsmen, it was possible to maintain Indian traditions in the workshops both with regard to drawing and design. But when I came to take charge of the Calcutta School of Art in 1890 I found that the question could not be shelved. The conditions were much more hopeless than they were in Madras. The organisation and equipment of the school was entirely that of a fourth-rate provincial art school in England thirty years ago. The methods of teaching and the examples were precisely the same. In Madras a fair proportion of students belonged to the castes of traditional handicraft, but in Calcutta the students were for the most part sons of Bengali teachers, clerks, and most landed proprietors, who either from want of means, or other reasons, had no prospect of Government employment through a university career. A considerable section of the best students joined only for the purpose of learning picture painting, and, as not a single student belonged to the artisan castes, it was impossible for me to do as I did in Madras—maintain the school as a craft

school only. It was equally impossible to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of State to make Indian art the basis of the teaching, when the students had no access to good Indian examples. As in Madras, the art gallery attached to the school contained only European pictures, a collection much inferior to that of many small provincial towns in England, but it was not so easy to reverse the policy of my predecessors in this case, as it was a Government collection which had been inaugurated under Viceregal patronage. After some difficulty I obtained the consent of the committee of the gallery to commence an Indian section; but it was not until a good many years afterwards, when the latter was well established and contained many striking original examples of Indian paintings, bronzes, &c., that I ventured to ask Government to provide sufficient funds for extending the Indian section by selling the collection of European pictures. When the latter were finally put up for sale a considerable outcry was raised in the Bengali press because it was said that through ignorance and incapacity as a teacher of European art I was lowering the standard of the school. In the school itself I met with a storm of opposition from the students, who were secretly supported by some members of the staff trained on old system. At one time only one student was left on the school benches while the rest were holding mass meetings in the *maidan* outside. Some of the ex-students combined with these rebels to open an opposition establishment, paradoxically called "the Indian Art School," so that such knowledge of the European methods as they possessed should not be lost to the citizens of Calcutta by my reactionary policy. Such proceedings may seem to be very ludicrous and unreasonable, but are easy to understand when it is considered that very few Bengalis in Calcutta had ever had an opportunity of seeing any good specimens of indigenous art, and that for generations all art students and English educated Indians had been taught to believe that Indian art was only a relic of a semibarbarous age.

FIRST EFFECT OF THE NEW POLICY IN ART-TEACHING.

An educational policy, however plausible it may seem in theory, must always be justified by results, and in this respect the new departure I ventured to make in the teaching of fine art in Calcutta has more than fulfilled my most sanguine expectation. For fifty years the Indian Schools of Art, under the old European system of teaching, had not produced a teacher qualified to take entire charge of one of them, and hardly a single original painter of conspicuous ability, judged by modern European standards. The effect of the new system of taking students back to their own national traditions was as astonishing as that of the first downpour of the monsoon rains upon the parched vegetation of the sun-baked Indian soil. The collection of Indian paintings which I started in the Calcutta Art Gallery immediately attracted the attention of a highly gifted art student, Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore, whose name as an original artist and the founder of the new school of Indian painting, is now well-known to artists both in Europe and Japan through reproductions in "The Studio" and in "The Kokka." This collection was as much a revelation to him as it was to myself, and has been to other European artists who have seen it. It changed entirely the direction of his artistic studies from the usual academic routine of Europe which had had such a deadening influence upon the originality of all Indian art students up to that time. When some years afterwards, I was fortunate enough to secure his co-operation in the school work, he quickly drew round him a small band of pupils whose brilliant work in an astonishingly short time has compelled the attention of the Anglo-Indian and Indian public.

This new school, founded on a revival of Indian traditions of painting and sculpture, will, I am convinced, have a far-reaching influence which will not be confined to the fine arts. It is a school of idealist, for otherwise it would not be Indian. The idealist popularly supposed to be an unpractical person and in our Indian administration is generally regarded with grave suspicion. Yet I would venture to

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maintain that most of the 'unnecessary difficulties which we have created for ourselves in India have been those of the practical man ignorantly trampling on Indian ideals. It certainly has been the practical men who are responsible for all the injury which we have done to Indian art and craft in the last fifty years. It is the practical men who have vainly tried in India to detach the fine arts from the industrial arts, believing that we can impose upon India European ideals in the former without destroying all Indian tradition in the latter. It is the practical men who, in the name of scientific progress, have helped to ruin Indian handicrafts, and still continue to be so, in spite of the lessons they might learn from the industrial history of modern Europe.

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS.

Indian handicraft means, economically, for India by far the most important factor in the sum total of her present existing industry, after agriculture. It is impossible to give exact figures, because official statistics of Indian industry have hitherto ignored this vital fact, and have given very few precise particulars of industry in India except of that created by European commercialism. But it is nevertheless a fact that the sum total of the outturn of all European industry in India represents a smaller economic asset than that of the greatest of Indian handicrafts—hand-loom weaving.

Handicraft is still the backbone of the Indian industrial organisation, and, as Sir George Birdwood said in the discussion which followed Mr. Cecil Burn's paper, read before this Society last May, "the Indian craftsmen to this day are intrinsically, in every respect, capable of sustaining their reputation of the past in its greatest periods, to its highest pitch." The statement of the Principal of the Bombay School of Art that the ancient handicraft of India is as dead as that of the Greeks, or as that of the Renaissance in Europe, may seem to be an emphatic contradiction to this assertion. Yet it may be accepted as almost literal truth, so far as the British administration of India is concerned. Except for the work of a few Schools of Art, where, as Sir George Birdwood truly observe, "they have been from time to time degraded from their higher objects, and debased to the status of commercial factories, for the purpose of providing an income out of the penurious pocket of the globe-trotter in

part payment of the cost of their maintenance by the State," and except for occasional spasmodic and unorganised efforts to display Indian handicraft in local and international exhibitions, the British administration has always regarded Indian handicraft as dead and buried. The work done inside the Indian Schools of Art has not yet touched the edge of Indian industry, and can never do so, under their present organisation. The best craftwork ever produced in an Indian art school has only rarely equalled, and never excelled, the best which can be and is still being produced by the handicraftsmen who remain entirely outside the influence of our modern educational schemes.

(To be Continued.)

THE INFLUENCE OF MUSALMAN ART ON THE ARTS OF WESTERN EUROPE.*

Oriental influence on the arts of the west, especially well-established in the case of architectural monuments, long ago became an archaeological axiom. But all who have referred to it have thought chiefly of the Byzantine influence.

We do not need to consider this question (here), and putting aside all the oriental influences which have reached us through Byzantine art and that indirect route, we shall limit our discussion to the forms of definitely Musalman character met with in our art, and by this line of study alone, we shall find it possible to define the influences directly felt.

Seen from this point of view, the question is rather novel. Suspected vaguely by Viollet le Duc, apprehended to a limited extent by Emeric David, Merimee and by De Coumond, almost established, by Longperier, outlined by Courajob, it has only been recently made the subject of precise statements and general conclusions, thanks to the excellent work M. Emile Bertaux on the monuments of Central Italy, and to the two chapters so full of facts and ideas which Jean Marquet de Vasselot has devoted to it in the General History of Art edited by Andre Michel.

The artistic influence of Islam made itself felt in Europe from the commencement of its supremacy in the East Mediterranean area. From Carolingian times, Arabarquas had ventured west as far as the Atlantic, and the most remote countries in the Western world seem to have henceforward made their contribu-

tion to Musalman trade. Coins of the Omniads (i.e. of the second half of the seventh century) have been found not only in Russia and Poland, but even as far as Denmark and Sweden. It seems evident, though the rarity of examples rather diminished the strength of the argument, that many objects of sumptuary art used in Europe had an Oriental origin.

One of the first decorative motifs which the West borrowed from the East of the *hew* or *scared tree*, an object of worship, symbol of immortality and future life, which we find amongst the Assyrians and Sassanian Persians rarely represented by itself, more often flanked by animals 'affronted' or 'back to back', as in the mosaics of Germigny des Pres, Lothair's Gospel and Charles the Bald's Bible in the National Library, and the capital in the crypt of Saint-Laurent of Grenoble. Very often, the Western artist, not understanding it, has perceptibly altered the original motif, either by making a simple palmette of it, or by placing it between a hare and a pursuing archer, showing thus his ignorance of the former law of symmetry. The struggle of two animals,—almost always one above the other,—appears already on rare examples such as the ivory plaque of Tutilo, in the treasure of St. Gall or the reliquary of Gellone; as well as the conventional flower transmitted by the Assyrians to the Persians, and by them to the Byzantines in the mosaic of Germigny des Pres.

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These Musalman influences, clear though rather rare in the early middle ages, become insistent and numerous in the Romanesque period: (1) owing to the continued arrival of Eastern work, (2) because of the increasing facility with which the Western craftsmen assimilated them.

The decorative motifs which entered into Western arts in the Romanesque period are still (forms of) the *hom* or *roze* of life, recognizable in many Romanesque capitals, usually flanked by affronted animals in the miniatures and textiles. When they did not understand the motif properly, Western artists sometimes suppressed it and directly affronted the animals, or set them back to back.

The *fire altar* or *pyre*, such as we meet with in the cope of St. Etienne of Chignon, or on St. Bertrand's winding sheet at the church of La Couture de Mans is not clearly recognizable in any monument of the Romanesque period.

A common motif on certain Musalman textiles is that of an animal having two heads attached to one body. It is met with on many Romanesque capitals, in the Museum at Beauvais, at St. Gildas of Ruy, at Moissac, at Angoulême, at San Ambrogio in Milan, and in manuscripts.

The animals devouring each other in Romanesque art are derived from two sources: Western barbaric art which represents them linked in rows, biting each other, or devised in knots: and the Musalman art which represents them mounted upon each other in isolated groups. It is in this way that the motif appears in the capitals of Notre-Dame du t'y, of Sainte-Eutrope at Saintes, and in Saint Sever manuscript of the Apocalypse.

The eagle with wings displayed, in the textile fabric of Saint-Germain d' Auxerre, in certain Arabian rock-crystals, or some ivory coffers is found on capitals at Morienval, at Tracy le Val, Ronceray d' Angers, at Issoire, and on the enamel cases of the coffin of Saint-Foy at Conques. The two-headed eagle appears on the pinnacles of a pillar from Moissac, and on a capital in the Toulouse Museum.

Musalman art had impressed on the Sassanians (who had already treated it under Chosros II at Taghe Bostan), the griffin, a mythical beast, which adds the head and wings of a bird and the tail of a serpent to the body of a lion. We find this griffin in the capitals of Bayeux, Couture at Mans, Fontevault, Notre Dame du Port at Clermont, Moissac. The human-headed bird, another mythical monster, is met with in the churches of Mans, Poitiers, Aulnay, Saint Benoit (Vienna), Saint Anthony, and Saint Michael at Bayeux.

Quoted from the French of M. Gaston Migeon by A. K. Choudhary.

The elephant, (corresponding to the Indian chess pawn), which we see in the National Library, or on the winding sheet of Charlemagne at Aix-le-Chapelle, is met with in the capitals of Montereux of Poitiers, Aulnay, the Trinity of Caen, and in the German or Flemish chandeliers, where the animal bears a tower on its back.

As for the conventional flower, rare in Musalman art before the 12th century, and common after the 13th century, and adopted quite early by Byzantine artists it is very difficult to say if we owe it directly to Musalman art, or indirectly to Byzantine. We meet it continually in the Limousin champleve enamels.

There is also a special way of representing the leaf which the Musalmans borrowed perhaps from the Byzantines. The foliage has a common stem regularly curved, with symmetrical leaves on right and left, ornamenting the hollow of the curve; these leaves have one side smooth, the other with three or four teeth which correspond to the hollowing of the surface. J. Marquet de Vasselot, who has very cleverly analysed this motif cut on Musalman rock-crystals, or engraved on ivory elephants, has found it on bas-reliefs at Viviers, on capitals at the Trinity at Caen, at Aubin d' Angers, at Saint-Sernan at Bordeaux, and, in the Toulouse Museum.

The epigraphic element, employed without meaning, in a purely ornamental way played a rather large part in Romanesque decoration, as Longperier and Courajod have already shown. In the Saint-Sever manuscript of the Apocalypse, in the National Library the borders of the front-piece present a very striking imitation of 11th century mural inscriptions. Longperier has compared them with the inscription on a mural tomb in adajoz, dated 1045.

In the door-frame at Notre-Dame in Velay there appears an inscription in degenerate Cufi characters. The name, "Petrus Epi (scopus)" corresponds well enough with that of Bishop Peter II (1050-1073). Round the door of the church of La Voute Chilhac (Haute-Loire), there likewise runs a decorated ribbon with ornament continually repeated, consisting only of deformed Cufic characters. Similar observations have been made in the capitals of the Toulouse Museum, St. Guilhem in the Desert, the door of the tomb of Bohemond (d. 1111) at Canossa, on the altar-piece of Klosterneuberg, and round neck of the beautiful Alpas Pyx in the Apollo Gallery at the Louvre.

Finally in some cases Western craftsmen have gone farther, and in their work have literally copied certain Oriental objects, as in some of the capitals at the cathedral of Chartres.

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As M. Jean Martens has observed, the decorative art of the Middle Ages, which was not then charged with artistic value, but their extreme ornamentality, which was suited to their incapacity for rendering the complexity of nature, and to the ease with which they imitated without understanding.

In Gothic times and until the Renaissance, it is easy to find still in many objects of Western industrial art, frequent traces of the influence which the decorative formulas of the Mussalman, East exercised upon them. They are recognizable in many examples of copper casting known as Dimanderias, in the beautiful decorated silk textiles of the Italian workshops, and in the first efforts of Italian potters. This last matter has been especially studied by Mr. Wallis, who has very critically studied the artistic permeation produced in Italy through Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa and Venice, allowing the products of Oriental pottery to find a place in the Italian markets, to inspire archaic and savage pottery like those which Professor Argenti found in the trenches at Faenza, inspired by the engraved pottery of the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and to be used in architectural ornament. There have actually been found bowls or fragments of oriental pottery, enclosed in external church walls of the 13th and 14th century, whilst on the other hand the importation of pottery from Spain (a rebound of the Oriental influence) was so very extensive that the very word Majol derived from the name of Majorca, was at once adopted as the term for every kind of pottery, and the very workshops of Italy started from those productions of lustre earthenware to achieve those marvels which the workshops of Derita and Gubbio have produced as masterpieces for ever.

In the remarkable enquiry which M. Paul Bertaux has undertaken there readily amongst the monuments of Central Italy, every instance of perceptible Oriental influence is noted, on the tomb of Bohemond, Prince of Austria at Canosa, which tomb, with its cupola on the square plan of a funerary monument with door of bronze damascened with silver, seems quite in the Mussalman style. At the church of Montevergine, where the sacerdotal chair is made of wooden panels carved with animal medallions, quite like Egyptian minivers; at Carsoli in the Abruzzi, where the door of a little church shows separate bands of sculpture in which Cufic characters are imitated; in the portal of the cathedral of Trani; in the pulpit of Bitonto; and in the candeliers at Amalfi, (the same thing is to be observed).

These evidences of the influence of Oriental art can be traced even in much more modern times, in the 16th century, (even) when the insistent influence of classic antiquity eclipsed everything else, and in the 17th and 18th centuries when a new factor appeared, viz., the taste for eastern goods; and until the present day. Moreover, the last word in this matter has not been said, and it would be impossible to too strongly recommend the study of the arts of Islam to decorative artists and workmen. In the great beauty of its formulas, by its fancy, always kept in bounds by the most strict logical laws, by the glowing brilliancy of its colour there is no art which offers greater decorative richness and more sovereign harmony. It contains fruitful seeds which may if transplanted bring forth abundantly.

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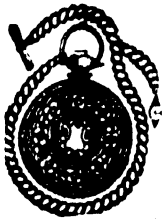
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 প্রণীত ১০, কল্লোবর (বকীর মহাভাগনগণের
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 ১ম খণ্ড ১/০, ২য় খণ্ড ১/০, কালীরাবদাসের
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No. 37.

PASSING THOUGHTS.

—000—

Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

The *utsava* of Ramakrishna Paramahansa is an event that annually stirs Calcutta to its depths. Year after year the number increases, of those who believe that the birth of the sage of Dukshinেশ্বর has been the critical event of the present age, in India. Some believe this, for one reason; others for another. The devotee sees in him the last of the Avatars. The historian sees the key-stone of the idea that constitutes Hinduism. The partisan feels that he satisfies all parties and conflicts with none. The philosopher finds him the living embodiment of the highest Vedanta. And even amongst the workers, there are some who derive from the spectacle of his birth, the faith that inspires and sanctions all their struggles.

What is a Nationalist?

For a nationalist may be described as one who believes that the light has already shone upon us. He is not waiting for someone to arrive, for God to remember His India, for the leader of the age and the heroes to be born. In the eyes of the nationalist, all this has been done for us already, and it remains with us to work out the trust laid upon us. We have every opportunity that a people ever had. We have nothing more to ask for, nothing more to

wait for. Ours is only to love and work and suffer, and struggling to the last with all our might, secure in the conviction that the Great Power which bore us will bear others also, and round out in fulness of fruition the lives brought forth.

Some such faith is an absolute necessity, to those who pledge themselves to a cause, for life and for death. Our own action is limited and guided by our own vision, our own opinion, our own knowledge. Others, with a different, or a defective experience act variously: some in ways of which we do not approve; some in ways that are proved mistaken; and others by methods that are mutually destructive. A certain hope and joy is essential to all work. It would take a Titan like Bhishma himself, to throw his whole heart into a loving cause, a cause that he knew belonged neither to God nor the future. Mere mortals are not so made. The nation maker, therefore, works to his utmost; but he must be free to realise the while that very little depends on him, that his work achieves significance only from that immense current of destiny that is working through him and his efforts, and that, whatever outward form it might take, it would, so long as it was whole-hearted and sincere be carried in the self-same way, on that self-same stream.

Super-consciousness the ground of action.

In other words, behind the best work lies a quiet super-consciousness—knowledge that the work itself is not the great thing, but the spirit that speaks in it. It is the purpose of help and redemption, the pitying love, the steadfast hope, that determines the value of the act. The deed itself, the work performed is merely apparent, and does not count, in comparison with the thought-force sent out, and the spiritual energy generated. God is working through many people to-day, in different ways, and though mistakes may entail suffering, and hatred is a mistake, yet even these defects cannot retard the onward march of what has been begun.

Who then, are to be condemned?

Are we then to condemn no one? Are all to be held equally useful, equally valuable, since, whether they will or not, God works through all equally? Is the renegade to be pardoned, and the traitor treated as a saint? Very much the contrary. We are not to ask that a man stand with us, but we are always to demand that he stand with God. Here there must be no slackness. The politician and extremist, the religious and the Swadeshi worker, the social reformer and the ultra-orthodox can all co-operate, as long as they can heartily respect each other's characters. It is this the

only possible foundation for common faith and work. Once let the character be found questionable, however, and the worker is better passed on one side. If the heart of a man be divided in its allegiance, that man is not the mouthpiece of God. Honest conviction and sincerity of purpose are all that is necessary; but conversely, we cannot be too stern and clear in our condemnation of dishonesty, treachery, or insincerity.

Nationality will be the synthesis of all righteous forms of effort, but it has neither hope nor heaven to offer to the man who makes and teaches a lie. On the one side infinite charity, on the other unrelenting condemnation. Idling is bad enough in the day of our need and opportunity. But deceit and falsehood of intention are not to be condoned.

Common Fallacies.

A lie that we often hear, is the lazy man's promise that God will some day send us an Avatar to rouse and aid us. These are the fallacies of sluggards, who would turn over in their comfortable beds, and dream that they are safe. Face to face with the great life of Dakshineswar, it is difficult to put up with such fatuous self-assurance. Said the pots, discussing their future destiny, and alarmed at the prospect of possible breakage, "Tush! the potter is a good fellow! It will be well!" Of this quality is the faith of the man who is looking for a future divine revelation, before he stirs. The revelation will come. The world throbs with such, hourly. But it will pass the slumberer by. "Rascal!" said Tota Pur to—"Fire is burning before your door, and you have come to the sands of the Nerbada for heat!" The world could not bear a second birth like that of Ramkrishna Paramahansa, in five hundred years. The mass of thought that he has left, has first to be transformed into experience; the spiritual energy given forth has to be converted into achievement. Until this is done, what right have we to ask for more? What could we do with more?

The place of religion in India.

Religion always, in India, precedes national awakenings. Sankaracharya was the beginning of a era that swept round the whole country, culminating in Chaitanya

in Bengal, the Sikh Gurus in the Punjab, Sivaji in Maharashtra, and Ramanuja and Madhavacharya in the South. Through each of these, a people sprang into self-realisation, into national energy, and consciousness of their own unity. Sri Ramkrishna represents a synthesis, in one person, of all the leaders. It follows that the movements of his age will unify and organise the more provincial and fragmentary movements of the past.

Ramkrishna Paramahansa is the epitome of the whole. His was the great super-conscious life which alone can witness to the infinitude of the current that bears us all ocean-wards. He is the proof of

the Power behind us, and the future before us. So great a birth initiates great happenings. Many are to be tried as by fire, and not a few will be found to be pure gold; but whatever happens, whether victory or defeat, speedy fulfilment or prolonged struggle, the fact that he has been born and lived here in our midst, in the sight and memory of men now living, is proof that God hath sounded forth the trumpet
That shall never call retreat!

He is sifting out the hearts of men
Before His judgment seat:
Oh, be swift my soul, to answer Him,
Be jubilant, my feet!
While God is marching on!

THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY

JULIA WARD HOWE.

— o o o —
Mine eyes have seen the glory of the
coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage where the
grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His
terrible swift sword,
His Truth is marching on!

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred
circling camps;
They have buikled Him an altar in the evening
dews and damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim
and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on!

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall
never call retreat,
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His
judgment-seat;
Oh, be swift my soul to answer Him, be
jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on!

THE NEW HINDUISM.

— o o —
Every new period in our political history creates a new period in Hindu worship. The ideas that surround us from our birth are like geological strata, piled one upon another, and each bearing the marks of the time in which it rose. A crisis so important as the present, must, in its turn, leave a deep impression on our religion, thought and customs. It is, of course, understood that the new, if it is to be persistent, must be constituted by a return upon the old. It must

form a development, not an invention. This is why we do not notice that we are living in the midst of a new Hinduism. The new Hinduism is merely the old, finding new utterance and application. When we read the great pronouncements of Vivekananda, they are so like the words of our own grandparents heard in our childhood, that we fail to remember that they are being spoken in the midst of a foreign people, and falling upon strange ears. This fact that our religion now stands before the world, demanding its rightful place,—determined to find the souls that belong

to it, even if it have to seek for them to the ends of the earth—is in itself a revolution, of a most profound and searching character. It is a revolution, moreover, that no one dreams of denying. All the world admits that it has taken place. But true revolutions never stop with themselves. They are like the first circles formed on the water, when a stone is thrown. They go on and on, producing other circles. Similarly, every revolution is the source of rhythmic changes in the society in which it occurs, which go on and on, producing secondary and tertiary changes, to the end of the epoch, when they are swallowed up and re-energised by the nuclear forces of the succeeding age.

A movement of national dimensions must have a new philosophical idea behind it, which will, however, be new in appearance only being really an immense dynamic concentration and re-birth of all that is already familiar to the people. In it, the nation recognises, with pride and delight, its own, the national, genius. Every man knows that he and his ancestors have contributed to the making, developing and conserving, of this, the national, treasure. A thrill of self-reliance passes across a whole people. Their feet tread firmer, their heads are held higher, they feel for the first time, the gigantic power that surges within them.

For fifteen hundred years, at least the Gita has been, amongst all our texts preeminently the national scripture. Today it stands, like a new discovery, as the gospel of the national revival. But this newness is only an optical illusion, arising from the accident that today for the first time, we can compare it with the other scriptures of the world, and so view it in its wholeness. Seen thus, we find that it stands alone. Wherever we open it, we find it talking of the Presence that pervades all things, the one that throbs throughout the Many, the vast and shadowy Infinite, that cannot be named or measured, seen or touched, yet solves all mysteries, and bestows all freedom. Other faiths deal with fragmentary experiences, and symptomatic emotions; here alone we are on the ground of the all-comprehensive, the universal,

the absolute. No wonder that a six-weeks reading of it stirred the American Emerson to the writing of the greatest of all his works, the essay on the "Over-Soul." If the national intellect be capable, in many fields, of achievements as great as this in religion, where is the limit to the power of the Indian mind? "He that is with us is more than all the hosts of them that be against us."

But it is not only in religious philosophy, that the influence of the present age and its problems is likely to make an indelible impression. It will re-act also upon our ritual and ceremonial life. There is no doubt that Hindu worship needs badly some means of corporate and organised democratic expression. The little service that is held nightly at the tree beside the Howrah Bridge, derives all its popularity from the fact that it tends unconsciously to supply this need. One great reason for the success of Chaitanya in Bengal, lay in the fact that his *Sankirtans*, with their singing and ecstatic dancing, afforded means of self-expression to the populace. Nor can it be doubted that the organised services of the Brahmo Samaj are a great basis of their popularity.

All the parts of a Christian church are represented in a Hindu temple, showing that even the architecture of Christianity comes from the East. But the national genius of Christian peoples for organised co-operation has been reflected even in their worship, and the nat-mandir, or choir, is placed, with them, directly in front of the sanctuary, or temple proper, while the nave, or court of the people is in front of the choir or nat-mandir. The whole is bound together under a single roof, and the building narrows at the choir, so that it and the sanctuary stand alone, with the people before them, at their feet. The effect of this arrangement is that the building, from whatever point we view it, culminates in the altar, and that the people, however far away they be, still form an integral and necessary part of every service and act of worship.

It is important that we also should evolve services in which the people are conceived of as an essential and unseparably factor, fully articulate, and taking a recognised

part in an organised worship. For this, we must re-scrutinise our old rites, and try to restore to them their ancient complex meanings, of the ages before the priest alone became the repository and executor of sacramental acts. Doubtless this new tendency will affect our ecclesiastical architecture, in course of time. For us, however, at the moment, this is of no consequence, being merely an effect. What we have to think of, is the setting in motion of causes. Just as in the family ceremonies, different members of the family—the father, the mamma, the women, other, mother-in-law—and sisters-in-law have each their appointed function and individual part, so in this civic and national ritual of the future, different sections of the people must play their allotted parts. We cannot imagine a Service of Civic Praise here in Calcutta, for instance, in which possibly a *pradakshina* of the municipal boundaries might be performed, and a great fire of consecration lighted, on some specially sanctified spot, unless all the various parts of Calcutta were fully represented. Nor could anything be grander than a great civic anthem in which the men of Bhowanipur, Entally Burra Bazar and the rest, each section headed by their own Brahmins, should all chant separate stanzas, each ending in the united acclamations of the whole city.

The *pradakshina* in an incipient procession, and the value of the procession, for purposes of communal ritual, is obvious. Lights, banners, *shanks*, bells, *Varres* the carrying of flowers and branches, and the sprinkling of Ganges water, all have their place in such celebrations. India is the land of processions. It ought not to be difficult so to develop this rite, as to give it a new and unforeseen significance. The beautiful ceremonies of Hindu weddings are full of suggestions. The reciting of texts and litanies in antiphon, that is to say, by two parties of worshippers, as question and answer, or in alternation, as responses, to sentences of exhortation by the priest, is a most impressive mode of democratic worship. The prayer-drama organises the worshippers and creates a communal ideal. In these ceremonies, the India,

earth, water, and banner ought to be the supreme symbols, winning all hearts, by their very simplicity and pathos. We shall not be able to return upon this subject. We therefore commend it to the consideration of our readers, calling for their personal attention.

WOMAN IN MODERN INDIA.

The saying that Indian regeneration will come through Indian women is growing hackneyed. The words are found on the lips of many who have not troubled to think clearly what they mean. The fact is, by the education of women we mean to-day her civilisation. The problem of the age, for India, as we have constantly insisted, is to supersede the family, as a unit, and even as a form of consciousness, by the civitas, the civic and national unity. This cannot be done by men, as men, alone. It is still more necessary that it should be done by women. In all questions of the moral and personal life, woman is a far greater factor than man. In her care lies the synthesis of life. As she determines the character of the home, out of which man goes forth to his day's labour, so also it is her conception of what life as a whole should be that dominates and creates the world. Man is only a clever child; in woman's care and keeping is the well of life. It follows that while man must always take the lead in special departments of activity, it is at the same time of the highest importance that general scheme of life should be understood by the women of a community, and should not be such as to shock and outrage their sense of right. We all know how important it is to individual women that men and women should be in perfect accord, and we can well believe that if a community is to put forth its utmost energy in any given direction, it will be necessary that its men and its women should be combined in the one great effort.

This is our position to-day. We are determined to initiate new developments. For this, it is essential that we make our own material, and of all our material, none is in this sense so important as the women. A great deal of our nationalising energy, therefore, has to be given, during the coming years, to making the women of our families more devoted to the country than they are, even to their fathers, husbands, and brothers, and qualified to judge still better what will serve the welfare of the nation, than as to that of the family. This is all, the essence of the whole matter. It amounts to the reception of a new idea, for our women have not been accustomed to think much of larger areas than the village at utmost. The impingement of new ideas creates enormous energy. It is likely, therefore, that those who are really touched, will show the fact at once, by an eagerness to be taught reading and writing. It is obvious that if they can once read they will be in a position to feed their own national sense for themselves. But many will be too old, or will not have the faculty, to master the new methods of knowledge. Not on this account are any to be passed by. Reading and writing are not in themselves education. The power to use them well is vastly more important than the things themselves. A woman in whom the great compassion is awakened, a woman who understands the national history, a woman who has made some of the great *tirthas* and has a notion of what her country looks like, is much more truly and deeply educated than one who has merely read much. "Awake! Awake!" means, first of all, awake to the great multiform consciousness, let everything that is Indian breathe and eat and work through you. Identify yourself, in thought, day by day, with all sorts of strange beings and strange interests, recognising that they, with you, possess equally the common home. Dedicate some part of every *pooja*, to this thought of the Mother who is *Shardesh*. Lay a few flowers before Her, pour out a little water in Her

name. Think of Her children, your own kindred, who are one in need. Let your hearts go out in infinite pity. "Mother and Motherland," says the proverb, "is better than Swarga." Ah, the sorrow for those who are ahungered, and cannot feel this joy! "Awake! Awake!" Rise up and get ye knowledge, womanhood of India! womanhood of Bengal! Learn of your own past. Only so can you realise your future. Learn of your country and her needs. Only by this can you train your judgement, your will, and power of choice. Only by growing knowledge can the heart be enriched, and thought become clearer. "Awake! Awake!" Be free and work. Let selflessness guide the hand, and love inspire the will. So shall no sacrifice be defeated, and every movement shall avail. No bondage shall hinder those who have risen to this height. No ignorance shall stand. No vastness of the task before them shall dismay. *Bande Mataram*. All the problems of to-day have to be attacked on a national scale. The problem of problems is the achievement of nationality itself. But in this matter of the education of women, it will be well if our men can remember exactly what part of the task is its core and essence. Let us talk with our womenkind about the affairs of the country. Let us appeal constantly to the growing judgment and enthusiasm. Let us create these qualities in them, if they do not already exist, by believing steadfastly in the *Atman* who is within all. The doctrine of the divinity of the human soul has no meaning whatever if it is not this, that each one of us—man or woman, high or low, learned or ignorant,—is in spirit the Pure, the Free, the All-wise, and that the one help we can render another is to evoke this realisation in its fullness.

Daily the life of our Indian womanhood is shrinking. Day by day, their scope is being lessened. Unless we can capture for them the new world of expression, they will steadily continue to lose more and more of the world they had. If Sita and Savitri are ever again to be born of Indian mothers, we must create new types for them; suited to the requirements of the modern age. Gandhari must live again, with new names to think of, but all the ancient faith and courage, stead-

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fastness and sacrifice. Damayanti must return, and Draupadi, fit wife for Yudisthira, king of justice. Awake! Awake! greatness of Indian womanhood must be the cry of Indian men.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION. SENSE-IMPROVEMENT BY PRACTICE. CHAPTER VI.

Another cause of the inefficiency of the senses as gatherers of knowledge is insufficient use. We do not observe sufficiently or with sufficient attention and closeness and a sight, sound, smell, even touch or taste knocks in vain at the door for admission. This tamasic inertia of the receiving instruments is no doubt due to the inattention of the buddhi, and therefore its consideration may seem to come properly under the training of the functions of the intellect, but it is more convenient, though less psychologically correct, to notice it here. The student ought to be accustomed to catch the sights, sounds, etc. around him, distinguish them, mark their nature, properties and sources and fix them in the chitta so that they may be always ready to respond when called for by the memory.

It is a fact which has been proved by minute experiments that the faculty of observation is very imperfectly developed in men, merely from want of care in the use of the senses and the memory. Give twelve men the task of recording from memory something they all saw two hours ago and the accounts will all vary from each other and from the actual occurrence. To get rid of this imperfection will go a long way towards the removal of error. It can be done by training the senses to do their work perfectly, which they will do readily enough if they know the buddhi requires it of them, and giving sufficient attention to put the facts in their right place and order in the memory.

Attention is a factor in knowledge, the importance of which has been always recognised. Attention is the first condition of right memory and of

accuracy. To attend to what he is doing, is the first element of discipline required of the student, and, as I have suggested, this can easily be secured if the object of attention is made interesting. This attention to a single thing is called concentration. One truth is, however, sometimes overlooked, that concentration on several things at a time is often indispensable. When people talk of concentration, they imply centring the mind on one thing at a time; but it is quite possible to develop the power of double concentration, triple concentration, multiple concentration. When a given incident is happening, it may be made up of several simultaneous happenings or a set of simultaneous circumstances, a sight, a sound, a touch or several sights, sounds, touches occurring at the same moment or in the same short space of time. The tendency of the mind is to fasten on one and mark others vaguely, many not at all or, if compelled to attend to all, to be distracted and mark none perfectly. Yet this can be remedied and the attention equally distributed over a set of circumstances in such a way as to observe and remember each perfectly. It is merely a matter of abhyasa or steady natural practice.

It is also very desirable that the hand should be capable of coming to the help of the eye in dealing with the multitudinous objects of its activity so as to ensure accuracy. This is of an use so obvious and imperatively needed, that it need not be dwelt on at length. The practice of imitation by the hand of the thing seen is of use both in detecting the lapses and inaccuracies of the mind in noticing the objects of sense and in registering accurately what has been seen. Imitation by the hand ensures accuracy of observation. This is one of the first uses of drawing and it is sufficient in itself to make the teaching of this subject a necessary part of the training of the organs.

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CONVERSATIONS OF THE DEAD.

—:O:—

Two Souls in Pitri-lok.

First Soul: How weary am I of the subtle pleasures of this long existence! Satiated with sweetness, fanned by southern breezes, surrounded by wondrous gardens, I long to cast off all, all, and to escape. I cry out for the hard, for the terrible, for freezing cold and burning heat. I desire to sound to its depths the ocean of my own being, to grapple with things strange, and difficult, and overwhelming. A single range of experience wears me. Let me taste the bitterness of sorrow. Let me learn what I could suffer. Let me explore my own powers, to their remotest frontiers. I seek Freedom! Yea, and will not be denied!

Second Soul: Again, dear Lord, is come the hour that we remember of old. How often in the past can we recall how we met on earth and, thou by sword and I by fire, we fled together, along the shadowy paths, to this our swarga! And now is lived out again the dream of worship. Now once more comes the moment of awaking. Here, to each other, we have been as thoughts. Each has seen only the radiance, the glory of the other. There, we must cover ourselves with the garment of earth, woven as that is of mingled good and evil, of hate and love. Here we have known only the friendship of the heroes. There blindness will come upon us, we shall fight with some of these, as foes. Alas, alas, is the time then indeed come, that we should return to earth?

First Soul: Listen, Beloved! Hearest thou not the wail that rises from the land we loved? Hearest thou not the sob of bereavement, the cry of hunger, the sorrowful moan of small things trampled on? Is there no stirring of pity in thine heart? Is thine own bliss sufficient for thee? Canst thou remain content, in this hour of her need, to leave our earth unvisited? Wouldst thou leave others to suffer, all unaided? Feelest thou not the longing for sacri-

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face, the strength for sorrow, the thirst for strife?

Second Soul: Ah! Sweet was the silence of death on the field of Kurukshetra! Gently fell the twilight beneath the trees, when the heroes lay dead beside the Jumna. And methinks again at dawn that I heard through Swarga the sound of the battle-shank. The Lord Kartikeya it may be, marshals his hosts once more, and the heroes meet, ere again they go down to the clash of worlds. I awaken! Oh, I awaken! Yea, and I shall follow thee. Yet never again, Beloved, shall I stand as thy wife beside thee, on the fields of earth. Never again shall I comfort thee in defeat, and assuage thy fevered wounds! Seven times trod I the road-way of fire, fearlessly following thee into Swarga. Alas my heart misgives me, lest I meet thee not below!

First Soul: Nay, nay, thou foolish heart! Can they be parted, whose love and hope are one? Seest thou not that side by side we stand henceforth? In thee alone, with thy great past, can the heroes and leaders of our beloved land find metal ready molten to their purpose! Come thou, Beloved! Come thou, my younger comrade! The sorrow of the world calls us! We return to earth!

Just out! Just out!
THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM

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SOME APHORISMS OF BHARTINARI.

The Man of Action

Happiness is nothing : sorrow nothing. He
Recks not of these, whom his clear thoughts impel
To action, whether little and miserably
He fare on roots, or softly dines and well ;
Whether bare ground receive his sleep, or bed
With softest pillows ease his pensive head,
Whether in rags or heavenly robes he dwell.

Virtue

What is an ornament ? Courtesy in high place,
Speech temperate in the hero, innocence
In high philosophers, and wrathlessness
In hermits, and in riches noble expense.

Sincerity, and honest meaning plain,
Give outward holiness ; mercy the strong
Adorns, and modesty most learned men.
One grace to every station doth belong.

Cause of all other gems with all is blent
Virtue, the universal ornament.

Perseverance

Cease never from the work thou hast begun,
Till thou accomplish ; such the great gods be.
Pause not for gems unknown beneath the sun,
Fear not for the huge poisons of the sea :
Then only cease, when nectar's self is won.

Detachment

If men praise thee, O man, 'tis well ; nor ill,
If they condemn. Let Fortune curse, or boom.
Enter thy doors or leave them as she will.
Let death expect thee, ere yon sinking moon
Vanish, or wait till unborn stars give light,
The firm high soul remains immutable,
Nor by one step will deviate from the right.

The Human Snake

Avoid the evil man with learning crowned.
Lo, the dread cobra ! all his hood a gem
Of glory, yet he crawls upon the ground.
Fearst thou him less for that bright diadem ?

Seven Miseries

Seven griefs are as seven daggers in my heart ;
To see a lake without its lilled gloom :
The moon grow beggared of her radiant part ;
Sweet woman's beauty fade towards the tomb :
A noble hug his wealth ; a good man gone
Down in the press of miseries ; a fair
And vacant face when knowledge is not there,
A base man standing by a monarch's throne.

The Fire and the Tyrant

Tyrants have neither kin nor lover. Fire
Accepts the rich man's offerings ; at the end
Shall these then slake its wrathful swift desire ?
Nay, let him touch it ! It will spare its friend.

AUROBINDO GHOSH.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.
VI.

Nationalism and Nationalists.

Mazzini's definition of Nationality is a perfect definition. No more accurate or comprehensive definition of the term has yet been given. It is, he said, the individuality of the nation. The conception is, essentially, organic. The very first and fundamental pronouncement of modern Sociology is that Society is an organism. An organism means a thing that has an end unto itself. It is a thing that essentially exists for itself. It may have a multitude of outer relations, and through these outer relations, it may serve other than its own organic ends also. But all these outer relations are more or less secondary, contributory to its own organic life and activities, and have their value not in themselves but in these fundamental life and activities of the organism. This organic conception of Society necessarily posits before each Society an aim to be reached. This is a specific aim. The essential aim in every evolutionary process is specific. In biological evolution, the development of the particular biological type represented by the organism, is this specific end. Similarly, in sociological evolution, the development of the particular social type represented by the social organism is this specific end. And it is the special and specific sociological type, which any particular group of humanity may represent, that constitutes Nationality.

Any chance collection of human units or human families, is therefore, not a Nation. Even territorial unity would not necessarily make them a Nation. Nationality is essentially a question of race. A Nation is a sub-division of race. Race is genus, Nation is species. A race may be spread over widely-separated area. It may occupy the most distant parts of the globe.

But neither differences of climate and other physical and physiographical conditions, nor difference of language or religion, or of historical evolution, can altogether destroy the fundamental unity of racial characteristics. All that these do is to cause variations in the species, contributing to the different Nations, belonging originally to a Race, their special national characteristics, and, thereby, bringing out what Mazzini calls the individuality of these nations. Sometimes there are cases of racial amalgamation, when people of different races, thrown into the same territorial unit, and brought under the same historical conditions either through conquest or colonisation, and perhaps even converted to the same religion, gradually grow into a mixed and composite nation. The growth of these composite nations is also determined by special conditions. As in biology cross-breeding is possible and successful under certain conditions only, and not universally or indiscriminately; so also in sociology. Two races, widely different from each other in physical, mental, and spiritual endowments and character, and occupying widely different stages of social and economic evolution, though they may be thrown into the same territory, and even be made to profess the same religion, and taught to speak the same language, will not necessarily form one Nation. Cross-breeding, under such circumstances, will not improve either of the races, but result in inevitable atavism and consequent racial degeneration and decay. In our own times, the impact of widely different races and cultures, as in America and Australia, has resulted in a gradual decay and extinction of the inferior races. But healthy and advantageous admixture of races is also not unknown in history. In Europe, we find examples of it in Portugal and Spain. We see it also in the general appropriation of

the Jews by almost every European nation, even in our own day. Physical environments, historical situations, racial contacts and conflicts, all these contribute to the development of national peculiarities, and thus help to differentiate the different branches of the same race, but they neither create, nor can they obliterate the original and organic structure and end of a nation.

It is comparatively easy to express the nation-idea in these general terms, but exceedingly difficult to specify it, in regard to particular nations, in a definite and concrete way. This specification can only be made through a very careful study and analysis of the course of past historic evolution of the nation. The specific national characteristics must be sought for and discovered (i) in the original racial structure of the nation, and (ii) in its physical and social environments, which working upon those original racial elements, gave a special tone and type to its thought and life, developing the peculiarities of its literatures, its arts, its philosophies and theologies, its social, sacerdotal, and economic, political economies and organisations. The history of a nation, using the term history in its widest sense, always supplies the key to its essential life and character.

Racial types are discovered mainly in three things, (a) the physical structure of the race, (b) its thought-structure, and (c) its social structure. These are fundamental factors of racial, and through the racial, of national differentiation. The ordinary European, while even dabbling in sociology, very rarely has the capacity and the culture to investigate and understand these deeper notes of racial or national characteristics. To him, the nation-idea is essentially a territorial and political ideal. The race-problem resolves itself, to his mind, into an essentially colour problem. The Oriental, for instance, is to him one type of humanity, and the Occidental is another. He rarely stops to consider that a geographical term is not necessarily a racial or national connotation. But careful sociological researches, by the help of the dominant methods of modern culture, namely, the comparative, the historical, and the evolutionary methods, would reveal

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typical differentiations as between one nation and another both in Asia and Europe. The Orientals are no more representative of one dominant type than are the Occidentals. Indeed, racial distinctions are less marked in Europe than in Asia. This is due partly to the fact that most of the European races belong to one great branch of the human family, and owing to this fact, the original physical and physiological structure, as well as the original thought-structure and social-structure, is practically the same among the different European nations. The Christianisation of Europe has been another great factor in helping to minimise, though it could not obliterate, national differentiations in the Western continent. But Asia is a land of many races. The religions of Asia are as many as the races. Owing to the peculiarities of Asiatic life and religion, intermixture between different nations has been more difficult than it has been in Europe. Yet, in spite of it all, European influence, so frequently masquerading as culture, generally sets down the Persian and the Chinese, the Hindu and the Arab, the Armenian and the Egyptian, all as essentially one type of race and culture. In truth, however, leaving out of account the primitive Asiatic races, like the aborigines of India or the Pacific Islanders, Asia has been the home of three distinct and developed races and cultures, namely, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Mongolian to which, perhaps, even a fourth though now merged into the Hindu race and culture, may be added, namely, the Dravidian. There are fundamental and structural physical, mental, and social differences between these different branches of the great human family.

The Hindu, though classed as an Oriental, is, in physiological, social and thought structure, more akin to the European than to many of the other Asiatic races. The

Arab and the Armenian have greater affinity in physical as well as in social and thought structure, with the European Jew than with the Chinese or the Hindu.

For the understanding of the true philosophy of nationalism, an investigation into these racial characteristics and their place and significance in social evolution and history is essential. For it is such an investigation that can alone bring out what Mazzini called, the individuality of a people.

MR. HAVELL ON INDIAN ART.

(Continued from the last issue)

HAND-LOOM WEAVING.

By far the most important of Indian handicrafts is, as I have said, hand-loom weaving. For very many years the view which has prevailed with the Government of India has been that of the "practical" man who regards the hand-loom as obsolete, even for artistic purposes. Sir George Watt, in the official report of the Delhi Durbar Exhibition, wrote with reference to hand-loom weaving that "to bolster up the cliche methods and appliances of bygone times would of necessity involve the suppression of national progression"; and Lord Curzon was only voicing the opinion of his scientific advisers when he said in his speech at the Durbar that it was inevitable that the hand-loom should be superseded by the power-loom, just as the hand-punkah was being superseded by the electric fan. The suffering inflicted upon the millions of the industrial population in the last fifty years through this official theory, and the commercial loss which official inaction in the matter of village handicrafts has meant to India,

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will perhaps never be realized; but the remarkable revival in hand-loom weaving which is now taking place throughout India should be sufficient to show that there are considerations in Indian industrial problems which the scientific European expert is apt to overlook.

It will hardly be necessary to point out to members of this Society the immense importance for India of the preservation of village handicraft, or to explain the bearing of this problem upon art administration. It cannot be too strongly insisted that the skill of her hand-weavers, numbering some 5,000,000 craftsmen, or more, is one of the most important economic and artistic assets India possesses. Even accepting, for the sake of argument, that the hand-loom is bound to be eventually superseded by the power-loom in all but sumptuary textile products, the possibility of prolonging the existence of the bulk of the hand-loom industry for another fifty years is still a matter of vital importance. Financiers do not hesitate to invest their capital in opening up gold mines, because they know that in fifty years most mines are exhausted. The hand-loom weaving industry represents for India capital much greater than that of all the gold mines in Mysore, and it is used to much greater public advantage. The revival of village handicraft is becoming one of the most pressing social problems of the day in Europe. So much the more important it is for India not to allow to diminish or deteriorate the great village industry which now forms by far the most important section of her industrial organisation.

It will be obvious from what I have said of the present constitution of the Schools of Art that the work inside the schools is altogether too insignificant to have any direct effect upon traditional Indian handicraft, and until the last few years there has been no technical institution in the whole of India which concerned itself directly with the interests of the most important of Indian handicrafts. But the opportunities given me by Sir M. E. Grant Duff, soon after my arrival in Madras, for investigating the condition of the Indian traditional crafts drew my attention to the terribly neglected state of the hand-loom weaving industry. The Indian hand-weaver has suffered, and still suffers, in two ways. First, the weavers of broadens, like the kincobs of Benares, and all the finer textiles used by the richer classes of the population, suffer from the artistic ignorance of their aristocratic and wealthy patrons. The apparatus and the methods are practically the same as those used by hand-weavers of the same class in Europe, and the best hand-weaver in Europe rarely equals them in technical skill. They stand in very little need of technical assistance, certainly not of the kind now offered to them. I cannot too strongly protest, and I am sure that all artists and art-workers in Europe will join me in protesting, against the efforts which are now being made by some of

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the scientific advisers of Government to introduce into these world-famed handicrafts of India the mechanical methods of modern commercialism, thereby destroying all the artistic value they now possess. It is one thing to show the hand-weaver how he may reduce the mechanical labour of putting together the threads of his warp and weft—that is legitimate art. It is quite another thing to teach him to use mechanical apparatus for stereotyping his patterns—that is like bringing a reaping machine into one's garden to cut flowers with. One of the first things to be done when art administration is put upon a rational footing in India is to check the ravages of the commercial technical expert in our Indian garden.

The assistance that can be given to the Indian weaver of the highest grade lies, not in "improving" his methods according to the ideas of the European mechanic, but in the better artistic education of his patrons, by reviving the prestige of Indian art, and by widening the scope of the University curriculum, so as to add some degree of artistic culture to the crude utilitarianism which still forms the basis of the Anglo-Indian educational system. It is the weaver's patrons and not the weaver who require education in this case.

The case of the ordinary village weaver who works for the poorer classes is different. He, too, suffers from the artistic ignorance of his patrons, but more from his own total ignorance of those simple mechanical improvements in his apparatus which in the eighteenth century enable the hand-weaver in Europe to treble his output. The quality of the cloth produced by the village weaver is in most cases much better than that of the power-loom fabrics which compete with his, but it is inoperative for him to improve the mechanical efficiency of the apparatus he uses, in order to compete with the latter in point of cheapness, which in the eyes of his indigent patrons is the first consideration. There are several extremely simple and valuable mechanical improvements used in plain weaving and in preparing the warp for the loom which would enable him to do this, and to them there can be no artistic objection. Their simplicity and cheapness makes them especially adaptable to the needs of the village weaver, but they have been almost totally unknown in India, outside a few mission industrial schools; and in all the numerous schemes for technical education which

have been launched in India for the last twenty-five years nothing was done in this matter until in 1901 I called public attention to a colony of native weavers in Bengal, numbering some 10,000, who, through adopting these improvements, had been able to double their earnings, in spite of the competition of power-loom mills. This was the beginning of a great movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving, which, in spite of much cold water thrown upon it in the first instance by the scientific advisers of Government, has been steadily growing in strength every year, though mostly through private enterprise and nonofficial encouragement.

Some years ago I enlisted in this cause the services of a well-known firm of English textile experts, Messrs. Hatterley and Sons, of Keighley, who, at the invitation of the Roumanian Government, had started a wonderfully successful revival of hand-loom weaving in the Balkan States. They have given much time attention to the technical problems connected with Indian hand-weaving, and have been so far successful that they are now exporting every week to India a number of improved hand-looms, with preparatory apparatus, sufficient for a small hand-factory. The significance of this fact may be realised when I tell you that it was only through the establishment of one hand-loom factory at Serampore, in the time of the Danish Government, about 70 years ago, that the 10,000 weavers in Bengal acquired the means of doubling their earnings. Now, through the agency of Messrs. Hatterley alone, there are numbers of hand-loom factories being started all over India every year, which will open the eyes of many more thousands of village weavers to the use of those mechanical improvements in their apparatus which are necessary for the continued existence of their handicraft. Better still, the importance of the technical improvement of hand-weaving appliances is now being realised by Indians belonging to the weaving caste and others, so that every year various kinds of improved appliances are being introduced locally.

There is, however, a considerable danger that owing to the ignorance and poverty of the village weaver, this movement may be used more for the benefit of the middle-class speculator than for the revival of village handicraft, and, so far, the somewhat belated efforts of Govern-

ment in the matter are being directed more towards assisting the middle-class speculator than the village weaver. Official experts who have been at least convinced of the possibility of reviving hand-loom weaving in India, seem to regard the commercial side of the question as much more important than the artistic and sociological side, and Government seems hitherto to have shared in this view. But, I think, it cannot be too strongly insisted that the artistic and sociological side of India's industrial problem is infinitely more important, not only for India, but for the world at large, than the commercial side. It is of vastly greater importance that India, with the help of the great traditional industrial organisation which she still possesses, should show the world how a prosperous system of village handicraft may be built up in conjunction with agriculture, than it is to show how she can add some crores of rupees to her income by the methods of Western commercialism. The increased income may be a great matter, but the means by which the increase is to be gained is a vastly greater one. I know this is the argument of the sentimentalist and idealist but India is the home of idealism, and the whole revival of hand-loom weaving in India was, and still is, to the practical man, purely a matter of sentiment. Our industrial system, both in this country and in India, needs some grains of sentiment of heaven its dead mass of dry materialism. Economics without sentiment are the economics of barbarism; and commercialism without the artistic impulse only leads India on the high road to anarchy.

THE ARCHITECTURAL POLICY OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

I will leave this question and turn to another official windmill against which I have been tilting with less success in the last twenty years—the architectural policy of the Public Works Department. It is hardly necessary to explain in detail its bearing upon the art administration of India. Mr. Cecil Burns, in the paper I have referred to before, admitted that, as nearly all the decorative arts have originated from and are dependent



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upon the style of architecture they are intended to enrich, the decision to adopt European styles in Government and other buildings must exercise a powerful influence upon the practice of all the crafts allied to the building trade, and through them upon the teaching of the schools of Art. Yet he was content to put this question, as well as the teaching of the fine arts, on one side, and to attribute the depressed condition of Indian handicraft chiefly to the opening of the Suez Canal. He considered that the arguments for and against the adoption of European styles in modern Indian buildings were sufficiently stated in a paper, read before this Society, by Mr. T. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A., in 1873; and said that the question had been since fully considered in connection with the erection of the Queen Victoria Memorial building in Calcutta.

- I will deal with Mr. Roger Smith's paper first. The gist of his arguments can be shown in a few short extracts. He says: "Let us for consistency's sake be European in art; for art, if it be true, is an expression of national individuality more intense and more truthful than custom, fashion, or government. In the stubbornness with which we retain our nationality we resemble the Romans." This doctrine is more briefly expressed by Mr. Kipling's phrase, "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." The stubbornness with which we have clung to this idea has been the main cause of our difficulties in India, but in art matters it is diametrically opposed to the principles which have been laid down by the Secretary of State, and nominally, at least, accepted by the Government of India.

Mr. Roger Smith goes on to state three reasons which might be brought forward for using an Indian style in Indian public buildings. "First, it is said, that it is suited to the climate; secondly, that the natives can do it; and lastly, that it is, or can be, very beautiful." But, he added, "the sufficient answer, of course, is that it may be all these, but that it is not European, far less British. Of the three reasons alluded to, by far the most powerful is the one placed first, namely, that Indian architecture, whether Mohammedan or Hindu, is the offspring of the climate and as such better fitted than anything we can import to the circumstances of the country. Very true, but so is Indian food, Indian dress, Indian living, Indian administration. They are all the offspring

of the climate, yet we cling very naturally to the food, the dress, the manners, the principles of governing to which we are accustomed, though while we retain them in principle, we are not unwilling to make such variations in detail as will tend to diminish some of the inconveniences experienced in consequence of the peculiarity of the climate and encourage, leaving the question of encouraging the art of the country, in those cases where the building is devoted to the use of natives of the country, to stand on its own merits." You will observe that Mr. Roger Smith treats the matter of the preservation of Indian art as one of altogether inferior importance to that of nursing our own insular prejudices. But now he comes to the root of the matter. "The second reason for employing the styles of the country, namely, that the natives can design and build in them, is answered by the fact that the natives will not be employed. The buildings which are built for European use and with European funds in India have been invariably built under European supervision and from European designs, and always will be; and though the artificers employed may be natives, yet that does not make the buildings native works any more than the printing in Calcutta of an English book by Hindu compositors makes it a Hindu book."

The answer to what I must call this extraordinary argument simply is that that there are no public buildings in India, built exclusively for European use and with European funds, and though *de facto* we have excluded Indian architects from the Public Works Department it has never been laid down by official authority that they are always to be so excluded.

I do not think that any responsible British statesman of the present day would wish to argue that the design of public buildings in India must always remain in the hands of European.

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If we go back to the original reasons for the adoption of European styles in the Public Works Department it is easy to understand that very little, if any, consideration has ever been given to artistic principles; this policy was simply forced upon the department by the artistic and architectural ignorance of its officers. The designing of public buildings was for very many years placed in the hands of military officers or engineers, who had no training whatever in architecture as an art, and not even the archaeological skill of the average European architectural draughtsman. The Macaulay doctrine established the departmental principle that bad European art was better than good Indian, so the Public Works officers instead of using the architectural skill of the Hindu master-builders, as their Mogul predecessors did under similar circumstances, took their Tressquares and set squares, and with the help of European archaeological diagrams, made their paper designs for public buildings in the so-called "classic" style, their choice being mainly determined by the fact that this style presents fewer difficulties to the amateur architect than any other. Even to this day, this process of departmental routine is taught as architecture, to Indian students, in all the engineering colleges of India by the European professors of drawing and design, and these mechanical exercises enable the engineering graduate of the universities to oust the traditional master-builder from his hereditary and legitimate employment. The first results of these primitive archaeological experiments by the Public Works officers, were sometimes disastrous and dangerous to life and limbs for the Indian workmen employed in executing them. Sometimes the buildings collapsed before they were completed, and accidents of a like nature are not altogether unknown even in the present day.

Occasionally, it must be admitted, the Public Works Department has set a better precedent, and among its officers there have been architects of skill, like Mr. Chisholm and Mr. Bursington in Madras and Sir Swinton Jacob in Jaipur, who have successfully adapted Indian styles to departmental requirements. But they have hardly solved, as the Moguls did, the much more important problem of

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making full use of the traditional science and art of the Indian master-builder for the purposes of the State. And in this question of style every Viceroy, Governor, Head of Department, and every official architect has been a law to himself. No definite principle has been laid down, and the paramount importance of architectural style in relation to the preservation of Indian art and handicraft has never received the slightest official consideration, though, as one of the artistic advisers of Government, I have endeavoured on every possible occasion in the last twenty years to draw official attention to it.

Mr. Cecil Burns is entirely incorrect in his statement that the matter was fully considered in connection with the scheme for the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta. The facts are that at the first inception of the scheme for the memorial Lord Curzon invited public discussion and suggestions. The suggestion I submitted to Lord Curzon was that as a preliminary measure a competent architect should make a survey of buildings in Northern India constructed by living Indian master-builders who still carry on the traditions of Indian architecture, and that after this was done the design for the memorial should be made in a living Indian style in consultation with the best native master-builders that were found. This was very much the procedure which Shah Jahan adopted in connection with the building of the Taj. Lord Curzon engaged a competent architect, but did not carry out my main suggestion, to investigate thoroughly the living traditions of Indian architecture, for the reason that Calcutta was a European city, and that an Indian style of building would be unsuitable there.

I cannot myself conceive how it is possible to defend the Public Works policy on practical, aesthetic, or ethical grounds. The reasons given for it always seem to be pedantic, when they are not frankly philistine and indifferent to the interests of art. Let us suppose for a moment that there existed in England at the present day a large number of master-builders, masons, and other craftsmen who had at their finger-tips all the architectural and craft traditions of the Middle Ages. Would architects and artists say that it was impossible, or undesirable, to employ these men in Government work because they did not know Latin and Greek, had no certificates from the Board of Education, and could not draw their designs on paper to an exact scale for the approval of the Local Government Board? And what would His Majesty's Opposition in

the House of Commons say if, in the discussion on the Estimates, it was found that Government departments were sometimes employing architects, sculptors and decorators from Calcutta for public buildings in London, and paying them ten, or fifty times the rate of wages these English master-builders and craftsmen demand, because the provincial English styles were not considered departmentally correct? In England such a situation is unthinkable, but it is actually the situation which has been considered right and proper for India during the last fifty years, and this is the situation which the art experts sent out by the Secretary of State to revive Indian art are asked to face. Is it surprising that they sometimes think discretion is the better part of valour?

Mr. Cecil Burns has, however, plenty of courage. He proposes that the School of Art should lie down with the Public Works lion, or, in other words, that the Principals of Schools of Art should accept things as they are, and co-operate with the Public Works Department in the decoration of public buildings. I myself have always strongly advocated such co-operation, provided that the security and free action of the lion could be guaranteed, but I think the lion is rash to thrust its head into the untamed lion's mouth. The system of co-operation was, in fact, as Mr. Chisholm stated in the discussion on Mr. Burn's paper, introduced by him when he was doing the double duties of Superintendent of the School of Arts and Consulting Architect in Madras. But directly I took charge of the school of Arts the Public Works Department withdrew its orders from the school and started workshops of their own. This is an illustration of the difficulties in which Principals of Schools of Art are placed. There is no fixed policy in art matters, and they have practically no voice in the settlement of artistic questions. Until it is the settled policy of the Government of India that living Indian styles shall be adopted as far as possible in all public buildings, there can be no cooperation between Art Schools and the Public Works Department for the advantage of Indian art. The Principal of the School of Art is a subordinate official of the Education Department with a much inferior official status to that of the Consulting Architect and if the latter chooses to have imitation Renaissance, or Gothic, or to invent a style of his own, for the design of public buildings, he is quite at liberty to do so. Moreover, the Schools of Art are quite out of touch with the best Indian build-

ers and decorators, and must always remain so under

present conditions. The Mogul policy of making full use of Hindu architects, builders, and decorators, attracted the best of them to the centres of Government. Our Public Works neglect of them has driven them all away to the provinces or Native States, where they can get employment. A single order from the Secretary of State or the Government of India, followed by the consistent and thorough carrying out of that order by competent Departmental authorities, would bring them back; but until that order is given, until it is the settled policy of Government that the living traditions of Indian craftsmanship shall always be utilised for State purposes, the cooperation of Schools of Art with the Public Works Departments can do no benefit to Indian handicrafts, for the simple reason that the real Indian craftsmen hardly ever enter the doors of Schools of Art, or come near them. You may improve the decoration of public buildings by Mr. Burns's scheme, but it does not bring Indian art within the scope of Departmental policy. Mr. Burns wishes to bring the Indian craftsman up-to-date, but he avoids the real issue, that the principal cause of his being out-of-date is the policy of Indian departmentalism for the last fifty years. Sir Hubert Herkomer's remarks on Mr. Burns' paper go deeper than the paper itself. He said:

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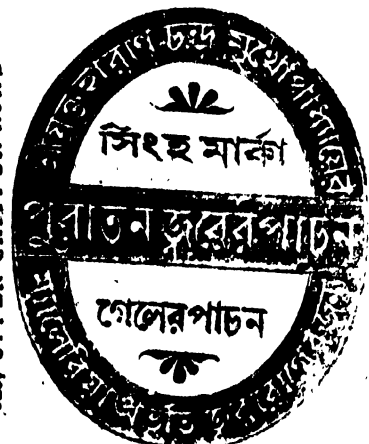
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THE TRUE REASON FOR THE DECAY OF INDIAN ART AND HANDICRAFT.

There is no inherent weakness in Indian art, as practised by living Indian craftsmen, to account for its decline under our rule, nor is the opening of the Suez Canal a sufficient explanation. The condition of Indian art and craft when we assumed the government of the country was not materially different from that which prevailed when the Moguls conquered Hindustan, and if we had followed Akbar's sound artistic policy, India would have seen a great artistic revival instead of a most lamentable decline under British administration. The true reason and the chief reason for the decay of Indian art and handicraft has been the want of good administration in art matters and the consequent impotence of the art advisers of Government. The same false distinction which is still made in the Schools of Art between the fine arts and industrial arts is still made by Government between Indian art and Indian industry. An art expert is not supposed to be concerned in Indian industrial questions, though in India there is handiyan industry, except agriculture, in which the artistic factor can be treated as of minor importance.

Three times only in the course of my official career of twenty years have there been opportunities afforded by Government for a full discussion of the vital issues affecting Indian art and industry. On none of these occasions were the art experts appointed by the Secretary of State called in to represent the interests of art, and on one of them, when an Industrial Commission was appointed by Lord Curzon, my evidence as a witness was, with the exception of the opening paragraph, entirely suppressed in the official report, and the evidence of a scientific expert substituted for it over my name. Though I called official attention to the error, no correction was made. I can assure you that there was not a single word of my evidence which was unfit for publication; but, even if that were the case, the substitution of evidence which I did not give seemed to me to deserve correction. For obvious reasons it is of great importance that Government should be correctly informed as to the qualifica-

tions of its expert advisers. One of the greatest difficulties of art experts in India is that Government has no knowledge of their training and qualifications.

The departmental tradition is that the training of a European scientific specialist gives him a better understanding of the Indian industrial problem than the art expert. As a matter of fact the diplomas expected of an art master for conducting a good English art school are certificates that he has passed through a training in technical matters connected with handicraft which is generally twice as long as the whole course of study required for the scientific degree of the University of London; and the curriculum for the latter hardly touches any of the technical questions connected with Indian industries. The problems of Indian technical education must be solved by whole-hearted co-operation between artists who have a thorough knowledge of the science of art and scientists with artistic intuition, but such co-operation is almost impossible so long as the official status of the artist is wholly inferior, and so long as he is bound hand and foot by departmental authority.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN ART.

But though I regard the present state of art administration as eminently unsatisfactory, I am by no means pessimistic about the future of Indian art. There is in Indian art a vitality like that of a banyan tree, which may be buried for a time under a land-slide, but will, sooner or later, push its way through and grow with renewed vigour. I have spent a good deal of time in tilting against the official windmills which lie in the path of an art teacher in India, but the real Indian art still lies neglected outside the sphere of Indian departmentalism. Nor have I any reason to be dissatisfied with the results of my campaign, for if I have involved myself in great difficulties I have, at least, made things considerably easier for my successors. Two out of the four of these gaunt and ugly structures are on the point of collapsing. I have had ample testimony in many letters I have received that the views of educated Indians with regard to Indian fine art have undergone a remarkable change in the last few years. The annual exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta, of which Lord Kitchener was the first President, has helped greatly to bring about this change; and whereas you might walk through the exhibitions of the Simla or Bombay Fine Arts Societies without being aware that Indian fine art existed, a mere perusal of the catalogue of the Oriental Art Society's exhibition

must be a liberal education in Indian life and thought for most Anglo-Indians, as well as for many English-educated Indians. The Society is doing a great work in promoting a real and mutual understanding between Anglo-Indians and Indians of all classes. Mr. Tagore has revolutionised the methods of teaching fine art in the Calcutta School, and in the last report of the Madras School of Arts I notice that the new Principal, Mr. Hallaway, finds that the more he studies and examines the native methods of teaching drawing the more he is inclined towards them as being really adequate and useful. By way of set-back to this most satisfactory progress, the Bengal Education Department, soon after I left Calcutta, tore to pieces the Drawing Syllabus by which I have begun to coordinate the teaching of art in the School of Art with the teaching in the schools outside it, and, without consulting the School of Art, reverted to the old South Kensington methods, which are entirely opposed to the principle and practice of Indian art. Since my departure, also, an official committee of the University of Calcutta, against the deliberate and almost unanimous vote of the Faculty of Arts, shut the doors of the University to all art teaching, so that now the official teaching of Indian art in Bengal is again confined to the four walls of the School of Art. How long the latter will continue to be a school of Indian art is, under present circumstances, a matter of great uncertainty, for even when the right thing happens, as it were accidentally, there is no continuity of policy, and no official interest in art, except by accident.


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bound in the long run to gain its freedom. The Indian mind is not dead; it is only sleeping. It is only now awakening, and to continue to ignore it in the future as we have done in the past is, I am convinced, the worst of all bad policies, and one which is fraught with evil consequences to our Empire.

Indian art is not dead; it has been sleeping, but is now awakening, and to continue to ignore it in the future as we have done in the past is, I am convinced, the worst of all bad policies, and one which is fraught with evil consequences to our Empire.

Still, I hope for the sake of British prestige that Government will not wait until the opinion of educated Indians in art matters is so fully formed as to create a popular agitation for their removal. If they represented, as Mr. Roger Smith seemed to argue, a strong and stubborn expression of national artistic feeling they would endure as long as the British raj; but when the history of Anglo-Indian departmentalism is impartially examined it will be evident that their origin was never based upon national artistic feeling, but upon national artistic ignorance and departmental inefficiency. And when the history of mediæval art in Europe is fully understood, and the deficiencies of our own national art education are realised, it will be evident, even to the lay mind, that Europe owes an immense debt to the art philosophy of the East, and is as much concerned, as India in the preservation of the living traditions of Indian art and architecture. It is essential, as Lord Curzon has said, "that for every department of State there must be a policy, instead of no policy, i.e., a method which is based upon accepted premises, either of reasoning or of experience, and is laid down in clear language understood by the officers who have to apply it, and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied." Neither the Education nor the Public Works, the two departments chiefly concerned in India, has any definite policy in art matters which can be

intelligently discussed and carried out. It is only now awakening, and to continue to ignore it in the future as we have done in the past is, I am convinced, the worst of all bad policies, and one which is fraught with evil consequences to our Empire.

foremost, an artistic one. On a memorable occasion, said that there is a great feeling prevailing in this country—quite beyond the limits of party—of pity, of sympathy, and of horror at the miseries which our industrial system entails. Nevertheless it is this system, pure and unadulterated, which Indian departmentalism, for the last fifty years, has been recommending as the only practical one under British rule, and using all its influence to propagate. I shall not cease to protest against this recommendation and this propaganda as long as I live.

Indian art is not dead; it has been sleeping, but is now awakening, and to continue to ignore it in the future as we have done in the past is, I am convinced, the worst of all bad policies, and one which is fraught with evil consequences to our Empire.

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আবুল কালাম আজাদ, কলিকাতা

KARMAYOGIN

A WEEKLY REVIEW

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No. 38.

PASSING THOUGHTS. RELIGION VERSUS SPIRITUALITY.

Essence and Form.

In every thing we have to distinguish between the essence and the form. Spirituality is that essence, of which religion is one of the forms. If One Fact breathes through all things that constitute the universe, it follows that it is only one, and not the sole form, in which spirituality can find expression. Education, science, poetry, art, are some of the other forms. Indeed there is no activity of man which is not capable of being the vehicle of supreme spirituality, marked, as that is by the flood of realisation of some idea, sweeping away self. Religion tends, more than other things, to be confused with spirituality, because religion is built up of those forms and doctrines, in which humanity has striven from time to time to enshrine the essence of things spiritual. It provides, for most people, the ladders and scaffolding by which at a crisis, they may climb to the heights of the tower of spirituality. But religion, it must be remembered, is only a means, never an end. Spirituality is the aim, and each soul, having in this, reached its own height, may come down by its own stairs, so to speak, may express its vision in its own way.

A Common Fallacy.

If spirituality, then, is a fire, religion can only be thought of as fuel. Fuel will never do, *instead of* fire, but only as a *means to* fire. Religious practices and beliefs sometimes appear at their most perfect, in hypocrites, and the worldly wise; spirituality is to be seen only in him who can tread the world beneath his feet. It follows that religion derives all its value from spirituality. It can never be offered as a substitute for it. Spirituality, on the other hand, may choose its own instrument of expression, and religion is but one of the means that lie to its hand. Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Sivaji, Guru Govind, how different are the means of expression, chosen by each one of these! But can anyone dispute the fact that it is a common tide of spirituality that bears them on its flood? Such facts cut the ground from under the feet of the coward who excuses himself from nation-building, on the plea that India is to be saved, 'not by politics, but by religion.' The words are true enough, if by religion is meant the spiritual energy of religion, the volcanic forces that may focus in it, and cleave the earth to find their own path of projection. But if it means a collection of forms, a series of formulæ, the path of safety and popular approval, then the phrase is a lie, and nothing can redeem it.

The Spirit of the Age Makes Its Own Faith.

Is nation-making 'politics'? Or is it, after all, religion? Politics is a word that we associate with divided interests, with warring ideals and rival parties. In nation-making there is but one ideal, carried out by different methods, and the interest is the common interest of self-sacrifice. In the higher use of the word 'religion,' then, nation-building would seem to come nearer to the ideal definition of it, than rites and ceremonies. Indeed it is a perception of this fact that has gathered the whole Indian people in such striking fashion round the banner of nationality, during the last few years. Those who have not ranged themselves beneath it, are mere laggards without a name, who dare not speak above a whisper, to give an account of their position. Different groups claim in widely different ways, to be working out the common end: our point is, that every man *claims*. Nationality is admitted, as the goal and interpretation of all methods alike. In other words, the spirit of each age creates its own religion, and Nationality is the religion of the present period. Behind it, stand the forces of Indian spirituality, upon it converges the passion of Indian religion. It is aglow with the light of ideal personalities; sanctified by the lofty motives of workers known and unknown; filled

with the infinite tides of love and compassion. It feeds itself upon its own service, its own sacrifice. And it opens the road to all, that they may climb upwards. Is Nationality politics, or is it in truth religion, the highest spirituality? **Indian Philosophy.**

To us as a people it is necessary at this moment to believe in Nationality, as the highest possible expression, for the time, of the spiritual life. It is necessary. And assuredly the world has seen no race which held in its hands so great a treasure as, in this respect, is Indian thought. The One in the Many, the Many equally in the One. No room here, for the superior sanctity of puja-bells to the factory-gong, for the greater holiness of Ganges-bathing than gymnastic exercises! Jnanapada, bhakti-pada, karmapada—all equal, all authentic. No excuse here for the man who says the *pujari* is enveloped in spirituality, and all others are lower. Other religions may offer pronouncements of this description, but not Hinduism!

To Indian thought alone, there is nothing startling in the words *to labour is to pray*. Its own message has been nothing less. *Struggle is worship*. What else does the Gita teach its people? *All knowledge is beatitude*. There is no Hindu who does not realise this. *Then discovery is one with inspiration*. Who can deny it? Verily, our faith is even as a land strewn with jewels; for us, it is only to pick them up. In sober truth, it declares to us, all that is true and right is religion: only that which is false, can be excluded.

The Spirituality of the Avatars.

In this sense, we are using the word as one with spirituality. And here we can see the reason of the great law of the national evolution, pronounced by the Gita—"Whenever righteousness decays and unrighteousness prevails, then I manifest Myself." We can see now that a great recrudescence of the national idealism is inevitable, every time it has been betrayed, just as the top of the next wave is inevitable, the moment the bottom of the wave-trough is reached. This great recrudescence comes as the birth of some person, in whom all the existing ideals of the age are summed up. This person attracts to himself all the emotional and intellectual

forces of the nation. There is none that can hold back, since the sensitiveness of each one to high vision, will be in exact proportion to his own greatness. India has a trained perception of spiritual power. She finds it irresistible. All her own power is concentrated in a single point, and the magazine of energy thus accumulated and individualised, shakes the very earth, in its effort at constructive expression. Thus the epoch is made by the Avatar; and spirituality becomes the hearth and altar-place of Nationality.

Spirituality versus Religion.

But if we return to the lower sense of the word 'religion', we shall have to admit that the typical representatives of spirituality are never bound by this. They use religion, as common men understand it. They love it. They speak its language. But when they suspect that truth leads outside and beyond, they never hesitate to defy it, to set it at naught. Truth is after all, their religion, and they must need break smaller bounds. Did anyone ever, hear of a great saint who did not transcend some limitation or other? Who has forgotten the tale of Guru Nanuk, and how he went on pilgrimage to Mecca? There he slept, with his feet against the Caabah stone. Moved to righteous indignation, pious Mussalmans came, and woke him up, threatening to kill him, for daring to put his feet on the place where God was. "Ah," said the saint quietly, "Just show me the place where God is not, that I may place my feet there!" And great was the multitude that became his disciples.

Have they not all been of this type, those great souls in whom our nation ought to glory? Ought we to need to be reminded that fire of spirituality, when it is lighted, burns up all the forest, even the jungle of religious rites and doctrines?

IN EITHER CASE.

There are two movements of humanity, upward and downward, and both are irresistible. It may seem for a moment that the downward movement is arrested and an upward lift may for a while rejoice the hearts that are attached to a cause forsaken by God and Destiny.

The majestic or impetuous rise of a religion, an idea, a nation may for a fleeting period be held back by main force and with a fierce and infinite labour the wheel may be driven back for the space of an inch or even two. But God cannot be deceived and God cannot be conquered by violence. Where He is the Charioteer, victory is certain, and if He wheels back, it is only to leave ground which is no longer advantageous to Him and shift the conflict to terrain fixed beforehand for the victory. Often He forces His adversaries to drive Him from ground conquered and occupied in order that they may exhaust their strength on a position never meant to be permanently held and by their very triumph prepare a more decisive overthrow.

Minute minds fix themselves on details and say "Here we have failed, there we have prevailed; and if the record of defeats seems to be long and ill-balanced by doubtful successes, they grow discouraged and apprehend the ruin of their cause. So men deceive themselves as to the trend of events by not keeping their eyes open to the great stream of inevitable tendency which prevails over all back washes and petty currents. And where defeat is predestined for a season, their want of faith leads to the very calamity which they apprehended. The eye of Faith is not one with the eye of Knowledge;—Faith divines in the large what knowledge sees distinctly and clearly; but in the main thing Faith and Knowledge are one and the wisdom of the Lover is justified and supported by the wisdom of the Seer. Faith fights for God, while knowledge is waiting for fulfilment, and so long as the latter is withheld, the former is necessary. For without indomitable Faith or inspired Wisdom no great cause can conquer.

We must look therefore to the great tendency of things and interpret in their light the minute events that are passing at the moment. Is the main tendency of things upward or downward? If it is downward, even then we must strive, for the man who abandons a cause which is right because it is denied success, is despicable, and he inflicts a wound on mankind in the present and the future. Great causes which are fought out boldly to the end are made sacred by courage and suffering, and

their resurrection and final victory is inevitable. Only those which are supported by cowards and meanly abandoned, are erased from the books of the future. The mediæval movement of civic liberty in France and Italy failed and gave place to Teutonic despotism, but it revived with a hundredfold force in the French Revolution and it was the impetuous rush earthwards of the souls that had fought for it hundreds of years before that shattered to pieces the once victorious feudal system. But if, as we are assured, the movement is upward, then we may persist in absolute confidence, sure that reverses in details are only meant to prepare and point the true way to victory.

Persistence does not imply persistence in methods that have proved to be infructuous or from which, though temporarily fruitful God has withdrawn His sanction. We must remember that we are a nation not yet trained in the vaster movements of modern politics. Not only our rank and file, but our captains and our strategists need the training of events, the wisdom of experience to make them perfect. Fire, impetuosity, self-sacrifice, intellectual vigour, subtlety, wealth of ideas, fertility of resource to meet unexpected happenings, these have been given to us in abundance. But the perfect experience of the veteran in great battles, the acute political intelligence which comes of long familiarity with the handling of high affairs and national destinies, these are yet in us immature and in a state of pupillage. But God Himself is our master and teacher for He would give to His chosen nation a faultless training and a perfect capacity. Only we must be ready to acknowledge our mistakes, to change our path, to learn. Then only shall we victoriously surmount all obstacles and move steadily, impetuously, but without stumbling or swerving, to our goal.

Moreover, we have weaknesses that are still rampant and uncorrected in our midst. It is our first duty to purge these out of our hearts with a merciless surgery. If the intellectual equipment is deficient, the spiritual equipment is also far from perfect. Our leaders and our followers both require a deeper sadhana, a more direct

communion with the Divine Guru and Captain of our movement, an inward uplifting, a grander and more impetuous force behind thought and deed. It has been driven home to us by experience after experience. That not in the strength of a raw unmoralised European enthusiasm shall we conquer. Indians, it is the spirituality of India, the sadhana of India, tapasya, jnanam, shakti that must make us free and great. And these great things of the East are ill rendered by their inferior English equivalents, discipline, philosophy, strength. Tapasya is more than discipline; it is the materialisation in ourselves by spiritual means of the divine energy creative, preservative and destructive. Jnanam is more than philosophy, it is the inspired and direct knowledge which comes of what our ancients called drishti, spiritual sight. Shakti is more than strength, it is the universal energy which moves the stars, made individual. It is the East that must conquer in India's uprising. It is the Yogin who must stand behind the political leader or manifest within him; Ramadas must be born in one body with Shivaji, Mazzini mingle with Cavour. The divorce of intellect and spirit, strength and purity may help a European revolution, but by a European strength we shall not conquer.

The movements of the last century failed because they were too purely intellectual and had not an enlightened heart behind them. Nationalism has striven to supply the deficiency; it has poured the inspirations of the heart into a swifter and more discerning intellectual activity. But Nationalism also has been defective; it has been Indian in sentiment and aspiration, European in practice and actuality. It has helped itself with the intellect, rejoicing in its own lightness, clearness, accuracy, shrewd insight, but it has not been sufficiently supported by inspired wisdom. It has attached itself to imaginations and idealisms, but has not learned to discern the deeper Truth and study the will of God. It has been driven by ardent and vehement emotions but was defective in clear will power and the pure energy that is greater and more impetuous than any passionate feeling. Either

Nationalism will purify itself, learn a more sacred truth and command a diviner impulse, or it will have to abandon utterly its old body and get itself a new. The pressure of events seem to be pointing in the latter direction. But in either case defeat cannot be the end, victory must be the end.

In all the events of the last year and a half the voice of the divine Teacher can be heard crying to us, "Abandon that you may possess; do my will and know yourselves, purify yourselves, cease to follow your fancies." He that has ears, let him hear. Knowledge will not come without self-communion, without light from within,—not even the knowledge of the practical steps that can lead to success. Every step that is taken in the light of a lower wisdom will fail until the truth is driven home.

The work that was begun at Dakshineswar, is far from finished, it is not even understood. That which Vivekananda received and strove to develop, has not yet materialised. The truth of the future that Bijoy Goswami hid within himself, has not yet been revealed utterly to his disciples. A less discreet revelation prepares, a more concrete force manifests, but where it comes, when it comes, none knoweth.

Sj. AUROBINDO GHOSE.

We are greatly astonished to learn from the local Press that Sj. Aurobindo Ghose has disappeared from Calcutta and is now interviewing the Mahatmas in Tibet. We are ourselves unaware of this mysterious disappearance. As a matter of fact Sj. Aurobindo is in our midst and, if he is doing any astral business with Kuthmi or any of the other great Rishis, the fact is unknown to his other Koshas. Only as he requires perfect solitude and freedom from disturbance for his Sadhan for some time, his address being kept a strict secret. This is the only foundation for the remarkable rumour which the vigorous imagination of a local contemporary has set floating. For similar reasons he is unable to engage in journalistic works, and DHARMA has been entrusted to other hands.

AN APPEAL.

I am the printer of Karmayogin. Since my imprisonment as the printer of the now defunct Navasakti News Paper, which extended over a pretty long period of 10 months, my affairs have drifted into a hopeless confusion. After my release it took sometime to recover my strength and spirits and begin work again. The difficulty of my situation has been considerably increased by the necessity of having to marry a daughter who has almost exceeded her marriageable age from the Hindu point of view. Some kind friends have taken pity on me and secured a bridegroom for my girl. The marriage must somehow be performed in Baisakh next. As I am now living from hand to mouth and have hardly any credit to manage a loan I have been most reluctantly driven to appeal to the public who I hope will appreciate my situation and help me out of the difficulty. All contributions to be sent to the Manager Karmayogin, 4, Shampookur Lane, Cal.

Monomohan Ghose,

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Now that the Government has gently but firmly shown the folly of looking to it for any movement in the direction of primary education, the only course for the Indian people, is to consider what they themselves can unassisted do, most effectively, in the matter. We all know that the future depends, for us, on education. Not that industry and commerce are unimportant, but because all things are possible to the educated, and nothing whatever to the uneducated man. We know this. We know also that this education, to be of any avail, must extend through all degrees, from its lowest and humblest applications, up to the highest and most disinterested grades. We must have technical education and we must have also higher research, because technical education, without higher research, is a branch without a tree, a blossom without a root. We must have education of women, as well as education of men. We must have secular education, as well as religious. And, almost more important than any of these, we must have education of the people, and

for this, we must depend upon ourselves.

Our civilisation has never been backward in bringing to the notice of the individual his responsibility to society. There is none so poor that he has never tried to feed the starving. From this time we must recognise the still greater urgency of giving knowledge. There is no other way of making the unity of our country effective. If one class of the people derive all their mental sustenance from one set of ideas, and the bulk of the population from something else, this unity, although certainly present, cannot easily be made effective. But if all the people talk the same language, learn to express themselves in the same way, to feed their realisation upon the same ideas, if all are trained and equipped to respond in the same way to the same forces, then our unity will stand self-demonstrated, unflinching. We shall have acquired national solidarity, and power of prompt and intelligent action. In this very fact, of universal education, the goal will have been attained, and none could succeed in turning us back.

Nor need we regret that we fall back, for this, upon our own strength. Education for the people is, in the first place, reading, writing, and arithmetic. As long as we carry the burden ourselves, there need be no juggling with the geographical distribution of languages. But for artificial intervention, Orissa, Bengal, and Behar might now have been talking a single tongue, using a single script, quoting from a great consolidated literature. We must do all we can, for the simplification of the language-problem, and for this, nothing could be so effective as our own feeble action, infinitely preferable to the centralised, mechanical organisation.

Another advantage in our own effort is, that it alone can be a permanent force. It depends upon no outside influence. Let the centralisers come and go, and change as they will, the initiative that resides in the nerve-ends themselves, remains intact, can never be infringed.

We have to build up this idea of the sacred duty of giving education to the people as one of the elements of our civilisation. Already we have the idea of giving

alma. The one is only an extension of the other.

In most western countries, it is required that every young man, when his education is complete, shall give three, four, or five years to military service. He goes into barracks, is regimented, and drilled, makes a unit in the standing army, and passes out, usually, when his term is ended, an efficient soldier, to remain, for the rest of his life, ready at any moment to join in the armed defence of his country.

What we have to do, is in like fashion, to organise the army of education. Why should it be thought impossible that every student, when his own education is over, should be called upon to give three years to the people? It is of course understood that just as the only son of a widow is, in the west excused military service, so one whose earnings are absolutely necessary to others must be excused the educational service. The villagers, on the other hand, would easily maintain a single student, living amongst them as a schoolmaster. And when his own three years were over, it is to be supposed that he could, from his own old school or college, arrange for another to take his place. Some would learn to love the simple village life, and elect to live and die, poor schoolmasters. Most, however, would serve the years of their vow, and pass on, returning to the city, to bear their part in the life of a more complex community. On the one hand, the duty of teaching, on the other, the duty of maintaining, so teacher and taught make the perfect social unit. And so the great masses of the people might be swept within the circle of articulation. It takes thirty years to make a whole people literate, even supposing that an idea like this were carried out in its fulness. But with it we must not neglect the Asiatic device that makes every morsel of social service self-supporting, and self-propagating. India never forgets to wing the seed that she has brought to ripeness. Along with the teaching must go the awaking of responsibility for further teaching. "Alms to the teacher," and "Knowledge to the people," must be converse truths, taught at one and the same time.

No central organisation could arrange a scheme like this. Only by a common impulse of the people and the students themselves could it be made a reality. But it is not impossible. The initial thought comes, it is true, from the city, but once sent out, all depends upon the number of lives that can be laid upon its altar. All must always in the last resort depend upon this, the quantity and quality of human life that can be sacrificed to it. Without men's lives, no seed of the mind germinates. How many will give up comfort, place, opportunity, ease, even perhaps their whole life, for this, the elementary education of the Indian people?

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER VII.

The training of the Mental Faculties.

The first qualities of the mind that have to be developed are those which can be grouped under observation. We notice some things, ignore others. Even of what we notice, we observe very little. A general perception of an object is all we usually carry away from a cursory half-attentive glance. A closer attention fixes its place, form, nature as distinct from its surroundings. Full concentration of the faculty of observation gives us all the knowledge that the three chief senses can gather about the object, or if we touch or taste, we may gather all that the five senses can tell us of its nature and properties. Those who make use of the sixth sense, the poet, the painter, the Yogin, can also gather much that is hidden from the ordinary observer. The scientist by investigation ascertains other facts open to a minuter observation. These are the components of the faculty of observation, and it is obvious that its basis is attention, which may be only close, or close and minute. We may gather much even from a passing glance at an object, if we have the habit of concentrating the attention and the habit of Satwic receptivity. The

first thing the teacher has to do is to accustom the pupil to concentrate attention.

We may take the instance of a flower. Instead of looking casually at it and getting a casual impression of scent, form and colour, he should be encouraged to know the flower—to fix in his mind the exact shade, the peculiar glow, the precise intensity of the scent, the beauty of curve and design in the form. His touch should assure itself of the texture and its peculiarities. Next, the flower should be taken to pieces and its structure examined with the same careful fulness of observation. All this should be done not as a task, but as an object of interest by skilfully arranged questions suited to the learner which will draw him on to observe and investigate one thing after the other until he has almost unconsciously mastered the whole.

Memory and judgment are the next qualities that will be called upon, and they should be encouraged in the same unconscious way. The student should not be made to repeat the same lesson over again in order to remember it. That is a mechanical burdensome and unintelligent way of training the memory. A similar but different flower should be put in his hands and he should be encouraged to note it with the same care, but with the avowed object of noting the similarities and differences. By this practice daily repeated the memory will naturally be trained. Not only so, but the mental centres of comparison and contrast will be developed. The learner will begin to observe as a habit the similarities of things and their differences. The teacher should take every care to encourage the perfect growth of this faculty and habit. At the same time the laws of species and genus will begin to dawn on the mind and by a skilful following and leading of the young developing mind, the scientific habit, the scientific attitude and the fundamental facts of scientific knowledge may in a very short time be made part of its permanent equipment. The observation and comparison of

flowers, leaves, plants, trees will lay the foundations of botanical knowledge without loading the mind with names and that dry set acquisition of informations which is the beginning of cramming and detested by the healthy human mind when it is fresh from nature and unspoiled by unnatural habits. In the same way by the observation of the stars astronomy, by the observation of the earth, stones etc. geology, by the observation of insects and animals, entomology and zoology may be founded. A little later chemistry may be started by interesting observation of experiments without any formal teaching or heaping on the mind of formulas and book knowledge. There is no scientific subject the perfect and natural mastery of which cannot be prepared in early childhood by this training of the faculties to observe, compare, remember and judge various classes of objects. It can be done easily and attended with a supreme and absorbing interest in the mind of the student. Once the taste is created, the boy can be trusted to follow it up with all the enthusiasm of youth in his leisure hours. This will prevent the necessity at a later age of teaching him everything in class.

The Judgment will naturally be trained along with the other faculties. At every step the boy will have to decide what is the right idea, measurement, appreciation of colour, sound, scent, etc. and what is wrong. Often the judgments and distinctions made will have to be exceedingly subtle, and delicate. At first many errors will be made, but the learner should be taught to trust his judgment without being attached to its results. It will be found that the judgment will soon begin to respond to the calls made on it, clear itself of all errors and begin to judge correctly and minutely. The best way is to accustom the boy to compare his judgments with those of others. When he is wrong, it should at first be pointed out to him how far he was right and why he went wrong, afterwards he should be encouraged to note these things for himself.

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Every time he is right, his attention should be prominently and encouragingly called to it so that he may get confidence.

While engaged in comparing and contrasting, another centre is certain to develop, the centre of analogy. The learner will inevitably draw analogies and argue from like to like. He should be encouraged to use this faculty while noticing its limitations and errors. In this way he will be trained to form the habit of correct analogy, which is an indispensable aid in the acquisition of knowledge.

The one faculty we have omitted, apart from the faculty of direct reasoning, is Imagination. This is a most important and indispensable instrument. It may be divided into three functions, the forming of mental images, the power of creating thoughts, images and imitations or new combinations of existing thoughts and images, the appreciation of the soul in things, beauty, charm, greatness, hidden suggestiveness, the emotion and spiritual life that pervades the world. This is in every way, as important as the training of the faculties which observe and compare outward things. But I shall deal with it in a subsequent chapter.

The mental faculties should first be exercised on things, afterwards on words and ideas. Our dealings with language are much too perfunctory and the absence of a fine sense for words impoverishes the intellect and limits the fineness and truth of its operations. The mind should be accustomed first to notice the word thoroughly its form, sound, sense; then to compare the form with other similar forms in the points of similarity and difference, thus forming the foundation of the grammatical sense; then to distinguish between the fine shades of sense of similar words and the formation and rhythm of different sentences, thus the formation of the literary and the syntactical faculties. All this should be done informally drawing on the curiosity and interest, avoiding set teaching and memorising of rules. The true knowledge takes its base on things, *arthus*, and only when it has mastered the thing, proceeds to formalize its information.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

CONVERSATIONS OF THE DEAD.

GANDHARI AND DHRITARASHTRA.

Gandhari: Awake! Awake! We are called again to the play. The players wait. The drama cannot go forward until we are found. They are so earnest, those already on the stage! How can we keep them at the pause?

Dhritarashtra: So earnest, yes! There they are, the *nannikins*, striding up and down the stage prating about ideals, and calling aloud to heaven about their rights and duties! Their right to do this duty, their duty to claim that right! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! The whole thing is a tempest in a cow-puddle. How much sweeter were harmony and concord without all this talk of rights and duties! Can they not see that the whole thing is *Maya*, anyway, that the stars are very distant, and the earth is wide, and it matters little who wins or who loses in these mimic battles?

Gandhari: Ah no, my Lord, you look with the outer eye, alone. To see thus is to be oneself beneath the spell of *Maya*. The idleness of uncertainty is not the same as victorious insight! I also look, but with that inner sense that your wife gained. And I say, let them strive and struggle with all their might! Let them wrestle to their utmost! Let them fight, with teeth set, and grim determination, though they were even less than five

to a hundred men! Unless they can win, in this contest of the play-house, they are lost, lost, for time and for eternity!

Dhritarashtra: Yet you were never a turbulent woman, Gandhari! By your side found I ever a refuge, in days when our sons and their foes kept the whole world at fever-pitch without. How can it be that you, sweetest of women, and ideal of wifehood, would fill the stage of our time with violence, would welcome warfare and the din of battle, would call down confusion and bloodshed, from which even men may shrink with fear and horror?

Gandhari: Can you not see, dear Sovereign and Spouse, the next act in our play is all of this? Man sees only the external, the superficial. But woman everywhere looks deeper, and interprets, urges, and inspires. Man sees only the results of the fight, and has little heart to pay again so great a price to gain so little; but woman sees the heroes themselves, and thinks even defeat were nothing, to give for such?

Dhritarashtra: Tell me, my wife, what is it that you see? I shall talk no more of life being all a dream, talk no more of the sweetness of peace. Here is indeed the spell of *Maya*, to use even the highest of thoughts, only to justify one's own comfort and retirement. But utter to me your prophecy, that I may go down to the great drama with heart at rest, making my

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right arm serve your sight ! I am silent. I await in you the voice of vision.

Gandhari : (with head bent forward, eyes fixed and unseeing. She is at first silent, then her voice rises gradually, in a low, plaintive chant).

Dreams ! Dreams ! The past is hidden like a dream, beneath the clouds of time. Gone is the age of our sorrow. Gone is the kingdom of Yudisthira. Great are the changes on the earth we loved. The play has grown sad. The players are old, and bent, and weary. The music is now so low that I can scarce'y hear it. The Lokhi puja is feeble and small * * * Yet still I see,

in simple hearts, burns the light of faith ! Villagers, seated beneath the tree at night-fall, whisper together of the coming again of Rama. The peasant, driving the oxen at the plough, mutters "Ram" "Ram" with every sigh. And listen ! listen ! what is the word I hear ? Dharma ! Dharma ! Joto Dharma ! Ah, Joto Dharma, stoto Joyha ! Stoto Joyha, indeed. Now, now I see ! * * * I see the battle of the souls. How many lights rise upwards and are lost in God ! Again awake the sounds of action among the players. Again take place the great renunciations. Men are become strenuous once more.

They think great thoughts, and attempt impossible tasks. They laugh at words like loss and death. They toss lightly aside the notion of defeat. To the heroes, they say, whether victory or defeat is only a question of the fortunes of war. Today this. To-morrow that. The lights are brighter. The music grows louder. Ah, good in my ears sounds the clang of shields and weapons, and the laughter of the heroes ! How gay and bright grows the play ! Ah Husband and King, how firm is my faith ! Arise, let us go forth upon the stage. Joto Dharma stoto Joyha.

CHITRANGADA.

In Manipur upon her orient hills
Chitrangada beheld intending dawn
Gaze coldly in. She understood the call.
The silence and imperfect pallor passed
Into her heart and in herself she grew
Prescient of grey realities ; Rising,
She gazed afraid into the opening world.
Then Urjoon, felt his mighty clasp a void
Empty of her he loved and, through the grey
Unwilling darkness that disclosed her face,
Sought out Chitrangada. "Why dost thou stand
In the grey light, like one from joy cast down ?
O thou whose bliss is sure. Leave that

grey space,
Come hither." So she came and leaning down,
With that strange sorrow in her eyes, replied :
Great, doubtless, is thy love, thy very sleep
Impatient of this brief divorce. And yet
How easily that void will soon be filled !
For thou wilt run thy splendid fiery race
Through cities and through regions like a star.
Men's worship, women's hearts inevitably
Will turn to follow for, as the planets move
Unbidden round the sun. Thou wilt accept

them,
Careless in thy heroic strength and beauty,
And smile securely kind, even as a God
Might draw an earthly maiden to his arms
And marry his immortal mouth to hers.
Then wilt thy destiny seize thee, thou wilt pass
Like a great light in heaven and leave behind
Only a memory of force and fire.
No lesser occupation can for ever
Keep thee, O hero, whose terrestrial birth
Heaven fostered with her seed,—for what but this
To fill thy soul with battle, and angust
Misfortunes and majestic harms embrace
And joys to their own nature, orated. Last,
Empire shall meet thee on some mighty field
Disputing thee with death. Thou art not ours
More than the wind, that lingers for a while
To touch our hair, then passes to its home."
And Urjoon silently caressing her,

"Muse not again, beloved Chitrangada,
Alone beside the window looking out
On the half-formed aspect and shape of things
Before sunlight was made. For God still keeps
Near to a paler world the hour ere dawn
And one who looks out from the happy, warm
And mortal limit of mankind that live
Enhoused, defended by companionship
With walls and limitations, is outdrawn
To dateless memories he cannot grasp
And infinite yearnings without form, until
The sense of an original vastness grows,
Empty of joyous detail, desolate,
In labour of a wide and unfinished world.
Look not into that solemn silence ! Rather
Protect thyself with joy, take in my arms
Refuge from the grey summons and defend
Thy soul until God rises with the sun.
Friendly to mortals in the living sun's
Great brilliant light, friendly the cheerful noise
Of earth rising to her various tasks
And myriad hopes. But this grey hour was born
For the ascetic in his silent cave
And for the dying man whose heart released
Loosens its vibrant strings." She answered

him ;

"Near to the quiet truth of things we stand
In this grey moment. Neither happy light
Nor joyful sound deceives the listening heart,
Nor Night in arms, the Mother brooding, vast,
To comfort us with sleep. It helps me not
To bind thee for a moment to my joy.
The impulse of thy mighty life will come
Upon thee like a wind and drive thee forth
To toil and battle and disastrous deeds
And all the giant anguish that preserves
Our world. Thou art resistlessly wast born
To these things as the leopard sleek to strength
And beauty and fierceness, as resistlessly
As women are to love,—even though they know
Pain for the end, yet, knowing, still must love.
Ah, quickly pass ! Why shouldst thou linger here
Vainly ? How will it serve God's purpose in thee
To tarry soothing for her transient hour
Merely a woman's heart, meanwhile perhaps

Lose some great moment of thy life which once
Neglected never can return." She paused
And great Urjoon made answer, deeply moved :
Has my clasp slackened or hast thou perceived
A waning passion in my kiss ? Much more
My soul needs thee than on that fated day
When through Bengal of the enormous streams
With careless horsehooves hurrying to the east
I came, a wandering prince, companioned only
By courage and my sword ; nor

knew such flowers

Were by the wayside waiting to be plucked
As these darktresses and sweet body small
Of white Chitrangada. Dost thou remember ?

O fair young sovereign ruling with pure eyes
And little fearless hand fragile and mild
This strong and savage nation! Didst thou know ?
Didst thou expect me in thy soul ? Assuredly
Thy heart's first flutterings recognised their lord.
And never with such gladness mountain queen
Exchanged tremendous seat and austere powers,
Her noble ancient right, for only leave
To lay her head upon my feet and wear
My kisses, not that crown. Content with love
All else thou gavest. Now thou speakest sadly,
Too like a mind matured by thought and pain."

To be continued.

AUROBINDO GHOSE.

RAJKUMARI LEPER ASYLUM. DEOGHUR.

—10—

The town of Deoghur being the seat of Baidyanath, the presiding deity of Hindu medical science, among other incurable sufferers, a large number of lepers has all along been noticed throughout the year to come over here from the different parts of the country with a strong expectancy of relief by the mysterious grace of the divine healer. Before the establishment of this asylum the condition of these miserable wretches was really pitiable during their stay at this place. There having been no provision whatever for their shelter and food they had to pass their days on public streets and in the open compound of the temple and to depend for their sustenance upon the casual charity of the generous public. For this reason their painful life was rendered doubly miserable. Their pitiable condition excited sympathy, among others, of men like the late Pandit Girijananda Jha, the late Sreejuti Rajnarayan Basu and Sreejuti Jogendranath Basu. These kind-hearted gentlemen set together to devise means for affording substantial relief of a permanent nature to these homeless and helpless lepers.

At the same time the danger to which public health was every moment exposed in consequence of the possibility of occasional contact with these lepers did not escape their vigilant attention and to avert it was the secondary object of their anticipated measure. Unfortunately little could be done for want of funds. Just at that moment our eminent countryman the late Dr. Mohendralal Sircar came forward with a handsome offer of Rs. 5,000 for the construction of a building to accommodate the lepers. Thus encouraged, these gentlemen proceeded to invite subscription from the public in aid of an asylum for lepers. Being successful in their efforts to a certain extent they invited Sir Charles Elliott, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to lay the foundation stone of the present asylum named after the wife of the generous doctor, which ceremony took place on the 12th July, 1892. Subsequently the asylum was formally opened on the 25th August, 1895. It was started with a fund amounting to nearly Rs. 8,000 and a managing committee to look after its interests. From the very beginning Sreejuti Jogendranath Basu acted as its honorary secretary. Having rendered disinterested service in this capacity for nearly five years and a half when in January, 1901, he made over charge of

his duties, he had been able to leave a sum of Rs. 19,300 in the fund of the asylum. This happy result was due mainly to his untiring exertion towards this noble cause. Since then Rai Bahadur Barada Prasada Basu Deva Varmana, retired executive engineer, has been performing the duties of the honorary secretary of the asylum. Under his careful supervision the fund of the asylum has further received an addition raising it to the sum of nearly Rs. 22,180. The management of the asylum is at present vested in a Trust Committee consisting of 18 members among whom are included the local Deputy Commissioner, the Sub-divisional Officer, the Deputy Magistrate and other respectable gentlemen of the place. This Committee was established in the year 1903. Last year the total income of the asylum amounted to Rs. 3,282, the total expenditure being Rs. 2,571. At the end of 1900 there were 15 lepers in the asylum. During the last nine years ending with 1909 some 429 lepers received admission into the asylum out of whom 199 left the asylum cured of sores, 171 left incurable, 32 died, leaving 49 the number of the present inmates. Here lepers are treated according to the principles of Homoeopathy. On a perusal of its annual reports it is observed with much satisfaction that through the unselfish efforts of some kindly disposed gentlemen subscription is regularly raised from the Simla offices which is annually sent in aid of the asylum. Last year the sum realised from this source amounted to Rs. 577. In the year 1907 the Government of Bengal made a grant of Rs. 2,500 towards the support of the asylum. The Government have also held out a promise to the effect that they will make a further grant, viz., twice the amount to be raised by public subscription in excess of the above grant. That is, if the sum of Rs. 3,000 is raised by public subscription Government will offer Rs. 1,000 ; if 4,000 the Government offer will be raised to Rs. 3,000 and so on.

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There can be no difference of opinions as regards the usefulness of this institution. The total number of lepers in United Bengal is 27,400, and the number of leper asylums established in this province is 10 or 11, where regular arrangement exists for the maintenance of nearly 1,650 lepers only. Of these asylums seven are under the kind and careful supervision of Christian missionaries, the number of their inmates being 1,300. By this, as well as other acts of charity truly becoming the noble religion which they profess, they have placed our country under an eternal obligation. There is one asylum with 800 inmates under the direct management of the Government. While under the supervision of our own countrymen we can count only one or two asylums which make provision for nearly 50 lepers only. From the above statement it is clearly evident that here, as in other spheres of our activity, the discharge of only a very small portion of our public duty is due to our own exertion. So long as a single helpless leper, solicited of redress at our hand, is left uncared and unprovided for, we are not justified in adopting the attitude of indifference which so prominently characterises our conduct so far as this question is concerned. No amount of excuse will exonerate us from the responsibility which both religion and morality enjoin upon us.

Thus a very spacious field of disinterested and really beneficial work lies extended before us and is waiting for our sympathy and exertion for its consummation. A humble suggestion as to how this task can be successfully accomplished is placed before the public for their kind consideration. In the Simla hills, the seat of the Imperial Government, in most of the offices kind-hearted gentlemen out of their own free will, take upon themselves the task of collecting subscriptions in aid of the inmates of the asylum in question. The amount thus collected in each office is deposited with a gentleman, who is thus enabled to transmit the whole amount to the secretary of the asylum every year. Is not action on a similar line feasible also in other Government and mercantile offices? Will not the members of the legal, medical and engineering profession, when respectfully approached, show their readiness to associate themselves with this work? Is it not natural to expect substantial contribution from several commercial centres whose charity in deserving cases is a well-established fact? Need we fear that in such places unselfish workers will not be forthcoming for this noble undertaking? It is our firm conviction that in every sphere of human activity it will not be

difficult to come across persons favourably disposed towards work of this nature. It is only necessary to suitably place before them the object under our consideration. Thus with the sympathy and support of our fellow brethren in different spheres, will it not be possible to start a provincial leper asylum and for this purpose cannot the Rajkumari Leper Asylum be utilised as a central institution? In these auspicious days of national self-consciousness, supplemented by organised activity in every direction, will it be inconsistent with the spirit of the time to cherish such an idea in our hearts?

In every undertaking of appreciable magnitude the greatest difficulty that generally stands in the way is invariably experienced in the incipient stage. But fortunately in this respect owing to the exertion of our revered countrymen mentioned above the line seems clear and the passage comparatively smooth and easy-going. The successful execution of this undertaking promises threefold blessings:—

(1) Relief of the sufferings of helpless lepers.

(2) Prevention of the dangers of infection to which public health is at present exposed.

(3) Prevention of helpless lepers from renouncing their religion and embracing Christianity under the sympathetic influence of Christian missionaries.

The object of this representation is to appeal quality of public mercy—the quality that is not strained, upon which depends entirely the fulfilment of such a task, the one and only aim of which is to redress the sufferings of those of our helpless and wretched brethren to whom the hope of recovery never comes in life that comes to all. Does it not then behove us to offer our mites to assuage their lifelong woe-begone lot, to provide what palliative we can? The mighty prophet of Arabia said: "One-tenth of every man's property is due to the poor." Were this noble dictum intelligently acted upon, how many of our dark and dismal corners would have been illumined?

To make the movement free from the slightest taint of doubt or suspicion it is highly desirable that those commanding public respect and confidence should kindly take the responsibility of collecting whatever may be voluntarily advanced in this connection.

Beeghur.

March, 1919.

HARIDAS DATTA.

[This appeal is made with the permission of the Secretary of the Asylum by whom aid in any shape will be thankfully received and acknowledged.]

DR. COOMARSWAMY ON MR. HAVELL'S PAPER ON INDIAN ART.

In the discussion on Mr. Havell's paper on Indian art read before the Indian section of the Royal Society of Arts which was published in the last two issues of our paper. Dr. Coomarswamy said that he so fully agreed with Mr. Havell's argument that there was little need for him to enlarge upon the same theme. He thought Mr. Havell had said rather too little than too much of the apathy of the British Government with regard to all matters connected with Indian art. No one going for the first time into the Indian section of the Museum at South Kensington was likely to come away with any enlarged feeling of respect for or any enlarged comprehension of, the expression of Indian thought and feeling in art. The Museum was rather an emporium of industrial art, valuable as far as it went, than an effective record of India's creative imagination. Then again, Colonel Hanna's large collection had just been allowed to go to America because the Indian Government were indifferent to, and ignorant of Indian art. As a smaller instance, he might cite the case of some small bronze replicas of a seventh or eighth century Buddhist image which he had lately had made; these had been purchased by several Continental museums, but refused at once by the two great museums in London, including the Indian Museum already referred to. At South Kensington, moreover, there was not a single Mogul or mediæval Indian painting of the first rank. It was the same in India. At the Bombay School of Art, where students might be observed making shadings from antique casts, and drawings of Gothic or pseudo-classic architecture, there was not a single good specimen of mediæval Indian painting or sculpture; and so far as painting was concerned, the same was true of the Madras

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Museum and School of Art. The same attitude was traceable in the whole of the Government educational policy, in which Indian art and music were alike calmly and totally ignored. Take only one example, the teaching of drawing; no one had thought of studying indigenous methods, or of making use of them; antiquated South Kensington copy books represented the wisdom of the West in this respect for the greater part of India even now. The main difficulty seemed to be that English educationists in India could not be brought to realise their own colossal ignorance. It seemed as if the English and Anglo-Indian mind were not only indifferent to, and ignorant of Indian art and music, but determined that Indians themselves should remain in equal ignorance. He would also like to say a word with regard to the qualifications of European writers on Indian art. These were usually archaeologists or amateurs. Out of sympathy with the fundamental ideals of Indian thought, prejudiced in some cases against Indian religion, and possessed of few of the faculties of appreciation which are demanded of a writer on European art, they have found it most easy to condemn and criticise, and have felt little or no consciousness of their duty to interpret. The writer of books on art should aim to make his readers understand the art; to see the world as the artist saw it; at least, to know what the artist wished to say. Most writers on Indian art, in pointing out defects and limitations, have merely pointed out the obvious, and demonstrated the divergence of their own from the Indian point of view; and the results could not be regarded as permanent contributions to the history of art. The European critic never seemed to penetrate behind the surface of an Indian sculpture and painting, or to have learnt its language; he did not perceive its intention, and, therefore, could not judge it on the only true basis, that of Leonardo's saying, that "that drawing is best which best expresses the passion that animates the figure." The writers he referred to did not know, and could not feel the passion that animates many an Indian work of art; how then could they interpret or criticise? Which was not to say that their works had no value as records of historical fact; it merely showed that those who write, and those who accept such ideas, were not competent—as the Moguls or the Hindu rulers of India once were—to guide the art administration of the Government. The speaker was glad, as an Indian, to welcome Mr. Havell's work as the beginning of a new order of things, and though the study of

Indian art could hardly said to have well begun, there were signs that it would in the future progress more rapidly, and be pursued more intelligently than had hitherto been the case. With regard to Sir George Birdwood's theory that fine art did not exist in India, this appeared to be only a question of terminology; the distinction of fine and decorative art was artificial, and though quite modern, we had progressed some little way even since the time when it was accepted as a matter of course. He could only say that if Sir George Birdwood chose to call the art of the Royal Academy or the Paris Salon, "fine," and such figure as the Avalokitevara of Mr. Havell's book (Plate XI), "decorative," then he preferred decorative to fine art, and regarded the decorative as a profounder revelation, a more living utterance than the fine. Sir George Birdwood appeared to think that "Fine Art" did not exist in Europe before the time of Raphael. He made the great mistake, common to all European art critics, of calling ideal art, "merely decorative," just because it was not "realistic." To say, in this way, that the use of definite "form," such as the canons prescribed, removed a given work from the category of fine art, was very much like saying that the use of sonnet form, or any other definite speech-mould, prevented our regarding a given poet's work as great or free! In any case it must be understood that the new consciousness of the "Nature of Indian" which lay behind the outward evidences of Indian nationalism, would be quite indifferent to academic terminology applied by Europeans to the products of Indian imagination, and would demand from the British Government a recognition of the artistic as well as of every other phase of Indian culture. The British Government would be harshly judged by future generations for its philistine and ignorant indifference to Indian art and artists, and its policy would be unfavourably contrasted with that of the Hindu and Mogul rulers of the earlier, and in many respects, more cultured times. Not only did the speaker think, however, that it was the duty of the Government in India and Ceylon at least, to continue the enlightened, art policy of the Indian rulers whom they supplanted, but he was convinced that nothing was more needed in European art than the liberating and inspiring influence of Oriental, and especially of Indian, art. He thought that influence was already felt. He would not enlarge upon this point, but would be very glad if the Chairman would call on Mr. Rothenstein, who was present, to speak as

a practising artist, on the significance of Indian art, in India and in Europe.

MR. W. ROTHENSTEIN ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIAN ART.

Mr. W. ROTHENSTEIN, as a practising artist in the West, felt that if artists had only realised earlier in their Western art the value of Eastern ideas, Western art would have had an entirely different character. Signs were apparent indicating that what the author and others had been insisting on were already being felt in Western art. There was already a turn to the more abstract form of reality. It was beginning to be understood that reality and realism were not the same thing, and that the essence of art was reality. It was against that particular form of realism, which had since the Renaissance taken too large a part in Western art, that stimulation could be found in the study of everything Eastern. It was only just and right that the character of Indian art should be fully recognised, and even exaggerated, if it were possible to exaggerate it, since it had been so neglected for whole centuries at least of learned archaeological civilisation. He thought artists owed a very great debt of gratitude to the author for laying down with such enthusiasm and clearness what he considered to be the side of Eastern art from which all could learn.

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HEWITT ON THE EARLY MERCHANT CIVILIZATION OF THE DRAVIDIAN BHARATAS.

—30—

The closing scenes of the Mahabharata add farther proof that it is an allegorical history of India, during the ages between the first entry into the country in the Neolithic age of northern races, who brought with them the sesame oil fax, millet and corn crops of Asia Minor and the final disruption at the close of the Bronze age of the empire of the peaceful trading classes formed by the union of the northern and indigenous tribes.

The history of this period, which was comprised in the original narrative forming the nucleus of the poem, has been translated into Sanskrit, from the original Dravidian language of these national symbolic histories from which its contents were derived, and edited and re-edited by many generations of Sanskrit-speaking bardic poets, who succeeded the national historiographers. The object aimed at by the original author of the final form of the poem, who grouped together the picture of the events which made the history of these ages of progress vitally important to the nation, was apparently to paint in his panoramic narrative a vivid consecutive dramatic history. The successive acts of the drama were represented as following one another in an ideal year of eighteen months or cantos and culminating in the rule of a new and righteous race which had been moulded into a nation in India, whose ideal form of Government was that established by the Pandavas under Yudhis-thira, when they were elected Kings by the celebration of the national Rajanya sacrifice. This was overthrown by the irruption and revolt of the warlike Kauravas, sons of the black horse of the north. It was then that the rule of India fell into the hands of mixed race, the Khali or Mitties of Indian history, who adopting the moral teaching of the first Jain leaders, substituted a system of education based on individual self-improvement for the communal ethics of the earlier ages. The votaries of the various forms of the new creed and the artisans practicing the various trades which grew up as wealth and industry increased, grouped themselves into new associations separating themselves in a greater or less degree, from the caste or communal ethics of the earlier ages. The

votaries of the various forms of this new creed and the artisans, practicing the various trades which grew up as wealth and industry increased, grouped themselves into new associations, separating themselves, in a greater or less degree, from the caste or communal village unions, founded on supposed identity of descent, and from the first trading caste, which were groups united by community of function. It was these extra caste associations which promoted the extraordinarily active religious movement which produced the first forms of the Buddhist and Zoroastrian reformations.

The individualism engendered by the new creeds produced a state of society which differed greatly from that existing in the days when all were trained to follow the rules of conduct and the teachings inculcated by the Leaders of their village, their tribe and their family. When men began to think for themselves, to listen to others who opened out new views, to make experiment and thus invent and learn new trades, leading to the accumulation of wealth, the dawn of a new age began in which the leading section of society were divided into trade guilds, which still maintained over their members a system of disciplinary rules learned from the earlier village institutions, but who, though they retained the bulk of the trade profits in the coffers of the guild, yet encouraged their members to think, scheme, and emulate one another in promoting the advantage of the corporate body to which they belonged while all the guilds worked together with the view of making their commercial policy benefit all engaged in it, and of discouraging methods of working which different trades competing rivals and not partners, seeking as their principal object, the common good. Under this system war was regarded as an evil, and the united efforts of all the ruling powers to promote active and remunerative trade, without the disturbances of military quarrels, produced an age of Universal peace and prosperity, which is represented in Indian history by the eighteen months year of the Pandavas; and in considering the causes which culminated in this result it must not be forgotten that Indian society in its initial agricultural stages was essentially peaceful and that neighbouring villages did not quarrel, but that each cultivated its own fields and arranged its own affairs without interfering with those adjoining them, and that the strict attention paid to the ascertain-

ment and record of village boundaries preserved by the Gonds, votaries and Gaurit priests of the boundary snake-God Goraya removed the principal cause of agricultural quarrel. It was the Tukkas and Kauravas who formed the bulk of the warrior invaders of the North who first introduced the elements of strife into the country, and it was when these were overcome under the new government instituted by the Pandavas that the people gladly resumed the former peaceful course of existence which had been disturbed by the northern intruders.

It was this peaceful society of traders which was broken up by the northern Celto-Gothic Sanskrit-speaking invaders, who in the beginning of the Iron Age conquered the country and introduced the Vedic Sanskrit rule which succeeded that of the Dravidian Bharatas.

The whole evidence shows with a very near approach to certainty that the only Bharata speech of northern India was some dialectical form of Dravidian Gondi such as the Dravidian Brahui spoken in Baluchistan.

And this conclusion is corroborated by the constant use in Sanskrit of the Dravidian cerebral letters C ch d dh and t, which are absent from all other Indo-European languages except Sanskrit, Bactrian and Zend in which the Zendvesta was written and and Pustu the speech of the Afghans. These letters were introduced into the Vedic Sanskrit dialects and languages derived from it by the children of Dravidian speaking mothers whose fathers belonged to the conquering Sanskrit race.

It was owing to this amalgamation of the Bharata people with the Sanskrit-speaking invaders that we find the ancient traditions, ritual and customs of pre-Sanskrit India preserved in the Rigveda.

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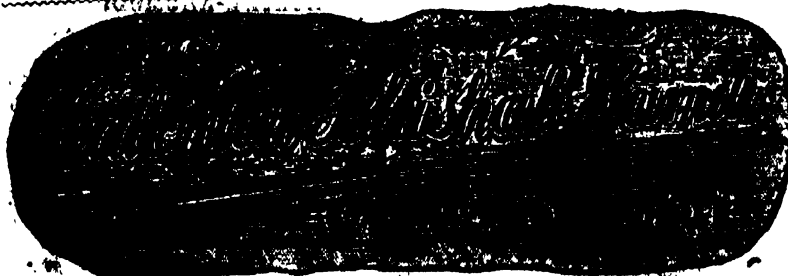
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Mahabharata, Haribansa, the Puranas, Ramayana, and the Jataka or birth stories forming one of the Buddhist canonical books. And these last include those telling the traditional history of the successive births assigned to Sidhartha Gautama, whose learning, preaching and organising abilities amalgamated into one belief the new religious views framed during thousands of years by the reforming teachers, and of which the Bhagabat Gita of the Mahabharata, one of the most impressive religious poems of the world, is a conspicuous example. And it was from the material supplied by the national storehouses of earliest thought and remembered history that the great Buddhist Teacher Sidhartha Gautama and his trained disciples framed the authoritative theology of the Buddhist Tripitaka which was so widely disseminated by its enthusiastic missionary preachers as to lead to the installation by Asoka, about 250 B.C. of Buddhism as the creed of the Indian Empire from whence it made its way to Ceylon, Burma, China and Japan and became the dominant religion of Eastern Asia.

*Early Primitive History in 2 volumes
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AHMED RIZA'S SPEECH TO THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT

On his re-election as President, Ahmed Riza Bey addressed the Chamber. After thanking the Sultan for the new place of meeting* he had put at their disposal, and recommending the Deputies always to act with steady moderation and prudence, he continued thus:—

"Resolutions and laws should be entirely in agreement with the needs of the fatherland and traditions of the nation, so that they may be easily applied and put in execution, according to the aptitudes and character of the country. So, before making laws or amending them, we must prepare the necessary measures for their execution, to the end that all sections of the people may gain an equal advantage from them. The Government charged to apply the laws must find at home and abroad a more solid support than the wishes and the confidence of the Parliament. Let us recognise that the main support is in the religious sentiments, the morality, the customs and the education of the people. Progress and civilisation are like a car impelled by the force of the past. If it has not behind it

the strong stimulus of forces both moral and material it stops in its ascent, or even falls back.

"The acts and efforts of the Parliament and the Government since the proclamation of the constitution not having yet had their full effect, they are thought to be few and unimportant. Trifling errors are magnified. The people considers evil the good which it does not at once understand, the acts which do not immediately procure material advantages, or the results which bring some prejudice to private interests, however beneficial to the community. Nevertheless, this popular view should not really trouble us. Reforms which suddenly change the people's way of life are often injurious. The law of evolution requires that transformations should be effected gradually. To-day it is not only our duty, but that of all Ottomans, to work hand in hand for the progress of our country. We must avoid the feelings which would lead us systematically and in hostile spirit to search for mutual cause of offence. Although criticism and condemnation are rights and gifts accorded by liberty, on condition that they are used well, it is also a virtue worthy of honour by a truly free and pure conscience, not to see only the bad side of everything, and not to give unlimited credence to all that is said.

"My dear colleagues, my aim in repeating truths which you already know is to express to you my desire as to the opinion which this year should predominate in the Chamber. When you made me President for the first time I considered this sign of confidence as a recompense for a struggle of twenty years against a despotic Government, which recognised neither justice nor legality. We have worked together during eight months. You have seen me at close quarters. Taking account of my inexperience, you have, during this interval, passed over some involuntary errors, and have again judged me worthy of this office. It would be on my part gross ingratitude to abuse, even unconsciously, the favour and confidence you have bestowed on me. The authority you give to the President is very important, but to employ it is a task of great delicacy. I find that its usefulness and its efficacy depend especially on impartiality—(applause)—and I know that I can only maintain and preserve the credit and dignity of this office by neutrality. For I am proud to be, not the President of a party, but the President of the whole Chamber. (Prolonged applause.) Your

kindness and my goodwill I hope will establish complete harmony in the bosom of the Assembly. My brothers, I wish from the bottom of my heart that our sacred fatherland may benefit by this concord and this harmony. (Three rounds of applause.)—Translated from the *Stamboul*, November 16, 1908.

The Positivist Review.

MISS. H. M. HOWSIN ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

Miss H. M. Howsin has written a pamphlet entitled "The Significance of Indian Nationalism" (A. C. Fifield, m. net. 89 p.p.), to which Dr. Rutherford has contributed an Introductory Note. Miss Howsin lays a firm foundation for her recommendations by a sketch of the history of the country both in its political and intellectual aspects; she defends the educated classes from the charge of ignoring the interests of the mass of their fellow-countrymen; and she deals with the relations of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities. She sums up her view in these words:—

"It is because of these considerations that the character of a foreign rule does not affect that question of nationalism, which rests on the assumption that, when a nation has reached a certain stage, self-government from within, and not compulsion, however wise and benevolent, from without, is a natural and vital necessity of future growth; and if from any cause that nation fails to achieve the requisite measure of attainment, premature decay inevitably sets in."

S. N. SWINNY.
The Positivist Review.

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It is essentially an intellectual and spiritual upheaval, the forerunner of a mighty social revolution, with a new organ and a new philosophy of life behind it. It is the summing up of the long course of humanity through a reconstructed social and civic life in the light of a lofty spiritual philosophy. This is the inner meaning of the present ferment in India.

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Asiatic Renaissance is slowly leading to. The European Renaissance, to which the modern world owes so much of its progress and enlightenment, has been exhausted. Humanity is on the threshold today of a new era and a new Renaissance, the inspiration of which is coming from the recovered thoughts and ideals of the long-neglected East.

BEVIN CHANDRA PAL
in *Contemporary Review*.

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No. 39.

PASSING THOUGHTS.

—ooo—

The Signs of a New Age.

The signs of a new age are about us in many directions. We are indeed growing so accustomed to the idea that we sometimes, possibly, anticipate too much. We talk too easily of a new age, forgetting that if we would indulge such thoughts we must be content to pay a high price for the privilege. Hence it may be well to stop a moment and take stock, as it were of the signs of the times, counting the cost once and again, to us and ours, of the course on which we have entered, reading the omens of the day that has just now dawned. The signs are not by any means all good. It is true, there is a new spirit abroad in the land. It is true that the young to-day have a much vaster and more complex notion of their duties than had their fathers before them. Changes come always from the young, and we need not apologise for the fact that it is these whom we have to take into account. In all countries the young are less exploited in the service of things as they are, than the old; and consequently they are more sensitive to the hint of new spiritual forces than others. In the west, it is true, society as a whole has specialised more or less in that particular group of ideas that are characteristic of

the dawning era with us; hence in such matters the young are never un-led in Europe. Still, led or un-led, we are much mistaken if great initiative in any field ever comes from the old, and after all, the criterion of vitality, for races and for nations, must lie finally, not in the age of the rank and file, but in the question whether new ideas find a response among them, whether great causes go un-led, and whether there be sacrifice and enthusiasm enough to carry the weight of the banner, in the unending contest of humanity between 'has been' and 'is to be.'

Our Losses.

The future then lies always with the young. Always, in all countries. In this we have no reason to feel ashamed. But we must not shut our eyes to the fact that in our recent struggle for self-development we have netted some losses. Rights which had hitherto been left in our hands, liberties which had not hitherto been tampered with, are gone from us, and we are so much the poorer in means of work. On the other hand few signs of the times are more noteworthy than the attitude in which these losses have been met. In an earlier generation, the answer would have been a loud outcry and persistent agitation, for the repeal of this act and that. To-day, we hear nothing of the sort. Why? Simply because we are now convinced that our salvation lies

with ourselves, and with no other, to work out. It is not politics, but constructive work and energy that now occupies the bulk of our attention. In itself, this is most significant. And what do we regard as constructive? Only that which proceeds on the assumption that all power is in ourselves; that India and the Indian people are ultimately the arbiters of their own destiny; that a nation is greater than its conditions, favourable or the reverse; that MAN, in fine, is all there is, the lord of his own fate, the expression of infinite power. Constructive work then is that which deals with man, first and foremost, believes in man, inspires him, and proceeds to tell him of his strength. This is the work which we humbly seek to do. And in this looking from the institution to the man behind the institution, we feel that we see one of the most impressive signs of the new age.

The New Day.

A day has risen in India when we look to ourselves alone. We refuse to spend time or energy in appealing to any but ourselves. We should despise the privilege we owed to anything but our own strength. Like the Krishna of our childhood, we enter our Mathura with all the forces of the world against us. Nor do we carry any extraneous aid. Neither steed nor weapon is ours, in this unequal contest. But is it really

unequal? Surely not! Surely material and spiritual cannot be compared in potency! Was Kansa any match for Krishna? The ancient tales say not, and we believe the ancient tales speak true. We know well that the race-epics never die, for they eternally repeat themselves. And we live in a day when the thought is born that no day in the past was ever greater, a day that is minded to put to the test the truth of these tales of old, a day that is not content to believe that the age of miracles is past, a day that trusts to thought, and yet determines to re-make the world, a day of infinite ambition. Is it not true that a new age is born?

The Test.

But it is easy to work ourselves up into a fine frenzy of inspiration. Words are but words, and the question is of deeds. The cry is for lives, for toil, for achievement, for vows made and kept, for spirit and a sacrifice and courage. We want co-operation, fellow-feeling, public spirit, and the power that sees things in their true proportion, never mistaking the relative claims of the little and the great. The restoration of the national industries, and the establishment of some sort of national education are rightly felt to be the core of the task before us. With these, goes all the rest. Nor have we occasion to despair. In every battle there comes an hour, after the first victorious charge, when all seems to be in re-action. Those who are finally to win the day seem for the hour to be the losers. It is then found out by every fight worth his salt that even battles are won, not by impetuosity, but by steady work. In all human victories there is an element of worm-like toil. Perseverance is one of the greatest of economic assets. Even military life is not wholly a series of glorious dashes. Therefore we have nothing to give us a moment's uneasiness. On no account must we abate one jot of our *swadeshi* vow. For the rest, it is only our power of work that is being tested. The strength of our will to build and build and build again is being called in question. Let the mole and the ant and the earth-worm become our gods, but let there be no doubt about the answer. Can we? **WE CAN.**

THE UNITY OF INDIA.

—ooo—

There is no subject more germane to our aims and purposes, than the much mooted question of the unity of India. India is so disunited, say those who do not love her. And, India is one! answer her children and Bhaktas.

Let us, then, take the matter at its worst, and assume that the disunion and diversity of our Motherland is a fact. What is the line of thought that we ought in such a case to pursue? It is to be supposed that we do not wish to intensify the problem, but rather to solve it, to treat in such a way that it may grow less instead of greater, day by day. In the first place, it is open to us, to dwell on the many elements of unity which India already possesses. Her own civilisation, apart from foreign influences, is remarkably harmonious, throughout the length and breadth of the country. There is not even such diversity of language as people suppose. The old Motherland did not fail, amongst all the provisions that she made for her children, to evolve also for them a common tongue, more or less universal in the North, and well known as a language of culture in the South. If, again, we take up religion, it is difficult to see the acute diversity of which people talk. The whole theory of Hinduism is one of a vast accordance of faiths, and a scheme in which even Islam and Christianity, strongly individual as they are, may find places.

Let us, on the other hand, look at the problem with which other countries have to deal. Could Indian disunity be compared with that of America, or even England, who have to assimilate thousands of aliens every year? Could her linguistic variety be compared to that of Switzerland, when we remember the relative sizes of the two populations? German, French and Italian divide that little land amongst themselves, and this vast India is practically covered by Hindi with its variations, and certain Dravidian tongues, all linked together, as these are, by a common classic, and common social characteristics and ideas.

Unity is a thing of which it may be said that, whether it apparently exists or not, it must first of all be conceived of in the mind. All the greatest realities of life are primari-

ly, in this way, concepts in the mind. They must afterwards be externalised, it is true, but their birth is in the mind. There they must first be recognised and shaped. There they must be asserted. From this, they become external. We all know how true this is of the relations of the family. Does the wife allow herself to argue the question of her husband's character and loveableness? This would soon destroy the most perfect of relations. But she dwells only on the facts that support her own devotion. The rest she ignores, as so much waste material. It is of no consequence to her.

Similarly, there is a very actual sense in which only the positive is true. Only the positive really exists. Just as, to the eye of affection only the sweet and beautiful has any real objective existence, so in many other things also, a like truth holds good. Harmony, and harmony alone is, in this sense, real, while discord and its elements are unreal. The whole of human society is built up along such lines as these. The passionate love of mothers for their children would soon be at an end, but for the great intensifying concept of the child's need and dependence which is read into every act and word, and makes the relationship firm and growing. In a parallel way, then, it may be said that only unity is true: that the opposite of unity is negative and therefore has no existence. It matters not what the senses report. Reality is conferred by the mind. The great life-giving concepts arise within and become apparent afterwards. We see that India is one and she is one, and shall be one. This thought, with the note of joy and strength, is the duty of every nationalist to hold.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

CHAPTER VIII.

—x—

THE TRAINING OF THE LOGICAL ACULTY

The training of the logical reason must necessarily follow the training of the faculties which collect the material on which the logical reason must work. Not only so but the mind must have some development of the faculty of dealing with words before it can deal successfully with ideas. The question is once this

preliminary work is done, what is the best way of teaching the boy to think correctly from premises. For the logical reason cannot proceed without premises. It either infers from facts to a conclusion, or from previously formed conclusions to a fresh one, or from one fact to another. It either induces, deduces or simply infers. I see the sun rise day after day, I conclude or induce that it rises as a law daily after a varying interval of darkness. I have already ascertained that wherever there is smoke, there is fire. I have induced that general rule from an observation of facts. I deduce that in a particular case of smoke, there is a fire behind. I infer that a man must have let it from the improbability of any other cause under the particular circumstances. I cannot deduce it because fire is not always created by human kindling; it may be volcanic or caused by a stroke of lightning or the sparks from some kind of friction in the neighbourhood.

There are three elements necessary to correct reasoning, first, the correctness of the facts or conclusions I start from, secondly, the completeness as well as accuracy of the data I start from, thirdly, the elimination of other possible or impossible conclusions from the same facts. The fallibility of the logical reason is due partly to avoidable negligence and looseness in securing these conditions, partly to the difficulty of getting all the facts correct, still more to the difficulty of getting all the facts complete, most of all, to the extreme difficulty of eliminating all possible conclusions except the one which happens to be right. No fact is supposed to be more perfectly established than the universality of the law of gravitation as an imperative rule, yet a single new fact inconsistent with it would upset this supposed universality. And such facts exist. Nevertheless, by care and keenness the fallibility may be reduced to its minimum.

The usual practice is to train the logical reason by teaching the Science of Logic. This is an instance of the prevalent error by which book knowledge of a thing is made the object of study instead of the thing itself. The experience of reasoning and its errors should be given to the mind and it should be taught to observe how these work for itself;

it should proceed from the example to the rule and from the accumulating harmony of rules to the formal science of the subject, not from the formal science to the rule, and from the rule to the example.

The first step is to make the young mind interest itself in drawing inferences from the facts, tracing cause and effect. It should then be led on to notice its successes and its failures and the reason of the success and of the failure; the incorrectness of the fact started from, the haste in drawing conclusions from insufficient facts, the carelessness in accepting a conclusion which is improbable, little supported by the data or open to doubt, the indolence or prejudice which does not wish to consider other possible explanations or conclusions. In this way the mind can be trained to reason as correctly as the fallibility of human logic will allow, minimising the chance of error. The study of formal logic should be postponed to a late period when it can easily be mastered in a very brief period, since it will be only the systematising of the art perfectly well known to the student.

CONVERSATIONS OF THE DEAD.

Guru and Chelas in Pitrllok.

Guru: Pralaya is come! Pralaya is come! Upon the darkened earth draws down the cloud of confusion and doom. It is the twilight of the gods, the meeting-point of ages, into which is cast the past, out of which shall emerge the future. How strange that to the common world, seeing nothing but the objects of the senses, the present is as yesterday and to-morrow but an added day! Is there, in all the universe, another mingling of vision and blindness like that of man?

Chorus of Chelas:

"Power Thou art, give us power!
Thou art strong, give us strength!
Energy art Thou, give us energy!"

Guru. Here, amidst the psychic realities of Swarga, how impossible is it to darken the eyes! Almost one must weigh and measure the opposing forces. How hardly can one refuse to number and estimate the chances of victory. But the spiritual battle must be recognised. How sharp and burning blew the desert wind, but a moment ago, in the passage to earth of those ruthless spirits, whose lust of pride and

power, at any cost to man, makes them like lights sombre of hue, burning in sulphurous atmospheres! How cool and sweet is the breath of this army of young souls, whose chanted prayers even now break in upon my reverie!

Chorus of Chelas:

"Energy art Thou, give us energy!
Oh make us strong, even as
the thunder-bolt,
To keep our vow, of purity
for life!"

Guru: Standing here on the inner side of the doors of birth, and watching the souls pass through into the world, it is given to me to read each man's destiny in the great Pralaya. As the eyes of my own turn towards me, at the last. Ere he lifts the curtain and vanishes into earth-life, I see whether failure or success awaits him, on the battle-field of the spirit, and I give the *ashirbad* that will be his star of life. Failure or success! Ah, speed into the dusk of time, ye souls so bravely destined! And blessed be ye who shall be defeated! For ye also are mine! Ye above all need comforting! Yea, and ye shall yet conquer, in another age!

One amongst the chelas: Hush! Let us cease our praying and keep silence for a while! Surely the Guru called! I heard his voice! Listen! It comes again. Let us arise and go forth! The time is come! We come. Oh Lord! We come!

Guru to the first soul: Thou ardent soul, the first to hear my voice, thou goest forth into the night of life and time. Be strong. Keep ever this thy love. To thee will come the new. Test it. And when thou seest, think not it was thine. Make vision into deeds. Be faithful and endure.

To the second: Thou strong and steadfast sentinel! To thee I give the light within the heart. Let it shine far, in quiet faith, and light thy path with confidence serene. Men, it may be, will call thee great. Let not thine ears hear these, the voices of the crowd, lest thine hand slacken on the lamp it bears. These are the dreams of the sense-life alone. Look thou straight on, and be not drawn aside.

To the third: My playful child. Unspoilt thou dancest through thy days. Laughter and song are ever on thy lips. Fear is not known

thee, nor ever shall be. Nay, even though the play of life be tragic, and in these acts draw to their close.

To all the souls: Oh ye great host of souls, beloved and blest, go forth! Plunge in the dusk! Revel ye in the doom! And from it wing your shining way to God! Ye herald souls go forth, and call a sleeping world to wake and live. Sentinel-souls, pass out, and stand ye firm! Guard ye your trust, and falter not, obey! Heroes and children, bards, armourers, and bearers of the light, go forth and strive! Be free of self! War with the hosts of evil night and day. Smite them and spare not, high of hand and will. Conquer the weakness in your hearts, and be men of a new great race, earth has not seen! Go forth! Go forth! And when the dream is done, return! I shall await ye at the doors of death! Pralaya, Pralaya is come. Fear not! Go forth!

AN APPEAL.

I am the printer of Karmayogin. Since my imprisonment as the printer of the now defunct Navasakti News Paper, which extended over a pretty long period of 10 months, my affairs have drifted into a hopeless confusion. After my release it took sometime to recover my strength and spirits and begin work again. The difficulty of my situation has been considerably increased by the necessity of having to marry a daughter who has almost exceeded her marriageable age from the Hindu point of view. Some kind friends have taken pity on me and secured a bridegroom for my girl. The marriage must somehow be performed in Baisakh next. As I am now living from hand to mouth and have hardly any credit to manage a loan I have been most reluctantly driven to appeal to the public who I hope, will appreciate my situation and help me out of the difficulty. All contributions to be sent to the Manager Karmayogin, 4, Shampookur Lane, Cal.

Monomohan Ghose.

THOUGHTS AND COMMENTS.

(BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAI.)
SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE.

Is Sociology a science; and if so, what are its data and methods? The question was raised by Mr. Frederick Harrison in his Presidential address to the Sociological Society. Mr. Harrison is the greatest apostle of the Comptean Creed of Humanity in England; and, as was to be expected, he approached the subject from the standpoint of that particular philosophy with which he is so completely identified. Comptean Positivism was an attempt to construct a philosophical and scientific basis for the dominant humanitarianism of the French Revolution. That humanitarianism lacked, however in two things; first it had no perception of the Divine, which is at once the cause and the explanation of the super-physical in mankind; and second, it had no perception of what we now know as race-consciousness. I, for one, fail to see how without these two fundamental conceptions, any Science of Sociology can be built up.

THE POSTULATES OF SCIENCE.

Science is systematised knowledge. It is, as Mr. Harrison himself says,—knowledge grouped and classified under a few large generalisations. Any knowledge or any group of knowledge is, therefore, not entitled to the position and dignity of science unless brought under some large generalisations. But the question arises, what are the bases of these generalisations? On the one hand, we have outside facts and phenomena; on the other, the observing mind. Science would be impossible in the absence of either of these two factors. But to some people, at least, the problem is pushed one step further. Is there, or is there not, a necessary relation between the outer facts and phenomena, and the observing mind? How does the mind claim to understand and interpret something that is not of itself? I do not know if Mr. Harrison denies the truth of the dictum that all knowledge is really self-knowledge; that we know things, not really as they are, but only and always as they impress us. In ordinary parlance, we make, no doubt, a distinction between impression and knowledge. But the distinction is one only of degree and not of kind: uncorro-

borated knowledge is called impression, corroborated impression we call knowledge. But how does this corroboration come? And even a more fundamental question is, what is the real value of this corroboration? Ten pairs of unadvised eyes might, sitting on the veranda of a hospital, corroborate one another's testimony that green is yellow; would that establish the truth?

THE THEOLOGICAL STAGE.

We understand what is called the Theological Stage. We understand that in a certain low stage of intellectual evolution, man posits the arbitrary, lawless, personal will or whim or impulse of a supernatural being, behind every phenomenon. This theological stage is a fact, a matter of experience. We see it in little children. We read of it in the preserved records of the childhood of the race. We observe it in the primitive tribes of our own time. But this fact cannot be dismissed by simply putting a label on it. It demands an explanation. It presses for its meaning. The intellect is never satisfied with mere facts; explanations and interpretations of observed facts and phenomena are the necessary functions of the intellectual life. These are universal functions as much of the intellect of the child and the primitive man as of the adult and the civilised members of the race. This theological stage itself is a proof of it. It is the peculiar interpretation of common experience which people give, in this stage, that constitute the characteristic note of it. That interpretation is crude, granted. But what is *your* interpretation of Phenomena? That is the fundamental question. And a still more fundamental question is,—what are your credentials to claim the right of interpreting phenomena at all? These are fundamental problems, not of any particular science, but of all sciences.

GOD AND LAW.

The primitive man posits a person, essentially like himself, but infinitely superior to him in intelligence and strength, behind every phenomenon, which he cannot explain as the effect of a visible, personal, cause. To him even an animal is a person; indeed everything that produces an effect is a person. The underlying generalisation of it all is what we call God.

Law or Principle of Causation. In the Theological Stage, the Cause is apprehended as *personal*, whether visible or invisible. In the Positive Stage, it is apprehended as *impersonal*,—as Law, which in itself is equally invisible, and is seen only in its operation. Is not this the fundamental difference between the two stages? What the theological man calls gods, or at a later stage, God, the Positivist-philosopher calls laws, and perhaps, ultimately, even Law, with a capital L.

But does it offer any satisfactory explanation of phenomena? And what is more fundamental, does it establish the title of the human mind to correctly understand phenomena and authoritatively interpret it? The projection of personality behind every phenomenon was undoubtedly crude and peevish; but it had, at least, this to be said in its favour that it gave an intelligible account of events, an account which, whatever its inadequacy, was in any case such as the ordinary human mind could readily grasp. It at least posited *some purpose* behind every phenomenon. It felt the absolute necessity of attributing *some aim* which every phenomenon sought to reach, and as this purpose was difficult, at that stage of mental evolution, to conceive without a person, it posited a person at the back of whatever happened, from the regular rise and set of the sun, to the occasional but fearful convulsions of nature like an earthquake or a tornado. The larger conception of Law has dispelled

the crude notion of personal will as the origin of natural phenomena, but has it, at the same time, dissipated the idea of purpose also? On the contrary, is not *purpose* a very necessary and fundamental element of the concept Law?

THE IMPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE.

Law implies the adaptation of means to an end. It is the generalisation of certain relation observed in phenomena and tending to produce certain results. These relations are what may be called rational, that is they are capable of logical treatment, and their working may be reasonably predicted in the future, under the same conditions. And the investigation of these relations and the prediction of future results based upon past observations—all these imply a necessary correspondence between the modes of our intellect and the processes of outer phenomena.

From the stand-point of science the universe may be described as a huge mechanism. And there are two, and only persons who can interpret a mechanism, the person who makes it and the person who has the same intelligence and the same experience as the maker of the mechanism. The correct understanding of a mechanism is inconceivable under any other conditions. In saying this no theory of a creator and his creations is suggested, nor even any hypothesis of a personal godhead either. It would be premature to raise these issues, however fundamental they might seem to be to the theologian or the philosopher, at

this stage of our enquiry. The present idea is simply to indicate the logical implication of science that whether personal, impersonal, or super-personal,—the Force or Law or by whatever other name you may call it,—that lies at the root and centre of the world-process, has a strange kinship with our own intelligence. This world-process is an intelligible process: this much at least science must admit in its own interest. But it could not be intelligible without having Intelligence as its originating and shaping principle. Whether the Intelligence that lies at the root and centre of the world-process is perfect or imperfect, whether it is benevolent, or malevolent, omnipotent or limited in its capacities, conditioned and controlled by other elements co-eternal and co-ordinate with itself,—these questions do not arise here, and should not be allowed to drive us away from the main track. The only proposition that seems absolutely valid here is that if the world-process be an intelligible process, that is something that can be studied and understood and rightly interpreted by the human intelligence, it must necessarily have a similar Intelligence at its root and centre. It is this cosmic Intelligence or cosmic Reason, or Cosmic Soul, which the ancients in India called Hiranyagarbha or Brahma,—that alone justifies scientific investigations, reveals scientific laws, and supports scientific generalisations.

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THE MENTAL AND THE NATURAL ORDER.

The claims of science to correctly interpret phenomena, presuppose the capacity of the scientist to rightly apprehend the world-process. This is a fundamental postulate of science. But how does the scientist establish his title to this function? How can he read nature? That the human mind does rightly understand phenomena, is admitted. But those who work upon this assumption, do not always sift the rational grounds of it. The only conceivable explanation of it is that there is *Something* that is common between the human intelligence and what may be called cosmic intelligence. It is this *Something* that explains the necessary correspondence between the categories of the understanding and the processes of cosmic movement and evolution. There is, in other words, a Mental Order within the consciousness of every human being, and there is a Natural Order without him: both are subject to the same cosmic process. These two supplement each other, correspond to each other, and corroborate each other. This seems, to my mind, to be the very alphabet of all science.

THE COSMIC MIND.

Science implies, thus, a necessary relation between the mental and the natural order. The one is subjective, the other objective. The one supplies the forms of rational interpretation, the other furnishes the materials to be interpreted. Without these materials, the "forms" would be useless and inoperative: they might constitute the basis of abstract metaphysical investigations but could not develop science. Without the forms, the materials of the natural order would be meaningless and chaotic, incapable of rational study or intelligent interpretation. And this necessary correlation and correspondence between the subjective mental, and the objective natural order, upon which science works, demands, with equal necessity, some unifying and correlating principle, to form the logical ground of the relation between the mental and the natural order, making them both only two complementary aspects of the same unity. Science is possible, intelligent investigation of phenomena is understandable. Only on this fundamental assumption that there is one Mind, which is progressively revealing itself in cosmic evolution, through this dual channel of the mental and the na-

tural order, a Mind that is revealed in the human intelligence on the one side, and in cosmic evolution on the other. This is the basal hypothesis of science. Knock it off, and the entire superstructure of laws and truths, of large generalisations and luminous classifications that science has so labouriously built up, will at once tumble down to pieces. By what name you call it, does not matter; what other ideas or ideals you may be tempted by habit and tradition or compelled by your thought and emotions, to wrap about it, does not count here; the fundamental fact is that you have to accept this Universal, this Cosmic Mind as the working basis of science. This Universal Mind, conceived not as one but as many in primitive, and as a supernatural, magnified Man in mediaeval culture,—is the common implication, however, of both the "theological" and the "positive" stage of human evolution. And the denial of so fundamental a fact can only be explained as a temporary aberration of the intellect due to the inevitable confusion of revolutionary and transitional epochs. This denial, however, is less loud and insistent today than it was a hundred or even fifty years ago.

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CHITRANGADA.

And she with passion cried: "Do I remember?
 Yes, I remember. What other thing can I
 Remember, till forgetfulness arrives?
 O endless moments, O rainhaunted nights,
 When thou art far! And O intolerable,
 The grey austere discomfortable dawn
 To which I shall awake alone! And yet
 This year of thee is mine until the end.
 The Gods demand the rest. With all myself
 I loved thee, not as other women do,
 Piecemeal, reluctantly, but my whole heart
 And being like a sudden spring broke forth
 In flowers and greenness at my sungod's touch.
 Ceding existence at thy feet. Therefore
 I praise my father's prescient love
 That kept me from the world for thee, unsought
 Amid the rugged mountains and fenced in
 With barbarous inhospitable laws.
 Around the dying man the torches flared
 From pillar to weird pillar; and one discerned
 In fitful redness on the shadowy walls
 Stone visages of grim un-Aryan gods.
 The marble pallor of my father's face
 Looked strange to me in that unsteady glare,
 As if an alien's, and dream fantasies
 Those figures seemed of Manipurian lords
 Strange-weaponed, rude, with faces fierce
 and gnarled,
 Like those they worship. Unafraid I stood
 With grave and wide-orbed gaze contemplating
 Their rugged pomp and the wild majesty
 Of that last scene around my dying sire.
 Round the fierce circle to that audience called
 Entrusting me of each rough-featured lord.
 So were their thoughts conciliated; so
 Their stern allegiance was secured. He spoke,
 And, though of outward strength deprived, his
 voice

Rang clear yet as when o'er trumpets heard
 It guided battle. "Warriors of my East,
 Take then this small white-bosomed queen of
 yours;

For I am ended and the shadow falls.
 She is the stem from which your kings shall
 grow

Perpetual. Guard her well lest Fate deceived
 Permit unworthier to usurp my child
 Than the unconquerable seed of gods.
 Oppose, oppose all alien entry here,
 Whether by force or guile the stranger comes.
 Serry your bucklers close to overwhelm
 The invader, seal your deaf and pitiless ears
 Against the suppliant and the guest. He sole
 Whom Fate intends to bring shall break through
 all

The dangers threatened, hindrance interposed,
 To grasp this prize, whether Ixvaacou's clan
 Yield a new Rama or the Bhoja hear
 And raven for her beauty, Vrishny-born,
 Or else some lion's whelp of those who lair
 In Hustina the proud." He spoke no more

But the great name until his spirit passed.
 Then the grim lords forgot their savage calm.
 A cry arose, "Our queen!" and I was caught
 From breast to breast of wild affection; all
 Crowded upon me kissing feet and hands,
 Recording silent oaths of love. Secure,
 Alone in this wild faithful barbarous world,
 I ruled by weakness over rugged hearts,
 A little queen adored,—until at length
 Thou camest. Rumour and widemouthed alarm
 Running before thy chariot-wheels thou camest,
 Defeat and death thy envoys and a cry:
 O Manipurians, Manipurians, arm!
 Some god incensed invades you,—surely a god
 Incensed and fatal, for his bowstring huge
 Sounds like the crack of breaking worlds and thick
 His arrows as the sleet descends of doom
 When the great Serpent wakes in wrath. Behind,
 That cry the crash of hostile advent came,
 Thy chariot caked with mire and blood, its roof
 Bristling and shattered from the fight, thy steeds
 White with the spum of leagues, though yet,
 they neighed
 Lusting for speed and battle, and in the car
 Thy grandiose form o'ertowering common mould,
 While victory shone from eyes where thunder
 couched

Above his parent lightning. Swift to arms
 My warriors sprang, dismayed but faithful, swift
 Around me grow a hedge of steel. Enraged,
 Thy coursers shod with wind rushed foaming on
 And in with crash and rumour stormed the car
 To that wide stone-paved hark there loudly paused,
 While thunderous challenge of the stamping
 hooves

Claimed all the place. Clanging thou leapedst
 down,
 Urjoon, Gandeva in thy threatening grasp.
 Then I beheld thy face, then rose, then stretched
 My arms out, pausing not to think what god
 Compelled me from my throne. But war came in
 Between me and those sudden eyes. One bold
 Beyond his savage peers stood questioning forth:
 "Who art thou that with challenge insolent
 Intruding; from what land of deathless gods
 Stormest with disallowed exulting wheels
 In white Chitrangada's domain? To death
 Men hasten not so quickly, Aryan lord."
 Hero, thy look was calm, yet formidable,
 Replying, by thy anger undisturbed.

"To death I haste indeed, but not to mine.
 Nor think that Doom has claimed me for her own
 Because I sole confront you. For my name
 Ask the pale thousands whose swift-footed fear
 Hardly escaped my single onset; ask
 Your famous chieftains cold on hill or moor
 Upon my fatal route. Yet not for war
 I sought this region nor by death equipped,
 Inhospitable people who deny
 The human bond, but as a man to men
 Alone I came and without need of fear,
 If fear were mine to feel. Nor trumpets blared
 My coming nor battalions steel enforced,
 Who claimed but what the common bond allows."

To be continued.

AGROBINDO GHOSE.

LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

Of those who are truly the People they are jealous of their land, the woods and the fields, and the open sea are covered with their love—separable from life.

Every thing that the land has calls an answer in the breasts of the people, and quickly grows love for the use of those that live on it.

Without this love, no people can exist; this is the creation, nourishment and defence of nations.

Between a great people and the earth springs a passionate attachment, lifelong—and the earth loves indeed her children, broad-breasted, broad browed and talks with them night and day, storm and sun-shine, summer and winter alike.

(Here indeed is the key to the whole secret of education.)

Owners and occupiers then fall into their places: the trees wave proud and free upon the headlands, the little brooks run with a wonderful new music under the brambles and the grass.

Determined is the word henceforth to worship nothing, no ownership, which is unreal—no false deeds, no money-smells, respectabilities, authorities.

To be arrogant, unpersuadable, faithful tree—not unworthy of the trees waving upon the high tops and of the earth rolling through the starlight night.)

Government and laws and police then fall into their places—the earth gives her own laws. Democracy just begins to open her eyes and peep and the table of unfaithful bishops,

priests, generals, landlords, capitalists, lawyers, kings, queens, patronisers and polite idlers goes scuttling down into general oblivion. Faithfulness emerges, self-reliance, self-help, passionate comradeship.

Freedom emerges, the love of the land—the broad waters, the air, the undulating fields, the flow of cities and the people therein, their faces and the looks of them, no less than the rush of the tides and the slow hardy growth of the oak and the tender herbage of spring and stiff clay and storms and transparent air.

I see a great land poised as in a dream—waiting for the word by which it may live again.

I see the stretched sleeping figure—waiting for the kiss and the re-awakening.

I hear the bells pealing, and the crash of hammers, and see beautiful parks spread—as in a toy show.

I see a great land waiting for its own people to come and take possession of it.

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THE ANCIENT ABBEY OF
AJANTA.

—20—

Chaitya—Bui ling used by Buddhist monks for united worship. Strictly comparable to Christian Churches, which resemble it to an extraordinary degree, even now. The differences between nave and aisles are exactly the same. A dagoba occupied the place of the altar. Ajanta has four chaityas.

Vihara—A Buddhist monastery. At first these consisted of a central space of irregular shape, with small cells opening into it. Afterwards, it becomes a quadrangle or main court with a great sanctuary, on its longest side, containing an image of Buddha, pillared aisles and verandah, and cells, as in the earlier examples. There are twenty-two *chhatras* many unfinished, at Ajanta.

Dagoba—A stupa or tope erected over the ashes or relics of a great teacher. An open-air stupa is the Sanchi Tope. There are dagobas within all the four Chaityas at Ajanta. Evidently the form was sacred.

Like the curves and columns of some great organ, runs the line of stone arches and colonnades along the hillside that faces to the sunrise, in the glen of Ajanta. Twenty-six caves there are in all, making one long level line, overhung by the rounded ridge of dark blue stone that was undoubtedly chipped into shape and bareness long long ago, to emphasise that balanced uniformity which gives to this ancient abbey so much of its solemnity and beauty. As we first see the caves, from the boulder-strewn stream, some hundreds of feet away, they appear like a succession of pillared verandahs, broken once near the middle, and diminishing in the distance, in the tall arched fronts of great chaitya-halls. It is thus that we first become aware of Caves Ten and Twenty-six, and are affected by their severity and regularity as it by music. In reality, Nine and Nineteen are also chaityas. But both are slightly masked by masses of rock, and only Ten and Twenty-six stand out, in this first view.

How lonely and remote is this glen in which we find them! It lies crescent-shaped amongst its hills, so that the view from each monastery cave seems closed upon itself. The torrent that runs through it enters, as a great cascade, at the northern end, and leaves this rocky ravine without giving a hint of a world without, where twistings and windings are to bring it to a wider stream. Such are the sites that have ever seemed ideal.

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to the monk. The murmur of running waters and the voices of the waterfalls, make to his ear a perpetual plain-song, in unison with the intoning of ancient psalms, and the chanting of texts. In the circling path of the sunlight measured against the green, its first rays at dawn, and its last at cowdust, are signals for rising of bells, and lighting of lamps, for processions, and incense, and sprinkling holy water. The quivering of leaves, through the tropical day, speaks of coolness and shadow, the environment of learning; and the solitude of nature promises remoteness from the world, the only possible environment of holiness. Such must Ajanta have seemed, to the handful of monks who took up their abode in its natural caverns, perhaps a couple of centuries before Asoka. The rough path by which they could climb to their eagle's nests of dwellings, was soon hewn, by their patient hands, into simple stairs. But even these were reached, from the north, only after arduous travel over the boulders by the stream side. A perfect site for a monastery. It is difficult to imagine that amongst the scraped and rugged hillsides of Khandesh, there could have been found another vale, at once so lonely and so beautiful.

Twenty-six caves there are, in all; numbered, in the unemotional fashion of official surveys, in serial order, from North to South. In reality, however, they fall, according to their ages, into some four main groups. The first of these, containing Caves Eight to Thirteen, lies to the left of the stairs by which one reaches the monastery terrace. One arrives on that level, between Six and Seven, and the first seven numbers from the third of the periods. Caves Fourteen to nineteen constitute the second period; and Twenty to Twenty-six, the fourth.

Not that all the caves of any single group were undertaken at once! In each period there is a progression. Sixteen and Seventeen have inscription which, it is said, render them the heart of the matter for they were built during or soon after the lifetime of the great Gupta, "Maharaja Deva" (Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya, 375 to 413 A.D.) by a sovereign who had married his daughter. And Caves Five to One were probably undertaken immediately after.

In any case, it is the first group, of Caves Eight to Thirteen, that for hundreds of years formed the whole glory of Ajanta. Eight and Thirteen may probably have been natural caverns, occupied tentatively, long before the time of Asoka, by a handful of monks. These were days in which kings, rich cities, and great land-owners could scarcely perform

a work of greater merit than hewing out caves for the residence of monks. In course of time, therefore, these natural recesses in the rock (which we imagine to have been the motive and starting-point) were transformed into simple monasteries, by first enlarging the centre and then cutting tiny cells, each with its two stone beds and low doorway, round the space, which thus acted as quadrangle or courtyard. Number Thirteen has in addition to these, a small earthen verandah in front. Number Eight has not even this. It seems probable that the occupation began from two points more or less simultaneously, and afterwards worked inwards, for how else are we to explain the fact that Nine and Ten, standing side by side, are both chaityas?

We imagine, too, that the first settlement was early, when faith was strong, and the living impress of the Great Teacher was yet fresh. For how else can we account for the strength that clung to the bare rocks by the torrent-side, with such pertinacity, decade after decade? Were they some band of wandering teachers, we wonder, those first monks, appointed to preach in the countries on the Southern Road, a mission sent to the powerful empire of Ujjain, or an offshoot perhaps from the mother-communities at Bhilsa and Sanchi? In any case, the caves were valuable to them as headquarters during the wet season, when all begging friars are supposed to assemble for the time, in some fixed dwelling place; and during their absences as a body, for eight or nine months at a time, the work of excavation must have taken place. Little did they dream of how well-starred were the spot they had chosen and the day of their advent! We can see, what they could not, close on twelve hundred years of development and gathering fame; the learning they were to send out; the beauty they were to build up; the kings who would delight to honor them; and roads from the far ends of the earth, all meeting on their threshold! Hiouen-Tsang came here, in the middle of the seventh century after Christ, and speaks of the place as "a sangharama constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the face of the rocks. Storey above storey, they are backed by the crag and face the valley." It is evident here, that the English translator,—not having in his own

mind, the thing his author was describing—has rendered the text inaccurately. If we read, "its lofty chaityas, and deep viharas at their sides," the statement immediately becomes luminous. Similarly, when later we are told that the great Vihara is about 100 feet high, and the stone figure of Buddha in the middle, 70 feet high, while above is a canopy of seven stages, towering upwards, apparently without support,* it is evident that the great Chinese traveller is speaking of no Vihara, but of the principal chaitya of his own day (Nineteen or Twenty-six!) and that the stone figure he describes is really the dagoba it contains.

The first royal patronage extended to Ajanta must have been given at or soon after the time of Asoka, when the Chaitya known as Cave Nine, and the Vihara numbered Twelve, were built. Every one who takes up the study of ancient sites in India, finds his own indications of age. At Sanchi the gradual modifications in the pictorial treatment of the Asokan rail give us a chronological scale which enables us to distinguish with absolute certainty no less than four different periods of building and sculpture. Here at Ajanta, the time-unit that serves us from the first is the chaitya-facade ornament, taken in conjunction with the Asokan rail. It would appear that the domestic architecture of the age was characterised by the rounded roof which we still see, in the rocky cave of Ajanta; the Asokan rail, used as the front of a verandah; and the horse-shoe window, breaking the line of the roof, or *nagavad*. Now the instinct of cave-makers was to make their fronts as closely as possible resemble the outside of the buildings of their period.

But a style creates a tradition, which persists long after the original reason for it has disappeared. Thus the horse-shoe ornament and the Asokan rail become a mannerism at Ajanta, diverging constantly further and further from their true intention; and by three progressive changes we can make a rough estimate of the ages of the caves. In Nine and Twelve, they are used with obvious sincerity, reflecting the conceptions of their age. In the same way that the early print-works of Europe laboured to make their machine-printed books look as if they had been

* Quoted R. C. Dutt in *Civilisation in Ancient India*. II. pp. 166-7.

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written by hand. On Viharas Eight and Thirteen, they do not occur at all. Evidently the founders were too early, or too poor, to indulge in such elaboration. Chaitya Number Ten had a timber front, which has fallen away and leaves no trace of its image or likeness, save in the panels sculptured in the rocks on either side. The stone ornaments do not altogether cease, till after Cave Nineteen. At first they are frankly windows in housefronts. In Cave Number Twelve, they are to suggest used fan-lights over the cell-doors, and run round the walls, connecting one with another, in simple dignity. In Caves Six, Seven and Fifteen, we find the spaces filled with lotus patterns, and the semicircular opening no longer has a definite meaning. They are no longer windows. They are now only decorative. On the facade of Cave Nineteen, foreign influences are at work. A horrible vulgarity has come over the workmen, strictly comparable to the degrading effects of European taste on Indian crafts to-day. Each of these once beautiful outlines is now filled with a hideous grinning face, altogether meaningless. From the chequer-work which recurs here again and again, (an ornament common amongst the Gandhara sculptures, in the Calcutta collection), it is clear that these influences have come from the north-west. They are possibly Greek, as transmitted through Persia. There had been a great rapprochement between India and Persia in the course of the fifth century, and no where is the crude secularising effect of the West on Indian taste better illustrated.

Yet nowhere is the sober, synthetising power of the Indian intellect more visible. In spite of its eclecticism of detail, and daring romanticism in the treatment of sacred subjects, Nineteen at Ajanta remains one of the architectural triumphs of the world. It is the very flowering-point of a great civic life. The strong porch, brought forward on two solid pillars, suggests the presence and words of the leaders of men; the side-galleries, their supporters and attendants; while on the sill of the great window behind we have room and back-ground for the mounting of a king, or the lying-in-state of the dead.

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Nivedita of R.K.V.

(The Modern Review.)

BUILDING AND DEDICATION OF STUPAS.

By C. HATAVADANA RAO, B. A.

The recent discovery of the great *stupa* built and consecrated by Kanishka, the great Buddhist Emperor; at Peshawar, cannot, I think, be adequately understood, unless laymen possess some knowledge of the methods adopted in older days in India and Ceylon, in the building and dedication of *stupas*. An excellent description of one of the many dedication ceremonies that took place in those ancient days is fortunately left to us in the Ceylonese National Chronicle, known as the *Mahavamsa*. Whatever may be the historical worth of this great work, it must undoubtedly be held to give accurate particulars of ceremonial matters. So that scholars can have little hesitation in accepting these particulars from it, the more so when they have the additional merit of explaining the minute details laid bare in the opening of *stupas*, and sometimes (as at Sanchi) in enabling them to understand the various scenes pictured in the bas reliefs. The building and dedication ceremony was apparently a grand affair, if we may believe the account in the *Mahavamsa* of king Duttagamini's erection and consecration of the Mahathupa Sonnawali in Ceylon. It is clear from it, that when a wealthy or powerful person undertook to build a *stupa*, he first raised a pillar on the spot, inscribed with a record of his intentions. This pillar was afterwards removed, when the building of the *stupa* was actually commenced. The Raja Devanampuja Tissa, who began his reign in 240 B. C., wished to raise a *stupa* on a spot consecrated by teachings of Buddha. But he was warned by the illustrious Mahinda to refrain from doing so, because

that great work was reserved for Duttagamini. He therefore, contented himself by merely raising a stone pillar with the usual inscription on it recording his pious wish. Duttagamini, who reigned over Ceylon between 161 and 137 B. C., "meditating," as the Chronicle puts it "on the tradition that had come down to him from Tissa's time, caused a search to be made in his place for the record containing it. He found, it is recorded, a vase an inscribed golden plate, and there on he read: "Hereafter, at the termination of one hundred and fifty-six (? forty-six) years, the monarch Duttagamini, son of Kakavanna, will construct such and such edifices in such and such manner." Overjoyed at this he resolved on the construction of the *stupa* and intimated the same to the priests. "I will build for you," he said "a place like unto the place of the Devas and soon carried the promise into effect by building one in the Mahamegha garden and presented it in due solemnity to the priests. He then meditated on the construction of the *stupa*. The divine architect, Vishvakarma, got ready the bricks necessary for it, for the king was unwilling to exact forced labour from his subjects (which apparently was usual in such matters), the more so as they were yet suffering from the war waged for the subjection of the Tamils. The foundations were formed of round stones brought by soldiers, well-beaten down with pounders and trodden down by "enormous" elephants whose feet were protected in leather cases. Above it was spread a layer butter-like clay from Sattapintaka, and over this clay, were successively placed bricks rough cement *kurninda* stones, an iron net-work, divine incense brought by the priests from Himavanta, *phulika* stones (spatite) and, finally, a course of common stone. Then came, successively again, plates of brass eight inches thick embedded in cement made of the gum of the *kapitt* tree, diluted in the water of the small red coconut, plates of silver seven inches thick and cemented in vermilion paint made in sesamum oil.

The monarch then prepared himself to lay the foundation, which was apparently as imposing an affair then as it is now. On the chosen day he caused the priesthood to be assembled, and addressing them, said: "Revered Lords! initiative of the construction of the great Chitya, I shall to-morrow lay the first brick of the edifice; let all our priesthood assemble there." He further proclaimed: "Let all my pious subjects be provided with Buddhistical offerings, as bringing fragrant flowers and other

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ded). At the four corners of the canopy, a bunch exclusively of pearls was suspended, each of them valued at nine lacs; emblems of the sun, moon and stars, and the various species of flowers, represented in gems, were appended to the canopy. In (the formation of) that canopy were spread out eight thousand pieces of valuable cloths of various descriptions of every hue. He surrounded the bo-tree with a low parapet, in different parts of which gems and pearls of vases filled with the various flowers represented in jewellery, and with the four kinds of perfumed waters, were arranged. On an invaluable golden throne, erected on the eastern side of the bo-tree (which was deposited in the receptacle), the king placed a resplendent golden image of Buddha (in the attitude in which he achieved Buddhahood at the foot of the bo tree at Urvula in the Kingdom of Magadha). The features and members of that image were represented in their several appropriate colours in exquisitely resplendent gems. There (in that relic receptacle, near the image of Buddha), stood (the figure of) Mahabrahma, bearing the silver parasol of dominion; Sakha, the inaugurator, with his *Vijayuttra* (chank); Panchasikha with his harp in his hand; Kalanaga together with his band of singers and dancers; the hundred armed *Mitra* (death) mounted on his elephant (Girinekhala) and surrounded by his host of attendants. Corresponding with this altar on the eastern side, on the other three sides also (of the receptacle) altars were arranged, each being in value a *koti*. In the north-eastern direction from the Bo-tree there was an altar arranged made of the various descriptions of gems, costing a *koti* of treasure. The various acts performed at each of the places in which (Buddha had tarried) for

the seven times seven days (before his public entry into Baranasi), he most fully represented (in this relic receptacle); as well as (all the subsequent important works of his mission). Many of the Jatakas (former existences of Buddha) were also represented; as also mythological kings, princes, yakshas, devas of various kinds one above another, shone--above their heads rows of lamp, in height five cubits filled with aromatic oil and lighted with wicks made of fine cloth. The arrangements inside this receptacle were superintended by the chief *thera Indagutta*, "master of the six branches of the doctrinal knowledge," who set in all these things in it "without crowding the space."

The receptacle ready, the king convened an assembly of the priesthood and said: "To-morrow I shall enshrine the relics." A proclamation went forth to that effect. Sonuttara, a young priest of 16 years of age was commissioned to escort the relics to the *stupa*, the relics apparently had been wrested away from the Nagas of Ramagama, which according to the *Mahavamsa*, the great monarch Dharmasoka had unsuccessfully tried to enshrine at Pupphapura, the modern Peshawar where the recent find has been made. The day chosen for the enshrinement was a full-moon day and grand procession that started with the king glowingly described in the Ceylonese chronicle. The whole town was beautifully decorated. At its four gates were placed food and clothing for the people. The king "adorned" in all the insignia of Majesty, and attended by bands of singers and dancers of every description; by his guard of warriors fully caparisoned; by his great military array, consisting of elephants, horses and chariots, resplendent by the perfection of their equipment; mounting his State carriage, (to which) four perfectly white steeds of the Sindhu breed (were harnessed), stood bearing a golden casket for (the reception) of the relics, under the white canopy of dominion. Sending forward the superb State elephant Kandula, fully caparisoned to lead the procession, men and women (carrying) one thousand and eight exquisitely resplendent "Punnagata" (replenished vases), encircled the State carriage. Females bearing the same number of baskets of flowers and of torches, and youths in their full dress bearing a thousand and eight superb banners of various colours,

surrounded (the car) in the united flood of every description of instrumental and vocal music, and the sounds heard from different quarters produced by the movements of elephants, horses, and carriages, the earth appeared to be rending asunder. This pre-eminently gifted sovereign, progressing in state to the Mohamegha garden, shone forth like the king of devas in his progress to his own garden "Nandana." Hearing of the arrival of Sonuttara with the relics, he proceeded towards him and, depositing the relics in the golden casket which he had brought in procession on the crown of his head, placed them up the throne. He then made offerings and bowed down in worship to the relics, there stationing himself with clasped hands uplifted in adoration. Delighted, he then dedicated his canopy of dominion to the relics and invested them with the sovereignty of Lanka, exclaiming in the exuberance of his joy: "Thrice over do I dedicate my kingdom to the redeemer of the world, the divine teacher, the bearer of the triple canopy--the canopy of the heavenly host, canopy of mortals, and the canopy of eternal emancipation." He then lifted the casket to his head and carrying it in procession round the *stupa*, he ascended it on the Eastern end and descended into the relic receptacle. On all sides, the countless numbers of *ashats* present with uplifted, clasped hands in adoration, while the king deposited invaluable relics in the splendid altar made for it. He then washed his hands in aromatic water and opening the casket, took the relics up and said: "If it be destined that these relics should permanently repose undisturbed by any (enemies), and if it be destined these relics should remain enshrined (here), providing a refuge of salvation to the people, may they, assuming the form of the divine teacher when lying on the bed on which he attained *parinibbana*, recline on the superb invaluable altar already prepared here." Thus praying, he deposited the relics on the sur-

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precious affair. The king then dedicated his imperial canopy to the relics, and for seven days invested them with the sovereignty over the whole of Lanka, and while within the receptacle he made an offering of all the regal jewels he had on his person. All round him—the musicians and choristers, the ministers and the people and in attendance—did the same. The king bestowed presents on the priesthood and proclaimed by beat of drums: "let all my people during the ensuing seven days worship the relics." At the end of these seven days, the respectacle was closed by royal order by two *samantaras*, Utra and Sumana, with the stone brought by them, chanting among other things, "May these cloud-coloured stones (of the respectacle) for ever continue joined, without showing and interstice." Then the people enshrined, with royal permission, thousands of relics on the top of the shrine before the masonry dome was closed, which was soon after done and crowned by a square capital. Only the *Acheitya* and the plastering remained to be done, for the completion of the *stupa*. Bhattagamini was, at this stage, taken ill, and he sending for his younger brother Tissa, said to him: "Perfect the work still left unfinished at the *stupa*." As the king was in the last stage of sickness, Tissa caused the *stupa* to be covered quickly with white sewn cloth, and erected a temporary spire of bamboos, and in the same manner formed a temporary parapet round the pinnacles, representing these on the sun and the moon; and painted the same most beautifully with red stick lac and *kankama*. He then announced to the king that the *stupa* was complete. The dying king repaired thither on his *shika*, went round it and made obeisance to it by prostrating himself on the carpet spread on the ground. He looked up at the *stupa* and at the

hospitade and was filled with joy. He then discoursed calmly on religion, asked Tissa to finish the *stupa* in all that remained to be done and begging the priesthood that he may be cremated within sight of the Mahathupa, he closed his eyes gazing on it. The construction of this *stupa* is said to have cost according to the *Mahavamsa*, "twenty invaluable treasures" besides "a thousand *kotis*" expended on minor items connected with it.

Tissa, or Saddha Tissa—his successor, finished the *stupa* in accordance with the dying brother's request. Other improvements and additions were made a century and a quarter afterwards, between 19 and 9 B.C. by Raj Bhatikabhaya. He added two cornices or copings to the basement of the building. Raja Anandagamini added another *chhatra* on the pinnacle of the *stupa* and added coping to the base and crown of the dome. Later kings made other improvements and by them made it look even grander.

That is a very brief account of the manner in which Buddhist *stupas* were built in olden days. General Cunningham says that the account given in the *Mahavamsa* agrees so closely with the present state of the Sanchi *chhatra*, that it may be taken as an actual description of that building. This makes it clear that the types of *stupa* architecture in Ceylon and India were the same and there is nothing for surprise in it. As regards the impressive ceremonialism with which the enshrinement of the relic was connected, we may take it that it was the same in both the countries. We may now, in some measure, imagine what like the celebrations connected with the Peshawar relics may have been, bearing in mind the greatness of Kanishka in India and beyond it at the time of their consecration.

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